Race Problem - 1930

Africa

Zeoditu, Queen of Abyssinia

:: "CONQUERING LION OF JUDAH," SUCCEEDS TO THRONE ::

Ruler of Ten Million, Dies

ADDIS ABABA, Abyssinia, April 3.—(UN)—Empress Zeoditu, joint ruler of the 10,000,000 subjects of Abyssinia, died suddenly today, aged 54 years. Her cousin, Ras Tafari, whom she crowned king of kings of Ethiopia, Conquering Lion of Judah and Elect of God about a year ago, immediately took over the imperial ...ace with ... detachments of ...ps.

Constitution

Order was being maintained in the face of possibility that Ras Tafari's rivals might become active.

There were two possible claimants to the throne besides Ras Tafari. One was Lej Yasu, former emperor now held captive by ecclesiastical authorities. The other was Ras Kassa, a powerful chieftain who like the others was able to trace his ancestry back to the House of Solomon.

Lej Yasu, grandson of the great Emperor Menelek, was designated by the latter to succeed him, but was overthrown in 1916 because of his sympathy with Germany in the World War and because of his leanings toward Mohammedanism in this Christian country.

Zeoditu, an ambitious woman of 40, daughter of Menelek, was crowned empress 14 years ago with Ras Tafari, son of Menelek's nephew, as regent and heir.

Both the rulers were ambitious, and it galled Ras Tafari to sit a step below the empress at court ceremonials. Two trips to the principal countries of Europe with an imposing retinue of rases and officials increased the ras' prestige, and in 1923 he won Abyssinia's admittance to the League of Nations subject to certain conditions as to the control of slavery and arms traffic.

In 1928 Italy sent the Duke of Abruzzi to return the regent's visit, and the envoy was received with the most lavish splendor. A treaty was concluded whereby Abyssinia was to obtain a port on the Red sea in the Italian colony of Eritria, in return for which Italy was to win a railroad concession in Abyssinia rivalling one held by France.

Rumors became current that the regent's modern ideas were not shared by the empress, and such friction developed that Ras Tafari's adherents urged him to become king.

The empress, though she was believed to share the clerics' slogan of "Abyssinia for the Abyssinians," at length yielded and with her own hands crowned Tafari as king. The crown he received was even larger than the one she wore. He also won a separate throne.

In 1912 Ras Tafari married a granddaughter of the deposed Lej Yasu's father, and by her had two sons and three daughters to carry on the line should he become king.

The empire of Abyssinia, or "Ethiopia," includes four kingdoms, besides many smaller and formerly independent or semi-independent states. It has an estimated area of 350,000 square miles and a population roughly put at about 10,000,000. Addis Ababa, the capital, has a population of from 60,000 to 70,000 natives, and a foreign population of Greeks, Armenians and British Indians and Arabs of several thousand.

The integrity of Abyssinian territory was guaranteed by an agreement signed by Great Britain, France and Italy in 1906. The empire has been a member of the League of Nations since 1923. Great Britain and Italy have recognized spheres of influence, set down in the agreement of 1906.

Hertzog's Native Bill.

Native Opinion

South Africa

3/4/30

Native Representation

South Africa

As a result of compromise between the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition the joint session of the House of Assembly and the Senate agreed to send the Native Representation in Parliament Bill to Select Committee before the second reading is adopted. The personnel of the Committee consists of 27 members of both Houses—14 Nationalists and 12 S.A. Party men, of the following names :—

The Prime Minister, the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, the Minister of Native Affairs, Senators Langenhoven, F. S. Malan, Smit, Spies, Thompson, Wessels and Le Roux, Van Niekerk, and the following M.L.A's: Colonel Commandant Collins, Messrs. P. C de Villiers, Duncan, Hofmeyr, Krige, Le Roux, Marwick, Tom Naude, Nicholls, Paver, General Smuts, Colonel Stallard, Dr Stals, Mr. Strydom, Major van Zyl, Mr. Wessels.

The joint session has been adjourned until the 30th April to give the Committee time to collate evidence. It is rumoured that any body such as the Non-Racial Franchise Association, or any individual who has given the subject serious study, or any Native chief may wish to be heard, they will doubtless be given the opportunity, but the Select Committee is not likely to traverse the ground thoroughly explored by the previous committee. Needless to say, the views of the Native population in the Cape and the Northern provinces are already known. The Cape Natives have objected strongly to any interference in any form with their vote. The Transvaal Natives definitely stated that if a franchise similar to that held to-day by the Cape Natives cannot be extended to them, they are prepared to be without the vote for the next fifty years.

The question now arises as to what object the advocates of the nediocre representation for northern Natives have in forcing an unwanted form of representation on people who are content to stay without it. Obviously the aim of these white men is to ensure that no future extension of the Cape Native vote should ever threaten the three northern provinces. While establishing this safeguard it is on the other hand desired to seriously undermine the power and influence of the Native vote in the Cape by a reduction of the potential individual franchise. The representation in the Senate is of little value, if any at all, as all the financial disbursements from the Treasury to which Natives contribute largely, are controlled solely by vote in the Assembly. Once Natives agreed to this inferior form of representation, they will have opened the door to the alienation, or slackening in the representation in the parliament of the Union till none was left. Once started, there would be no end to changes which will be made in future with the object of ensuring a perpetual political domination by the white race regardless of attainments of high standards of development by the Native race which would entitle them to an equal franchise. Natives cannot be expected to agree to an unjust and ill conceived basis of separate representation which is likely to be a curse to their coming generations. In fairness to themselves the Natives cannot do otherwise than organise to start a continous agitation against the consummation of the objects aimed at by the Hertzog—Smuts compromise and their followers. It is quite evident that the voice of the black voter is not to be taken into serious account when his vote hangs in the balance. If the two "bosses," Hertzog and Smuts are satisfied that the change should come to pass, the inevitable as it were, has to happen. We say good luck to them and their parties. The duty of the Natives is to cease immediately pinning faith in any party in this matter. The question is done in a non-party atmosphere of parliament and it is madness to expect any men in parliament to dare attempt to save their (Natives') vote from destruction. The only remedy is that advocated by Ghandi in India, if South African Natives are to avoid the dangers that befell the black vote in the United States. A change of tactics has to be considered and adopted by the various Native organisations combined and speaking as one man, in order to meet the new political situation which dangerously threatens their well being in the only land God decreed for their habitation. The time to build a foundation to this political agitation for franchise rights has never been more opportune, by reason of the trend of anti-Native legislation, past and present, put on the Statute Book by the two past governments, and the effects of which are now making the Natives in the four Provinces cry out with a loud voice against its oppression. It will be little wonder if every Native is driven by force of circumstance to become an agitator, the bughear of white politicians in this country.

FOURAH BAY COLLEGE.

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1929.

We all regret that it is not possible for His Excellency the Governor to preside, as he promised, at this meeting this afternoon. The indisposition which prevents him is, we are glad to know, on the decline and we wish him a speedy recovery to good health.

It gives us great pleasure to welcome in his place His Honour the Chief Justice, who comes here this afternoon not only to deputize as Chairman for His Excellency but also in his own right as Deputy Visitor of the College. We extend to him a hearty welcome, we thank him for the interest he has already manifested in the College, and assure him that we shall always welcome any help or advice he may care to give us from his wide experience in West Africa.

Two changes in the Staff have taken place during the year. In the place of Mr. N. W. Eades, B.Sc., who left us early in January to whom we must extend our sincere thanks for all he did for the College we have Mr. J. C. Beggs, B.Sc., as Science Tutor. Mr. Beggs, who, with Mrs. Beggs, joined us last September, has served for one tour under the Government Education Department in Northern Nigeria. The other addition has made, as far as funds will allow, our staff complete. For some time the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society had decided to place a European Tutor upon the staff, but the demands of the other Mission Fields had made it impossible to make an appointment. As last year there was no recruit with the necessary qualifications available the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society gladly consented to the support of a Tutor sent out by the Church Missionary Society and made it possible for Mr. H. Brandwood, B.A. to join us last October. I wish to record here our keen sense of gratitude at this magnanimous act of co-operation on the part of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

To all these we give a hearty welcome and trust that they will remain with us many years. It may be of interest to those who welcome co-operation to know that we have on our staff at the present moment four Anglicans, one Wesleyan, one United Methodist, and one Baptist, supported by the C.M.S., W.M.M.S., Government grant, African bequest, and College revenue. I have not since I have been Principal discovered any difficulty in co-operation and I am sure we must

all hope that this co-operation may be extended more widely in education and still more widely in Church life.

During the past year students from each of the Colonies have left us to serve the community from which they came. Mr. C. O. Odutola, who has been appointed to the difficult charge of Holy Trinity Church, Kano, was last December ordained into the Ministry, Mr. K. G. Konuah has joined the Staff at Achimota, and Mr. L. J. Mahoney, prior to his return to the Gambia, has gone to Achimota to widen his knowledge of Education.

One old student, Mr. R. B. W. Cole, B.A., whom we mentioned last year as having secured the London B.A., (Hons.) degree, has further distinguished himself by appearing at the head of the list in the First Year course at the College of Medicine of Durham University and in consequence has been awarded a scholarship. This success Mr. Cole has achieved after the very minimum of science training in this country and almost the minimum of time in England.

Whilst speaking of Science, I must make mention of the Science Laboratory which you will remember we formally opened last year. The report I have to give is not one to encourage those who are anxious to see rapid strides forward in the teaching of science. The laboratory with a considerable amount of equipment is available and the staff of the College includes a Science Tutor but the students are not forthcoming. We have the permission of the University to complete the course for the Medical Pre-Registration Examination; this was the desire of Dr. Obadiah Johnson when he left money for the foundation, but those students who began study with that end in view have not persisted and no others have presented themselves, for the probable reason that they can obtain their tuition elsewhere.

During the past year the College has had on its roll an average of twelve University Students, two Catechists, and fourteen Normal Students, of whom one took the B.A., one the Diploma in Theology and nine completed their training as teachers and have been placed in the schools of the Colony. In January of last year, six students entered for the Teacher Training and in July, 3 entered for the Arts Course and two Catechists of the Anglican Communion came to College for a year's training.

The Endowment Fund has this year received but two subscriptions, Lawyer C. D. H. During £10 10. 0d. Rev. T. S. Johnson £1 1. 0d. bringing the total to £98 19s. 0d.

Last year I had occasion to bring to the notice of the Council of the College some of the difficulties which I felt lay ahead owing to the demands which the Church, the Schools and the Professions were making upon us in calling for training in keeping with modern education. My action caused considerable unrest. That action though it led to much acrimony at the time has resulted in a more sympathetic understanding and appreciation of those difficulties. That no steps have been taken along the lines I indicated is due to two factors, that here was the hope for increase of the staff and that we were not called upon to give tuition in either the Diploma of Theology or the Diploma in Teaching. Before long I know the Church will be voicing her claim for more thorough training of her men, the College will then have to decide what it can do and how it will do it.

One thing I should like most earnestly to impress upon this community and that is how difficult it will be to maintain the work of the College unless students present themselves in larger numbers than at present. Twelve University students is as many as it seems we may expect during the next few years unless some radical change takes place. To give those students the tuition in Arts and Theology for which they come to College requires the services of no less than six tutors. The College only asks them to pay towards the allowances of two but to support even those two is almost an impossibility from the fees paid by a dozen students. Besides this, it is difficult in view of the demands made upon the Missions in all parts of Africa, to justify the retention of so many in one place for the training of so few. Unless it is desired to place the College in a position of extreme embarrassment, I would ask all parents of boys who reach School Certificate standard to consider seriously the sending of their boys to College.

I cannot close without one word of recognition and farewell. Within a month's time we shall be losing from our Council the General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Rev. H. H. Newham. Mr. Newham does not figure much in public in connection with Fourah Bay College but those who are concerned with that work for the college which is not seen know that he has always laboured for its welfare and, if I may be allowed to speak personally, I would place on record my appreciation of the friendliness and wise counsel which Mr. Newham has always been ready to show towards us at the college. an assurance to me that the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, is really eager to be a partner in the co-operative work undertaken at Fourah Bay College. We are at the same time to lose one member of the staff whom we can ill-afford to spare, Mr. F. A. J. Utting, M.A. To Mr. Utting has fallen the very difficult task of creating the Teacher Training Course and he has had from me far less assistance that he had a right to claim, but he has given a start to the Course which will not, I think, be greatly altered by anyone succeeding him, a testimony to the fact that his thorough and detailed work has left the scheme of training well and truly laid. We would express our hearty gratitude for the service he has rendered and whilst wishing him all happiness in his future sphere of work would record our regret that he is leaving us so soon.

During my absence in England on furlough, Mr Utting assumed the direction of the college. To him and to all the staff I wish to express my sincere gratitude for consistent loyalty and devotion to the College which is the hallmark of true service.

WEST AFRICAN PRODUCE.

DECLINING VALUES.—RIGOROUS METHODS OF INSPECTION.—AFRICAN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.—REVENUES OF THE COLONIES.

The 47th annual meeting of the members of the African Trade Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce was held on Friday, April 4, when Mr. J. H. Sharrock (chairman of the Liverpool Managing Directors of the Elder Dempster Line and chairman of the Section) presided.

The chairman said, before proposing the adoption of the annual report, that he would like to refer to certain changes that had taken place in the membership of the Committee. Owing to the formation of the United Africa Co. and the transfer of its head office to London, three members of the Committee resigned and Mr. Deresse, Mr. Nuttall and Mr. Moseley were elected to fill the vacancies. The Committee had also to accept, with very great regret, the resignation of Mr. Thomas Welsh, owing to his retirement from business, but it was glad to welcome Mr. C. P. Zochonis to fill this vacancy. The death of Mr. Powis created another vacancy, to which Sir Edgar Sanders had been elected. Despite the changes that had taken place, the Committee remained in every way representative of the trade in which all were interested. 4-12-30

The past year in West Africa was one of the most difficult in the history of the trade, and practically all the major products of the country suffered a serious decline in values. In this connection, it was of interest to observe that at the end of last month the price of palm-kernels was approximately £4 per ton below that in March 1929. Over the same period palm-oil showed a reduction of £7 per ton, groundnuts of £2 5s., and cocoa (Clause "D") of £8 per ton.

One of the most unfortunate aspects of these declining values was that they came at a time when the British West African Governments—particularly those of the Gold Coast and Nigeria—had instituted more rigorous methods of produce inspection. In inviting the co-operation of the Native producers in a scheme of produce inspection, one of the inducements offered was that improved standards of produce would command higher prices and it was to be regretted that this result had not altogether materialised. Although to some extent the falling prices were due to world conditions, it had to be realised that African producers are not yet fully acquainted with those economic conditions which influence prices.

The Committee could understand the difficulties with which the agricultural officers and produce inspectors were faced, and he was sure it would like them to know they had its good wishes. No. 689 Vol. XIV

One new development in West Africa in recent years was that of African co-operative societies, the organisers of which appeared to have been encouraged by the success of such institutions in the East. In his recent address to the Legislative Council, the Governor of the Gold Coast indicated that there were 30 societies awaiting registration in that Colony and that some 26 of them were co-operative marketing bodies of cocoa farmers. There was reason to believe that falling prices might encourage the wider formation of such ventures—a matter which might well be worthy of careful consideration.

It was, of course, inevitable that the difficult state of trade in West Africa should be reflected in the revenues of the colonies, and their Governors were to be congratulated on the manner in which they were dealing with the problem. In this connection it appeared that wherever possible the African administrations are to be encouraged to carry on work which in more prosperous times was sponsored by the central Governments, and there was every reason to believe that the African leaders would assist. Although economy was essential, it had to be recognised that the British West African Governments had a duty to the African people and to their country, and he thought they might rely upon their administrators in West Africa meeting the present situation without in any way endangering the progressive policies of recent years.

Apart from the difficulties experienced by West African merchants and shippers during the past year, there was the unfortunate dispute between the West African Conference Lines and the United Africa Company. In this connection, his hearers had no doubt noticed that there had been some reference in the press to the formation of an association of independent merchants and shippers, and it was to be hoped that this would provide a means by which the leading merchants and shippers in the West African trade could co-operate and, in conjunction with the Conference Lines, find settled equitable trading conditions that would be permanently satisfactory to all. In closing, Mr. Sharrock thanked Mr. Russell, the vice-chairman, the other members of the Committee, and Mr. McCarthy, the secretary, for their valued help during the past year.

Mr. Russell seconded the resolution, which was adopted.

Messrs. J. Pickering Jones, Robt. L. Holt, Sir Edgar Sanders, L. H. Moseley, A. W. Russell, A. Bett, E. H. Nuttall, and W. G. Bates were elected members of the Committee, the chairman remarking that seven of the gentlemen had already given good service and that Mr. Bates had had a long association with the West African trade and he presumed Mr. Bates would be a very helpful member of the Committee.

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Apart from the difficulties experienced by West African merchants and shippers during the past year, there was the unfortunate dispute between the West African Conference Lines and the United Africa Company, to which reference has been made in the Chairman's closing remarks. In this connection, his hearers had no doubt that would be permanently satisfactory to all. In the chairman remarking that seven of the Committee, and that Mr Committee had already given good service and that Mr gentlemen had had a long association with the West Africa Bates had had a long association with the West Afri- can trade and he presumed Mr. Bates would be a very helpful member of the Committee.

Mr. McCarthy, the secretary, for their valued help during the past year.

Mr. Russell seconded the resolution, which was adopted.

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Race Africa.

Advisory Boards Congress

(By Thos. G. Nqandela.)

[Continued]

NDIFFERENCE OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES

There is no gainsay that, if the Local Government of the Union had faithfully carried out the provisions of the Act to the letter and the spirit of legislature there would have been no cause whatever for the formation of the Location Advisory Boards Congress. The indifference and the antipathy on the part of certain municipalities in putting into operation beneficial changes under this law in their system of Native administration through fussel to grant trading rights to Natives in the location, hygienic housing scheme and the encouragement of Native education gave rise to a considerable amount of suspicion that Location Advisory Boards in many centres were used merely as a rubber stamp than for anything else. It will be seen therefore that the aim of the Location Advisory Boards Congress is not to obstruct the present machinery of Native administration by any means but to endeavour to enforce, by educating local authorities on the needs and aspirations of the Natives, those provisions of the urban areas Act which confer benefits to urban residents. And it is felt, not without a justifiable cause, that the functions of the advisory boards should be increased and clearly defined. That for the better management of Native affairs some executive authority should be delegated to the location advisory board as a check against undue harshness and oppresive regulations.

IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS.

The agenda of the Congress being a long one of over 24 items I will only take one or two important ones. I consider that the Congress resolution on urban education should receive immediate consideration. Urbanised Natives in addition to the general Poll Tax pay heavy rates for their holdings without fixity of land tenure and thus far nothing well worth recording has been done for them by local authorities in the way of education. The suggestion advanced by Congress to ask local authorities to assist Native children without means to enter training institutions by means of annual bursaries from the Native Revenue Account should not be disregarded but considered in view of the inability of many parents to send their children to such schools. The following is the resolution of Congress on education.

1 "That in view of the stringent economic means of the urban Native population of the Union this Congress desire to approach local governments through their respective Native Advisory Boards to consider the immediate desirability of giving aid to urban Native education by means of annual bursaries to children of poverty-stricken parents who after passing the sixth standard desire to enter a Training Institution."

2. That Native bursaries authorised by local authority be manipulated and administered by the Advisory Board strictly in accordance with the terms of the grant, and that these bursaries be determined according to the Native population of each local government.

It ought not be difficult for even small centres to meet the necessity of annual bursaries in terms of this resolution and what a great help and relief it would be to the many poor dejected hearts whose hope for the future under the existing conditions is relegated to the shadows of unrest and discontentment. I notice that pseudo colleges are springing up like mushrooms especially in the Cape Province. The people are told that the only generous nation in the world are the Americans who spend millions of pounds on Negro education, and to show how eager the Natives are to get education children are taken out of missionary schools to enter this American College which I understand is already in existence at Queenstown. In my own humble opinion local authorities could not do better, in circumventing the spreading of unhealthy influence in their areas than to acquiesce and support the Congress resolution on urban education. In conclusion I wish to state how much we appreciated a message of good will from the Mayor of East London. His telegram stirred the delegates with enthusiasm and gave us a strong nerve in our deliberations.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Theories of African Education.

If Africa and her peoples are not progressing on the right lines, it is certainly not for want of teachers nor to lack of energy on their part in propounding their theories and expounding their infallible systems. Unfortunately they are not agreed and the Africans are bewildered by variety of doctrine. One school teaches that, as agriculture is the staple African industry the basis of true progress is to make the African a better farmer. Another looks upon industrial training and the inculcation of "the dignity of labour" as the chief need of Africans. The writer of the article in the April issue of "Elder's Review" entitled "If I were Dictator in West Africa for a Day"—humorous in the best sense, because presenting serious ideas in an amusing way—puts sanitation as the first requisite. This dictator would direct his first efforts to sanitation, because dealing vigorously with medical and sanitary problems "would facilitate the work of every other department which was engaged on social, semi-social, or even economic work . . . and once the African mind had been directed towards appreciating and practising sanitary methods of living, it would be capable of dealing with other problems—including education—with increased facility." Another school, perhaps the loudest and most vociferous of all, emphasises character-building and enunciates "principles" with pontifical dogmatism. Those who speak with the most assurance are the theorists; practical educators, with experience of the work of teaching, like Mr. Fraser, Principal of Achimota, and Mr. A. Victor Murray, author of "The School in the Bush," realise that African education is still in the experimental stage, and that it will take several generations of teachers and scholars to evolve a satisfactory system. The perfect and final system is a dream of idealists which can never be realised unless Africa becomes stagnant: rapidly evolving societies, such as those of West Africa, moving from and outgrowing old social systems sapped by the influx of new ideas imbibed in the schools, to a new conception of life and social relations, must carry out many experiments and meet with many failures before they attain a synthesis between life and the training for life which education ought to be.

Keeping the African in His Place.

The idealists are much perturbed by visions of Africans claiming mental and economic equality with Europeans through adopting the methods of European science and commerce. They advise Africans to remain Africans, by which they mean that the Africans of to-day should adhere to the ways of their grandfathers. They advise the boys educated in their schools to return to their native villages, to resume the old tribal life, and to pay the traditional reverence to their Chiefs. They do not perceive the contradiction in terms involved in urging young men to take agriculture on the tribal or family lands, but to adopt European methods of cultivation. The traditional system being inextricably bound up with the religion, the laws and customs of the community, innovations which pay no regard to these fundamentals must loosen the bonds which hold the tribe together. How is the pupil who has been converted to Christianity to take part in the annual sacrifices to the ancestors which are the sign and seal of the kinship of the members, abstention from which is (in the opinion of the kindred) a sin which may call down the wrath of the ancestral spirits and a renunciation of the obligations of kinship. Besides this internal attack the tribal bonds are being dissolved by the establishment of a central government which, by enforcing peace and order in the country, has put an end to the need of protection which was the cement of the tribe, and has deposed the Chief from his supreme position by imposing an authority to whom there is appeal. Through the demand for labour, freedom of movement, and the introduction of wages paid in money, the tribal land is no longer the sole source of subsistence. Under the new economy, introduced by education and commerce, the old social system is being dissolved; in a few generations the African tribe will be as obsolete as the Irish sept and the Scottish clan.

The Eternal African.

The de-Africanised West African is a nightmare of a few disgruntled Europeans. The negro in the United States is being de-Africanised; submerged in a society in which he is in a minority of one in ten, owning an infinitesimal portion of the land, he must conform himself to the social, economic and political condition of his environment or perish. The West African, in his own country, is in a different position. He is in an overwhelming majority over Europeans—1,000 to 1 on the Gold Coast and 5,000 to 1 in Nigeria—he is the owner of the land and, as master in his own house, holds the key position; he is the permanent occupier to whom innovations must be adapted. The West African of a hundred years hence will be very different from the West African of to-day, for there is no turning back in the road on which he has started. He will be changed both by the abandonment of ideas no longer tenable, and by the adoption of new ideas imbibed from the science and economics of his European teachers; but those ideas will be adopted by adapting them to his own environment and needs. They will suffer a sea-change in transit to West Africa and become Africanised: the West African, through all his changes, will remain eternally and ineradicably African. But he will not forget his debt to his European instructors.

W. F. H.

The Wellington Trials

That the jury system had been almost invariably a failure in cases between Europeans and Non-Europeans had long been pointed out by the latter in the form of strong resolutions carried at meetings of the numerous national organisations of Natives but the Justice authorities had taken no trouble to investigate and adjust this important aspect of the administration of law. The climax in maladministration by the jury has however been reached in the disgracefully prejudiced verdicts of the jury at the Paarl trials a fortnight ago. The judge's recommendations were flouted, and altogether the verdicts acquitting the three European policemen are revolting to those who have a sense of moral integrity and race pride. A nasty blot on the escutcheon of the law courts has been besmirched, not by the men of the legal profession; but by those who had been taken into confidence as representatives of public opinion to ensure that justice was meted out.

If our courts must continue to enjoy the reputation they have, it is a matter for the serious consideration of the Justice department whether they should not be purged of the influences that were the cause of the verdicts at Paarl. The idea that it is at times impossible for Natives to get a square deal in the law courts is one that must be worked out of their minds, and the only way to do this is to abolish the jury system in cases where Europeans are prosecu-

led by Non-European complainants. The facts of the acquittals are briefly commented upon by the "Cape Times" as follows:—

"These two verdicts point remorselessly to one or two alternatives—either the jurymen who arrived at them are abnormally stupid, so stupid as to be unable to understand the meaning of evidence, though advised by the judge with exceptional lucidity and with exact impartiality, or at the jurymen had made up their minds to acquit, whatever the evidence might be. The first alternative can be dismissed, the second is irresistible as it is melancholy. To believe that the judge himself had come to this conclusion when he said at the outset of his summing up in the second case that it would not matter much what he said, would not, we think, be to put too definite a construction on one of the most tragic remarks that has ever been forced by lamentable circumstances from the lips of a South African judge. It comes to this. Three out of the four accused were white men; the fourth, though coloured, was a subordinate of the white accused and the complainants were Native and Coloured. The two juries, having determined on acquittal, carried out the intention in defiance of the unmistakable advice by the judge that the verdict should go against all the men but one of the accused in both cases. The verdict must make every decent feeling white man shudder for his own colour—appalled that his white brothers should be so completely carried away by ignoble prejudice, should be unconsciously eloquent in pronouncing judgment upon their own warped minds. The applause of their fellow-citizens of Paarl and Wellington was all that was needed to add a touch of humiliation and degradation to conduct that leaves an ugly stain on the name of white South Africa."

Needless to say, the disgust of Non-Europeans is already being evinced by strongly worded resolutions; and we think this is only the beginning of a crusade against the unequal administration of the law ending of which no one can tell.

The African Protection Association at Paarl on Monday last resolved This meeting resolves to request the Minister of Justice that henceforth all Coloured and Native prisoners standing trial in the Supreme Court of South Africa should be tried without a jury, that they may have the option of having their cases tried by a judge alone or a judge and two assessors. This association views the present jury system with alarm and suspicion, as it is becoming a danger to the non-European community of South Africa, and trusts that the Department of Justice will not refuse on appeal and that justice and fair play will be maintained in all respects."

At a meeting of the Paarl branch of the Vigilance Society the following resolution was passed unanimously: "This meeting feels that the jury system has proved an unsatisfactory and inefficient method of dealing with the trials of non-Europeans and Native prisoners and complainants, and strongly advocates and urges that it be completely abolished."

THE ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION OF THE NATIVE.

The emancipation of slaves, towards the close of the eighteenth century, in raising the standard of civilisation of the blacks, had its resultant beneficial effect on the world, and the time has now come for the economic emancipation of the native (particularly in South Africa) which, in our opinion, will prove equally beneficial to the immediate prosperity of that part of the Empire. Lord Melchett, who has just returned from a trip to South Africa, in furtherance of his Economic Empire Crusade, has emphatically asserted that South Africa wants to develop the consuming capacity of the native if she wants to develop the country economically. Now, to develop this "consuming capacity," the native must of necessity enjoy greater privileges, both socially and industrially. That this is rather a revolutionary policy as far as South Africa is concerned we are fully aware of. The native is scarcely out of the attitude adopted towards the "blacks" by the white settlers of Kruger's day, but as this term is now recognised as both opprobrious and obsolete, so must the old arrogant standard of the white man in relation to the natives in South Africa now also pass into oblivion. This home truth needs hammering home, for its importance is not sufficiently recognised in South Africa. But it is quite impossible for the white community to be on a sound economic footing while it is surrounded by natives still in a state of ignorance towards all matters connected with economics. On the other hand, a native population, duly encouraged to practise trade and industry and take its share in the economic development of the country, would be invaluable both as producers and consumers. South Africa, in its present attitude towards the native, forgets the vast potentialities of the market within its midst. A native people gradually rising in the scale of civilisation would be an incalculable boon to the industrial life of the country, and this sound basis can be reached by encouraging the native, by allowing him a footing into what are now considered solely the white man's industries. However unpalatable our suggestion may be at the present time, facts have got to be faced, and Lord Melchett's ideals for Empire prosperity can never be attained until the South African legislators adjust the status of the native so that he can add his material weight in the credit balance of the economic scales of the country with beneficial results to the Dominion, the Homeland, and the Empire as a whole.

VALE! SIR [illegible]ON!

One of the greatest contemporary figures in the making of Modern Africa, and with specific reference to the racial relationships of its population, has passed to the great beyond in the person of Sir Gordon Guggisberg—perhaps the most eminent Governor and Commander-in-Chief of a West African Colony of our time. During the eight years of his regime he created records of social, educational and economical advance unequalled in the history of West Africa. As an exceptionally gifted engineer with a long and varied experience in Africa under the Colonial Office, he became inspired, and correctly so, with the idea that efficient highways, railroads, and harbour facilities spelt the secret of building up a proper position for a tropical Dependency to develop its natural wealth for the tangible benefit of the Empire. With this he coupled an almost fanatical belief in the capacity of the native for absorbing higher education, and it may be confidently asserted that such men as the late Professor Kwegyr Aggrey, a gifted Gold Coast native, fully justified Sir Gordon's foundation of the famous Prince of Wales University at Achimota. That institution, which provides education of all degrees from primary to University standards for the natives of West Africa, will for ever be an outstanding and shining monument to Sir Gordon Guggisberg, who had quickly grasped the priceless value of the organisation and work done in the Upper Nile Valley by the Gordon College at Khartoum. His strong belief was that the black races of West Africa could be educated in a suitable manner to take their proper station in public life, and after his great tour of investigation through the United States of America in 1927, he returned more convinced than ever of the fine characteristics possessed by the negro races, and that their principal need was education on the right lines. No wonder his name was cherished on the Gold Coast, where 30,000 natives gathered to bid him farewell on his departure. We may well quote Sir Edward Davson in his statement that not only did Sir Gordon give his health and sacrifice his life to the work, but was a man of singular charm, indomitable courage, a friend to the people of whatever race of whom he had charge—a man, indeed, in whom faith in the spiritual value of work and service was predominant. He will be mourned by many friends. An exceptional man, whose untimely passing as a victim to zealous service is an outstanding loss to the Empire.

Race Problem – 1930

Africa

FORCED LABOUR IN KENYA

Manchester Guardian Weekly

A Review, 1918-1930

12-5-30

By Archdeacon W. E. Owen.

From 1904 to February, 1918, I lived in Uganda, in those days a typical forced-labour Protectorate. I came to Kenya in March, 1918, and within a few months saw what I had never seen in Uganda, and that was a gang of men literally, not metaphorically, roped by the neck being herded off to work for private employers. The last notorious example of this forcing out in a wholesale way for private employers was when men of the Kisii tribe were forced out in 1920. I had accepted forced labour in Uganda as normal to East Africa, but that gang of roped-up men started a revulsion within me which has gathered strength with the passing years. Forced labour for private employers, common enough in the first few years of my residence in Kenya, is now a thing of the past, and there must be very many settlers who know absolutely nothing of former excesses. But, and it is a big "but," forced unpaid labour for roads and other purposes is still the rule in the reserves, and has been more noticeable in this present year of grace than for many years past.

This is due, in very large measure, to the policy of rapid economic development of the reserves laid down in the Governors' Conference of 1926. Empire development has meant very much more forced labour on roads and bridges. Its existence is a reproach to our powers of administration, and it could be removed by a Government with the will to attempt it.

Manchester

In October, 1919, Government issued the infamous Labour Circular No. 1, under the influence of which the year 1920 stands out in my memory as the black year of forced labour for private employers. 1921 found public opinion in England beginning to take note of forced labour in East Africa, and the cry was "Abolition for private employers, and regulation for public purposes." 1922 saw the passing into law of an ordinance amending the Native Authority Ordinance, providing powers to impress paid labour for a variety of public purposes for a period of sixty days in any one year. Those in employment for wages were exempt from the operation of this amendment, but not those employed about their own business.

The first main impression I got about forced labour in the reserves was the utter disregard of the law in working the system. Women and children were out working in gangs on the roads far in excess of able-bodied men, who alone were legally liable. No doubt many of these women and children were sent by male relations, but the point is that few cared two straws whether the women and children were on the road so long as the roads were done. In literal fact, senior administrative officers were so ignorant of the actual terms of the ordinance that some of them asserted to me that they were empowered to interfere with my schools by ordering the scholars, who were not able-bodied men, out on the roads. That day has, I think, passed. Illegalities still exist, as, for instance, the illegal exercise by officials other than administrative officers of power to order headmen to supply labour in connection with their duties.

My second impression, an impression which grew with time, was its callousness. The tragedy which comes at once to my mind was that in which four men were flogged for refusing to carry an officer's loads one Sunday morning. One of them later died, and the community attributed his death to the flogging. While such a termination is unusual, we have had for the last two years the added penalty of up to two months' rigorous imprisonment for disobedience to any order sanctioned by the Native Authority Ordinance. This may be worse in some cases than a flogging, but, flogging or imprisonment, the system deprives of a human sensitiveness those who elect to work it. It dehumanises them.

A third impression, now hardened into a conviction, is that it is impossible for the Administration to secure that the burden of forced labour be equally distributed. According to many counts made by me, less than 50 per cent of the able-bodied men shoulder all the burden of unpaid forced labour. Simple honesty requires me to comment that it is the younger, better educated men, the product, very largely, of our mission schools, who escape forced labour.

And of course no one can give publicity to instances which illustrate the abuses associated with a forced, unpaid labour system without being made aware of the heavy official displeasure his boldness occasions. The petty efforts to close avenues to publicity only strengthen the conviction that the upholders of the system have a case which will no stand the light of day. If only publicity can be excluded the system is good for a number of years yet. A system which is afraid of the daylight stands self-condemned.

Latterly I have been urging our Christian Africans to support a movement for additional local rates, that unpaid labour be abolished. In every discussion, and they have been many, I have been met with the demand to know why the money needed cannot be found from the hut and poll taxes. Our Africans believe that the proceeds of their direct taxation are not being expended in public services for those taxed. In other words, that some of their taxation is being diverted to non-native areas. It is widely held in certain quarters that up to one-third of direct taxation from the reserves is spent outside of the reserves. And this is the crux of the whole matter. Given a proper system of reserve administration, many of us hold that the labour now unpaid could be paid for easily. Roads in non-native areas have to be paid for, so why not in native areas?

To sum up. The legal position of forced labour is much worse for the African than before 1928, but there are fewer illegalities than formerly. Some kinds of forced labour have almost ceased; but, on the other hand, the demand from England to develop East African trade has resulted in increased unpaid work on roads and bridges. Actually there is very little, if any, amelioration of the burden. The great problem to be solved is how to hustle East Africa along the road of Westernisation without forced labour. If we cannot solve it it will dehumanise us.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA, (SIERRA LEONE SECTION).

Weekly News

ADDRESS

PRESENTED TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR JOSEPH ALOYSIUS BYRNE, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B., GOVERNOR, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE COLONY OF SIERRA LEONE, ON THE OCCASION OF HIS FINAL DEPARTURE FROM THIS COLONY TO THE COLONY OF KENYA, ON PROMOTION.

Your Excellency,—The Sierra Leone Section of the National Congress of British West Africa takes opportunity in bidding you adieu, to communicate to Your Excellency the following Resolution passed at its last meeting, after its personal congratulations to your Excellency at the end of the interview Your Excellency had with it, on Saturday the 4th ultimo, to wit:—

"That this Section of Congress places on record its congratulations to His Excellency Brigadier-General Sir Joseph Aloysius Byrne, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B., for His Majesty the King's recent favour in approving of his appointment to the Governorship of Kenya. It records with pleasure and satisfaction the peacefulness and quietness enjoyed by all sections of the Community in the Colony and in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone, during the whole course of His Excellency's tenure of office, and desires for His Excellency, on behalf of the people both of the Colony and of the Protectorate, long life, peace and happiness, and further recognition in the Service of the King."

Your Excellency cannot estimate how extensive is the disappointment of the Community, that you have to leave the Colony at such a time when the people reckon so much on the experience you have acquired and stored up, for the benefit of the Colony.

11-29-30

This Section of Congress recalls with appreciation Your Excellency's efforts to improve the Fishing Industry of the Colony soon after Your Excellency's assumption of Government, though the results of your efforts have not yet materialized through want of capital.

It recalls with gratitude Your Excellency's foresight in putting forward the Maramp Development Scheme, which is a godsend to relieve, in a certain measure, the hardships overhanging the Colony from wide-spread unemployment through depression in trade. It recalls with appreciation Your Excellency's extension of the Roads Programme Schemes of your predecessors.

It recalls with gratitude the sympathetic manner with which Your Excellency dealt with the Civil Service Retrenchment Problems, and the considerate manner in which Your Excellency has staved off increased taxation on Provisions and necessaries to replenish the falling revenue, but yet discovered new avenues of taxation without oppression; in order to provide for current expenses of Government.

freetown Sierra Leone

These and other incidents of Your Excellency's peaceful administration have impressed the people of the sincerity and genuineness of your affection for them.

In addressing Your Excellency on the day of your arrival to assume the reins of this Government, His Honour Sir Gilbert Purcell, the late Chief Justice of the Colony, quoted the concise legend on the monument erected to the memory of Major Octavius Temple, a former Governor of the Colony "in grateful remembrance of his decorum in private life, and integrity in public life," and His Honour in prophetic language said, "I make no doubt that on Your Excellency's final departure from Sierra Leone, under I trust a happier Star, an equally flattering tribute will be rendered to Your Excellency's character."

Your Excellency has amply justified and fulfilled His Honour's prediction. Your approachableness and personality, your pleasant demeanour and genial companionship, your sympathy and consideration for the people in every measure, your straightforward policy and courage in settling difficulties, Sir, will ever remain in the grateful remembrance of every loyal and true-hearted man and woman of the Community of Sierra Leone.

We take leave of Your Excellency with sincere regret, and assure you, Sir, that you are leaving these shores with the benediction and good wishes of the people of the Colony and of the Protectorate, for yourself, your dear wife, and your family.

Signed on behalf of the National Congress of British West Africa (Sierra Leone Section).—

(Sgd).—A. E. Tuboku-Metzger, President, E. S. Beoku-Betts, vice-President, F. A. Miller, Secretary, B. W. Davies, Treasurer, J. B. Nichols, Wilfred S. Cole, Wm. B. Marke, E. Sam. Boardman, James O. E.

Taylor, S Adole Hughes, Alimamy Jamburia, O. J. V Tuboku-Metzger, T. J.Carew, I. C.Pratt, J. R, R Taylor. Alpha Omarn Savage.

Freetown. Sierra Leone,
November 21, 1930.

REPLY

Gentlemen,—I find it difficult to find words adequate to express my feelings towards those bodies which have been kind enough to present addresses to me on my departure. I am particularly gratified at receiving the address from the National Congress of British West Africa which has just been read to me. Although I feel that you have referred to the small services I have rendered to the Colony in too flattering terms, still I know that your goodwill is genuine, and I can assure you, I on my part, cordially reciprocate it.

A representative Congress such as yours is capable of doing great good if it is directed and run on proper lines. It can be the means of laying before Government genuine grievances or of putting forward suggestions for improving the condition of the people. The Government of Sierra Leone welcomes such action and will examine with sympathy any such representations. I have acted thus during my administration and I am certain that my successor will do the same. **The danger which you must at all costs guard against is to allow your organization to get into the hands of and be dictated to by irresponsible or extreme persons who for private reasons or who out of mischief urge impossible or extreme measures or who continually nag over trifles. If such an unhappy state of affairs came about you could not expect the same support and sympathy as you now get from the Government nor will you long retain the support of the Public. Above all eschew anything tending to foster racial discord We have lived in peace and cordial friendship during the time I have known you and there is no reason whatever why this happy state of affairs should not continue indefinitely.**

Gentlemen, again I thank you for your kindness and I pray that the cloud of Trade depression that is now hanging over us may soon disperse. I may say that I personally have no doubt that within very few years Sierra Leone will, for its size, become one of the most prosperous territories on the West Coast of Africa.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Cormantines.

Both in the West Indies and on the American continent the name of Cormantine was applied to the Negroes imported from the Gold Coast by the African trading companies, whose headquarters were at the fort of that name. The Cormantines, as described by Bryan Edwards in his History, Civil and Commercial, of the British West Indies, were distinguished by "firmness both of body and mind; a ferociousness of disposition, but withal, activity, courage and a stubbornness, of what an ancient Roman would have deemed an elevation of soul, which prompts them to enterprises of difficulty and danger. . . . Even the children brought from the Gold Coast manifest an evident superiority both in hardiness of frame and vigour of mind over all the young people of the same age that are imported from other parts of Africa." These characteristics enabled the Cormantines to maintain a commanding influence over the slaves from other parts; they were the leaders in every disturbance and rising, culminating in the Maroon Rebellion, which furnishes an interesting chapter in the history of Jamaica. So notorious were they for turbulence that their importation into the French and Spanish colonies was forbidden, but in Jamaica they were so highly valued for their strength, intelligence, and industry that a Bill to lay an additional duty on their importation was thrown out by the legislature in consequence of the opposition of the planters. It was in this island that the author of "Hebrewisms of West Africa"* came into contact with the Cormantines, and became interested in the origin of the Hebrewisms he thought he found in their language and customs. After "the preliminary five years spent in Jamaica," he devoted eleven years to the compilation of the materials of this volume which is a monument of research. The "Bibliography," which covers 57 pages, with an average of nearly thirty references, is a useful guide to the literature of West Africa.

Ashanti Origins.

During the last century more than one traveller has been struck by features of West African customs and religion which seem to indicate connection with the ancient civilisations of the East. One of the most elaborate and profound studies of the subject is T. E. Bowdich's "Essays on the Superstitions, Customs and Arts, Common to the Ancient Egyptians, Abyssinians and Ashantees," published in Paris in 1821, and reprinted in the "African Times and Orient Review" in 1917. Bowdich wrote that the traditions of the Ashantis and neighbouring nations, "the numerous exceptions to the Negro countenance, and the striking similitude of most of their extraordinary superstitions, laws and customs to those of ancient Egypt" persuaded him "that most of the higher classes were descended from eastern Ethiopians who had been improved by an intercourse with the Egyptian emigrants and colonists." Dr. Williams was led by his observations in Jamaica to believe that many of the customs of the Cormantines, whom he identified with the Ashantis, are of Hebrew origin. He discovered many Hebrewisms in their customs and language; "finally, the Supreme Being of the Ashantis gave strong indication of being the Yahweh of the Old Testament." For the solution of the problem of the origin of these resemblances he followed up the world-wide diffusion of the Jews and came to the conclusion that Abyssinia, the Jewish colonies on the African coast of the Mediterranean and in Egypt were sources whence "an Hebraic influence might well have penetrated to the very heart of Western Africa, especially along the lines of commerce." The study of the Diaspora, or Dispersion, would alone make this volume of value; a bibliography extending over twenty pages shows how thoroughly the author has ransacked the literature of the subject. He writes that large and wealthy Jewish colonies have been established in North Africa since the second century A.D., and in Egypt especially, the Jews became an important influence and developed "that commercial spirit that was steadily making for the Jews a unique place in history," and started them on a track which drew them "to the uttermost recesses of Africa, West, East, and South."

The Jews in West Africa.

Dr. Williams' theory is that "somewhere in the dim past a wave, or more probably a series of waves, of Hebraic influence swept over Negro Africa, leaving unmistakeable traces among the various tribes, where they have endured even to the present day." He believes that Hebrew cultural elements exist not only in Ashanti, "but are to be found in less degree broadcast through Negro Land." The parallels which he believes that he has established are so numerous and detailed that diffusion, carried by pre-Christian Jews, would appear to be the only solution. Their first settlements in North Africa were probably among their Phœnician kindred, the Carthaginians. The Roman conquest of Carthage, Grecian influence in Egypt after Alexander, and finally the advance of Christianity probably drove many Jewish colonies into the interior of the continent, where they preserved their faith against Mahommedan attacks, and "became the chief merchants of the Sahara and the connecting link between the negro nations of the South and all the great commercial centres of the Mediterranean Coast." The "Jewish Kingdom of Ghana," which, after flourishing for several centuries, was "so entirely obliterated that its very existence was long questioned . . . must have had a widespread influence on negro customs and manners almost to the coast of Guinea." In dealing with the West African tribes who have never yielded to Mahommedanism the weight of evidence points to the East, as the status of the Jews who found their way along the valley of the Nile, and thence to Lake Chad, is more in accord with the traditions and culture of the negro tribes as we actually find them "than that of the immigrants from the North." There is no trace of the changes in the technique of Jewish religion caused by the Exile; "the pre-exilic Hebrews, as a body, were hardly more than Pagans," relapsing easily into idolatry, a worship of a number of gods believed to be subordinate to Yahweh, in attitude similar to the Ashanti acknowledgment of the supremacy of Nyame concurrently with the worship of a number of local deities. "The Songhois present the most reasonable solution of the problem as to how the Hebraic influence found its way from the Nile to the Niger," but, whatever it be, the author believes that "a Jewish element is to be found in the present stock of the Ashanti," and finds confirmation of his theory of Jewish diffusion "in the various names of the Supreme Being to be found among the Pagan tribes of Africa." Indications of the derivation thereof from the Hebrew Yahweh being surprisingly numerous. After detailed examination of the evidence Dr. Williams comes to the conclusion that the Supreme Being of the Ashantis and allied tribes is not the Christian God, imposed by modern missionaries, but the Yahweh of the pre-exilic Hebrews which overlaid previous conceptions of divinity in the African religions. The book contains a vast amount of information, its references to the published literature are exhaustive and valuable, every page is interesting, and the labour of sixteen years given to its compilation commands my respect, but I cannot say that I find its argument convincing. I must concur in the author's modest admission (page 339): "We cannot postulate any degree of certitude for this theory. It must for the present remain a theory, and nothing more."

W. E. H.

Race Problem - 1930

Africa

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

African World 11-29-30

The Yorubas.

The celebration of the centenary of Abeokuta will call forth many references to the origin and ancient history of the Yorubas, who form one-fourth of the population of Southern Nigeria, and their Egba branch who founded Abeokuta and still provide the bulk of its inhabitants. The Sudanese origin of the Yoruba is accepted by students of African philology. While it is pretty certain that they have inhabited what is now called Nigeria for many centuries. Looking into the dim mist of tradition and conjecture which precedes history we seem to see a great shifting, migrating, and mixing of peoples from the then centres of population to the outer and almost unoccupied regions. About the beginning of the second millennium B.C. negro tribes, which began to push down the Nile valley, are believed to have conquered the southern part of the kingdom of Egypt, and to have occupied it for six or seven hundred years. The excellence of their pottery shows that these invaders were not mere savages; they were also sturdy warriors whose attacks it took all the power of the great Semuset III. to repel. About two hundred years later Amenemhat I turned the tables and carried war into Nubia, thereby setting in motion the migration which carried the ancestors of the Yorubas across the continent to the hinterland of the Bight of Benin, where they settled round Ifé, which is still the sacred city of their descendants. These migrants may have brought with them the art of making and working in bronze, which is rarely found among the negro peoples, who appear to have generally passed directly from the use of stone to that of iron. Easily smelted iron ore of great richness is abundant in Nigeria, and that it has been worked from remote times is shown by the finding of a piece of smelted iron at a depth of six to ten feet below the bed of a river, while sinking the foundations of a bridge on the Eastern Railway. It is significant, as Mr. Amaury Talbot has pointed out, that in the districts where the metal is worked it is not regarded as sacred, nor are there any myths as to its origin. It is quite possible that negroes were the first workers in iron, and that the art was diffused through north-east Africa into Europe. Undoubtedly the Ifé culture is very ancient, as old as the early Egyptian. Leo Frobenius, the first archæologist to use the spade in West Africa, showed that there had existed there, between two and three thousand years ago, a civilisation so artistic and refined that he believed Yorubaland to be the mysterious Atlantis whose pride, wealth, and destruction are told by Plato. Support for the theory is found in the religion of the Yorubas, "many features of which give reason for thinking that it was formerly of a higher type, and has shared in the general retrogradation which appears to have set in during the last few thousand years since the people have dwelt in the dense forests,

The Story of Abeokuta.

and allowed themselves to be moulded by their environment, instead of imposing their own character upon it."

The Egbas are the southern branch of the widely spread Yoruba peoples, occupying territory round their principal town, Abeokuta. Its traditions and history have been collected, mainly from the lips of venerable fellow-countrymen whose minds were well stored with traditional lore, by one of its citizens, Mr. A. K. Ajisafe, who frankly admits the difficulty of sifting out the truth from a mass of tribal traditions, orally transmitted, among "a people fond of tribal glory, and therefore not faithful to facts." He begins the story at an indefinite "once upon a time," when the Yorubas started to migrate westward. In his story we see the figures of the leaders projected against a cloudy background of legend, whereon they are enlarged, like the shadows of the Brocken, to the stature of giants, and raised to the heights of godhead. In the chronicles of Bello, Sultan of Sokoto, mention is made of a tradition (probably purely Islamic) that the Yorubas are descended from the expelled Canaanites (who have been "found" in nearly as many places as the Lost Tribes), driven into North Africa, whence they crossed the Sahara under a leader called Oduduwa, ancestor of the present Yoruba royal families. Mr. Ajisafe records a tradition that the leader's real name was Momo, and that he assumed the title of Oduduwa (the Self-Existent). In course of time Oduduwa has become a deity, but has changed his sex, being now usually identified (according to Mr. Amaury Talbot) with the Earth Goddess, his function of Creat having been transferred to his son, Awiranyan, who has become the Sky-God, and whose second son, Shango, is now worshipped as the God of lightning and thunder. There is no real historical information available for the ages preceding the eighteenth century, and so that early history must wait until archæologists have dug up the relics of the past. Tradition begins to tread upon firmer ground with the story of the founding of Abeokuta. After a welter of intertribal scuffles a party of refugees made dwellings in caves in the Olumo Rock, which they described as Abeokuta—Under the Rock. The oracle of Ifé having pronounced the site a prosperous one "about the end of July, or early in August, 1830, Chief Sodeke . . . marched the whole Egba tribes out of Oke Ona to Abeokuta.

Egba Legends.

The Alake who will, of course, take a leading part in the celebration, claims descent from Oduduwa and his wife, Omonide, who had six sons and one daughter, the eldest of whom is progenitor of the Kings of Benin. The second and third sons, the Ala-Ketu and the Al-Ake, are said to have settled together in Katu, where the Alake taught the people weaving. Later on the Alake moved into the Egba Forest, where his mother joined him and resided with him till her death. The Egbas have now an inclination for urban life, but were originally farmers, hunters, and traders among whom the ties of kinship were strong, "each kinsman was his kinsman's keeper, bound to protect him from wrong . . . and to suffer with and pay for him if wrong were done." The social system is said to have been organised by a gigantic hero named Lisabi, the Egba Samson, who delivered his countrymen from the tyranny of Oloyo of Oyoro, youngest son of Oduduwa. He is credited with the foundation of the Egba Aro, or Mutual Aid Society, from which sprang the Egba Ologun, the military organisation. The civil government was conducted by a council divided into sections—the Ogboni, who were the legislators and judges, the Olorogun or war chiefs, the Parakoyi or Chamber of Commerce, and the Odé or hunters, who guarded the towns and repaired the roads. The present ruler, Alake Ademola II. and his people will have the best wishes of all interested in West Africa for the future prosperity of their country. W. F. H.

Nov 12, 1930 Sierra Leone

TWO FACTS LEFT OUT IN THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR AND THE LOCAL NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

Weekly News 11-22-30

To the Editor of the WEEKLY NEWS.

Sir,—I read with interest and concern the interview which the Executive Committee of the Congress of British West Africa, Sierra Leone Branch, had with His Excellency Governor Byrne. The Congress stressed on one aspect of the inconvenience, viz;—Travelling facilities—and apparently omitted another very important aspect which will create a lot of inconvenience and hardship. The sub-District of Bonthe is considered part of the Colony proper and property is acquired and sold and waste places recovered from Swamps which became the property of the reclaimer so that the people of the sub-District of Bonthe enjoy the same privileges which are ours in the Colony proper. We therefore hope and pray that the Chiefs at Bonthe District will not be given the status of the Chiefs of the Protectorate proper over the people in the Bonthe District so that they will begin to call upon them to lease their lands and pay settlers fees, e.c. We say this because a quarter of a mile on the Bullom Shore was considered and acknowledged as part of the Colony, and the settlers on that portion of the Bullom Shore from time immemorial enjoyed the liberty of owning and acquiring lands, selling and cultivating what was their inheritance without as far as we know any reference to the Bullom Chiefs. Since for the purpose of economic administration that portion was included in the Protectorate area, the settlers have been called upon to lease their lands and pay settlers fees to the Chiefs. Formerly when that portion was considered part of the Colony land, slaves who were badly treated escaped from their oppressive masters and no one could touch them because their feet were on British soil. These slaves formed a new settlement in the Mission Lands called "Master Yard" under the then Missionary Pastor of that District enjoyed all the freedom of British Subjects. Since this new arrangement under the guise of economic administration took place this settlement was broken up and these native settlers escaped to Freetown. Even the Sierra Leone settlers who are now living there are groaning under heavy burdens imposed by the Chiefs and many things are being done to them which can not stand the light of day. A Mr. Shyllon wrote once in the papers calling attention to this oppressive local taxation, and it appears that he was brought before the District Commissioner with the Newspaper in which he wrote, and the District Commissioner after reading it, dismissed the case. But there is a rumour that the Chief is not satisfied but is making arrangement to recommend Mr. Shyllon's banishment from his District, and the consequent confiscation of the plantation his father left him: Those who were wise enough to use the lands within the area of the Colony to make profitable plantations are called upon now to pay heavy sums for lease. The people there sit down like dumb dogs and are afraid to bring their grievances before His Excellency the Governor, and to pray for relief.

We hope that the incorporation of the Bonthe District into the Central Province of the Protectorate in these smooth words as being done on account of economic pressure is not the same putting in of the cloven foot so as to bring oppression and unsettlement into the Bonthe District so that the Chiefs may extort plenty of money to buy rum and get drunk.

2. Another point which wants fuller and more sympathetic consideration is what is embodied in these remarks of His Excellency the Governor "One of the main reasons for desiring that Officer (Political) to reside in Freetown was on account of the large influx of Protectorate Youths finding their way into the City wandering about and increasing the number of unemployed, instead of remaining in Freetown only to find a way to the Prison." If His Excellency the Governor knows what is going on in the Protectorate he will certainly revise his opinion that the Political Officers in the Protectorate are acquainted with the condition of things and the hard lives of the peoples in the Protectorate. In an after Dinner conversation in the Protectorate some time ago ex-Governor Sir Leslie Probyn was told by a high placed official that the Government was the greatest Slave-Dealer in the Protectorate.

The official explained this *inter alia* by referring to the forced labour that was being carried on without even food and under heavy fines for late coming or absence. The result was that in the opening of the next Legislative Council Sir Leslie Probyn decided that each labourer should be paid. Small wonder then that now in that Province during the administration of Commissioner Ross the native workmen were paid for work done and forced labour was not so strong there. Now, the Protectorate Youths are forced to come to the Colony proper because of the almost inhuman oppression that seem to be going on. The natives are forced to make the Chiefs' Farms, to do all Public Buildings for the Chiefs, all Government Buildings, and the monies for the work done are paid to the Chiefs: and if they refuse to turn up or are late, they are fined heavily; and they have to provide their food while doing these public works. Over and above that, they are fined heavily at Court even beyond their means and if they can manage a little time to make a small farm, the Chief's portion is also demanded. If you produce a good quantity of

rice in your farm, the Chief is sure to know it and some charge is brought against you to take all that rice away. Whereas in the Colony you can summon a man for petty debt for 10l or 1s., in the Protectorate, the least summons fee is 5s. 6d. besides the Messengers' fee. Further, if you show any attitude of resistance or unwillingness to conform to the Chiefs dictates, you are either recommended for imprisonment or for deportation. Under such a system the Protectorate youths run to the Colony because they recognise the truth of the local adage "Free better pass country." In the Colony they have no tax to pay except a little rent in Freetown. In the villages they are employed to stay in properly built houses vacated by their owners to find a living elsewhere and, in some villages where the real Sierra Leoneans are few our sisters evangelise them, get them baptised and after that marry them. With all these advantages what youth will not leave the oppressive atmosphere of up-Country life under these ignorant Chiefs who are given boundless powers, to seek for freedom elsewhere. Let the Political Officers try to study the difficult life up-Country let them not allow gifts of fowls and baskets of eggs and other gifts left behind by aspirants to Chieftaincy, to blind their eyes, and then, and not till then, will the Protectorate youth keep at their home base. Life in the Protectorate was sweeter and happier, before the Political Officers began to back up the chiefs to oppress their people; then it was difficult to get a man to leave his work to become a chief; they hid themselves like Saul of old to escape it because of its responsibilities: but now with the sudden prosperity which chieftaincy brings in its train, aspirants spend a lot of money, taking loans, bribing all concerned to bring their claims into greater relief.—Yours etc.,

A ROVER FOR OVER TWENTY YEARS IN THE PROTECTORATE.

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

IV.

BY E. M. ROLRIC.

From what has hitherto appeared in the Local Press, it seems not at all clear that when the Congress is spoken of, it covers the meeting in conclave of Representatives of the four British West African Colonies as by its laws constituted. Otherwise, each Section is but a branch to which belongs the right to promote schemes for its local welfare and improvement, whilst contributing and promoting its quota of support to the general aims of the Organisation.

Up to the present, the Gold Coast has been the headquarters of Congress from whence all plans and direction are received by each local branch which has the obligation loyally to give due attention to the same. One of the duties of the local branches is to make an annual financial contribution in support of the General Secretary also to enable that officer to carry out the duties of his office in the matter of printing and circulating various documents relating to the working of Congress. Next to the devotion and praiseworthy service of the late President, Mr. Casely Hayford, is that of the indefatigable and conscientious General Secretary Mr. Samuel Woode who has proved himself worthy of the position he has held since the inauguration of Congress. It is reported that at the time of the lamented decease of the President, Mr. Woode was absent from home, touring certain Districts in the interest of Congress, and up to recently he has been busy compiling and getting documents of the recent Congress held in Lagos for circulation. It will astonish some of those who write so glibly and, of course ignorantly about what the Congress has done since its inception, to read the masterly marshaling of these important facts by the esteemed Secretary when they are published and circulated.

We have no time to be bandying with words; We think the situation of more moment and presses so heavily on our sense of honour to allow ourselves to be swerved from the purpose we have set before us in contributing these articles for the edification and inspiration of our countrymen. From the foregoing it is altogether foolish, if not childish, to talk of the Congress as dead even, if it is true, any Section became inactive for some time. But is it difficult for any one with even elementary commonsense to appreciate that the irreparable blow which has fallen on the Congress by the demise of its Honourable President and the implications of such sad event were enough to rouse any Section to action? and would it not have proved to the dignity and up to its commitment if that event had produced on this Sierra Leone Section more power to co-operate, concentrate and make its own solid contribution to every aspect of the very elastic programme of Congress whether it pertains to the domestic improvement of a section, or the general welfare? Can any unbiassed mind say that such an event was the opportunity for dissipation of energies in the direction of a reduplication of efforts to achieve the very same ends in the Congress's Programme? This is the point at issue, and we want any who has something to advance on that point to give expression to his views. The illustration of Rats deserting a sinking ship appears as puerile as it is unworthy and by no means, a fine compliment to the members of Congress who have been persuaded to join the new Association. We have made it very clear that we have no bitterness against the move *per se* but what we say is has there been shown any reasonable ground why this new creation should come in even at a time, let us surmise, when such members had grown despondent because, like that species of the rodont tribe they felt their ship was sinking? Is their mentality no higher than that of a rat? The allusion to Lagos is distorting and mischievous; for every one knows, at least, ought to know, that all the Associations referred to were existing before Congress; and those who knew of the internal conditions of the Colony would realise how it was so difficult to get them to join forces in the formation of Congress. But has not Lagos at long last, set a noble and progressive example? Was not the last Congress held there, a remarkably successful one? We do not in any way like to be personal; but will the Rev. F. H. Johnson suffer an illustration deducible from the arguments he has advanced. He is at present Superintendent of the Zion Wilberforce Street Circuit: how would be regard the action of some of his members, if they felt he was not doing his duty by them and their circuit, and instead of meeting together and discussing the situation, they should go and arrange to form a new society, and so *like the rats* desert their sinking ship? We think the situation requires some more seriousness.

As a religious leader he should be prepared to take his own share of blame for the failure of his people and not be so ready to be putting in cold print what he conceives are their faults and failures. If as a people we have passed from infancy to decrepitude, how has he tried to avert such a calamity? *Like priests like people.*

We think such an attitude does more harm than good. All that it appears Mr. Johnson has done for the Congress is that he preached sermons and offered to go round to interview some leading lights of the organisation (sic) and when he has done that he feels that justification is founded to proclaim from his pulpit of the Church of a Brother Minister who is an active member of the Congress, that the Congress is dead. If such a course commends itself to a man who boasts of his long standing in the Wesleyan Ministry and who is able to recount what adverse opinion has been expressed by this man or that of his people, *himself not included*, then we have nothing more to say, but to let him alone and proceed *on the even tenor of our way* with the Congress Movement. We hope however our people will see the point we are stressing—co-operation of forces and not dissipation of energies ought to be our aim. The men, at least, the active ones who are now leading the new Association *except of course Mr. Johnson*, are also members of Congress and it is for them to make sure that whilst they undertake such a dual responsibility they do not make their interests in the Congress to wane or become nominal as in [illegible]

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

BY E. M. ROLRIC.

The public acknowledgment of the achievements of the Director of Education, Mr. H. S. Keigwin, M.B.E., by the National Congress in this City; though, as some have expressed, unique, yet is but the natural outcome of an admiration of work well done within so short a period and with as little noise as possible. This is contained in a Resolution published by the *West Africa Mail and Trade Gazette* in its issue of the 8th instant. No one reading such chronicle of what Mr. Keigwin has accomplished, but must admit that he was not an ordinary Educationist. In a Colony like Sierra Leone always conservative, individualistic in specializing in expert knowledge or another; it takes no ordinary genius to have effected the Amalgamation of the primary schools in the Colony as was done by Mr. Keigwin. We would leave out the vexed question as expressed by the journal above referred to, going behind to find the motive for the amalgamation for it requires only thinking to realize that it is simply absurd for any one to talk of the intention of lowering the standard of Education by Government, when the whole matter is in the hands of the people who hitherto have been recognized and consulted in matters concerning the welfare of their children; or, unless those who have been described as Educationists with the emolument have by such advantages been so demoralised that they would become parties to the sinister project. We refuse to insult our intelligence by so thinking. However that is not in the line of our thought this week. The Congress in the Sierra Leone Section has performed a duty which is of an inestimable value.

We would ask our readers to look at the resolution and note the various feats accomplished. Mr. Keigwin showed unmistakeably that he stood for the rights and advancement of the African and in every way possible during his stay in this Colony, demonstrated this principle, to such an extent that in some quarters, it is strongly believed that thereby he had become "an offence" to some of his Countrymen. We quite admit the other Directors of Education have contributed their own share, but unless one has forgotten the scheme which Mr. Keigwin adumbrated and which is now being put into effect, there could be no difficulty to his being acknowledged as Prince amongst his fellows. And who would not be grateful and ever cherish the remembrance of this devoted Friend of the African for the solution he gave of the tangle there was to the functioning of the S. B. Thomas Agricultural Academy. At that juncture, what could have saved that estate from the thump of the Auctioneer's hammer? What could have driven the Trustees of the Will of the late Benefactor from eating humble pie by proclaiming abroad that they were not able to carry out their "trust" except that at the psychological moment Mr. Keigwin entered the scene to relieve the then Governor of an unenviable notoriety that he it was that led the way for the turning down of a scheme that was calculated to benefit the boys of the Colony. Mr. Keigwin took the matter up and made the solution by which the Academy has been able to function and it is left with those responsible to prove faithful and worthy of their trust to make the object of the Benefactor a blessing to the Country. Then take the Improvement that is being experienced in the work of Female Teachers. Any one who may enter the Infant Schools of the City will discover the result of this effort of Mr. Keigwin. In the past, Female teachers were merely engaged without any training; they sat to no course of lectures and took no examinations Mr. Keigwin has changed all that, and to-day there are the first fruits of his labour of Female Teachers engaged in the Schools of the City putting their training into practical effect. There seems something uncanny about the retirement of Mr. Keigwin. There is the belief in some quarters that it was hastened on. Whether so or not, we believe always that "there is a Divinity that shapes our ends." It has been announced that this useful and conscientious friend of the African is due for retirement and that is what concerns us.

There cannot be any doubt that the resolution of the Committee of Congress has expressed the feeling of the majority, if we would allow the suggestion that there are two sides of the question but which must certainly be the side of the majority and that of the minority. We think the resolution has given expression to the feelings of majority and there can be no gainsay of the real cogent facts thus expressed. It remains for the expression of every good wish for the devoted and Trusty Director wherever his lot may be cast. The next question is who shall be his successor? This point has received particular notice; in the resolution, and we wait to see whether there are any of contrary view to the prayer that Government may wisely select as his successor one of his own type in learning, breadth of view, depth of sympathy, and resource of humour. Someone *outside the scene* would answer the purpose. We would emphasize this part very seriously that there should be no compromise of the situation. We want as Director of Education a Gentleman of strong will and purpose, loyal to the dictates of his conscience, and of a progressive turn of mind, sympathetic and keen, without prejudice, to solve the problems of African mind. It is certain that to satisfy such a qualification it would be necessary to explore the wider area than that which our own circle furnishes. His Excellency the Governor has always allowed the wishes of the people to prevail when they do not clash with the policy of Government. He has done his best for the Colony but it must be confessed that it is a double calamity that two such benefactors of the

Colony are to be taken away from us at the same time, His Excellency and Mr. Keigwin. The least Government could do in consolation therefore His Excellency is to make a fair representation of the strong desire of the people that some new expert educationist should be appointed as Successor.

Race Problem - 1930
Africa

GOLD COAST LETTER.

AN AFRICAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

A group of prominent Gold Coast Africans are planning to hold an economic conference before the end of the year to consider the many problems of the cocoa trade, concerning which there has been much correspondence of late through the call of Mr. Youngman to the farmer to meet the exporter and so cut out middlemen's profits. The replies he has received may be divided into classes,—those from farmers and those from middlemen,—but both are influenced by the one fact that, while cocoa is bought from the farmer at a cost, including bags and other expenses, of somewhere about £22 a ton, the local price of manufactured chocolate works out at about £148 a ton.

Before all else, therefore, the farmer needs to be shown a clear summary of the economic side of cocoa manufacture, for until he understands it no proposal to increase consumption will attract his interest, and he will continue to say, as he has said, that the "Gold Coast cocoa trade is the greatest cheating trade known." The objection of the middle-man to his own elimination is too obvious to need repetition, but the farmer also objects, arguing that ultimately prices will be so arranged that the buyer's commissions fall to the European, and that under the present system the commissions at least remain in the country and add to local purchasing power.

Mr. Youngman has proposed a round-table conference of all interested, but in such circumstances it is almost impossible to obtain a frank exchange of views, and in view of the direct evidence available of European efforts to control prices, Africans see little advantage in being able to check those prices by application to the Agricultural Department, as suggested by him. The best hope of progress would appear to be through a development of the co-operative movement, whereby farmers would not only improve the actual quality of their produce, and cut down commissions to the minimum, but would obtain through unity the confidence and ability to meet the European merchants in that fuller co-operation that alone can bring about the permanent stability of the industry.

Riot at Appam and Asamangkese.

The rivalry of two town companies has led to serious results at Appam. One of the companies adopted emblems to which the other took exception, but the choice was upheld by official support. Not unnaturally, this "victory" led to the singing of sarcastic songs and to the interchange of jibes whenever members of the two parties met, and feeling grew until the celebration of the annual festival, corresponding to "Homowo," on September 26. Apparently the dispute on the day in question began with interchange of insults among the women, but the men quickly joined in, and one company attacked the other with guns and other weapons. The casualties from gunfire are estimated at 40 to 45, but about 140 houses are said to have been burned, and it is believed that a number of persons perished in them. The District Commissioner of Winneba hastened to the spot with such police as he could raise, but the affair was then beyond his control. At Asamangkese a critical situation has arisen as the result of the continued defiance of Sir Ofori Atta by the people in spite of the recent legal decision of the dispute, and 60 police and a company of the Gold Coast Regiment have been despatched to the town, which has been "proclaimed" under the Peace Preservation Ordinance. This strong action is evidently the fulfilment of the promise made by Sir Ransford Slater in the Legislative Council, but the new Omanhene of Asamangkese states in letters published in the press that such a display of force is uncalled-for, and that trouble could be avoided if Sir Ofori Atta were to approach him according to local custom through a neutral Chief. Apparently, however, this is regarded as a new attempt to assert independence of Akim Abuakwe, and the situation remained critical until the presence of the troops led the Omanhene of Asamangkese to meet Sir Ofori's messenger, when matters were soon settled, and the troops left the place on October 14. In the meantime the facts of the case have been cabled to the Secretary of State by Mr. Kojo Thompson, solicitor for the Asamangkese people.

Medals for Carriers.

More than once WEST AFRICA has urged the giving of medals to carriers who served in the Great War, and it is therefore welcome news that the Gold Coast Government has at last decided to apply to the Imperial Government for an issue of British War Medals in bronze to carriers and steward boys who served with the Gold Coast Regiment. Applicants for medals are asked to send to the Staff Officer, Gold Coast Regiment, Kumasi, supporting their application with an affidavit or by a certificate of personal knowledge by some responsible person, and it is a pity that the issue has been left so late, as such certificates may now prove hard to obtain. Is it too much to ask that the same recognition of their services be now extended to the non-combatants from the other Colonies, whose aid contributed so greatly to the successful campaigns in Togo, the Cameroon, East Africa, and elsewhere?

Medical Scholarships for Africans.

The Gold Coast Government has made a welcome announcement that scholarships of the value of £300 per annum for five years may be given to deserving Africans for the study of medicine in the United Kingdom. The scholarship will also include £50 outfit allowance, medical expenses up to £50, a second-class passage to the United Kingdom, and a first-class back on successful completion of the course, or, in deserving circumstances, an extension of the scholarship. Naturally, the requirements include education to matriculation standard and periodical certificates of progress, and there is nothing in the regulations confining the benefit to one sex, although no doubt the standard of education needed will raise a practical barrier for some years to come.

The revenue and expenditure of the Gold Coast for the first quarter of 1930-31 amount to £690,245 and £835,489, as compared with £676,616 and £736,828 for a similar period last year.

Mr. H. H. A. Van Meerbeeck has returned to Accra and resumed his duties as Consul for the Netherlands.

THE UNITED STATES AND WEST AFRICA.

A TRADE COMMISSIONER'S STATEMENTS ON COAST MATTERS.

[FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.]

New York, October 28.—An American Trade Commissioner in one of the British West African Colonies recently reported that a European firm (not British) established there proposes shortly to replace its African clerical staff with European accountants, and will equip them with business machines whereby two such European accountants will be able to perform the work formerly done by eight Africans. The report goes on to mention alleged losses suffered by trading firms through falsification of their books by incompetent (or, presumably, dishonest) servants, and states that local banks are using methods which had ceased to be up to date at the end of last century—(i.e., few appliances such as typewriters and immense numbers of books).

Several interesting questions arise from these statements. Are the clerical and book-keeping methods of West African trading firms so far behind those of the rest of the world? Do these firms flight shy of the use of modern office machinery? If so, why? Is the average of probity among African book-keepers lower than among European? Are the business methods of the Coast branches of British banks 30 years behind those of their affiliated banks at home? What evidence supports such assertions?

To me it would seem that even though the introduction of adding, calculating and book-keeping machines and cash registers, etc., should be desirable or necessary, such introduction should take place gradually, concurrently with the training of Africans in their use. There can hardly be any question that Africans can learn to operate modern office appliances competently and it would be unfortunate if other firms should follow the example of the one mentioned, thus gradually closing to educated Africans one of the comparatively few vocations open to them. However, the question of how far business methods on the Coast are behind those of other countries remains; and it would be interesting to have it investigated.

A pecularity of New York which I have not seen mentioned in the press is its custom of demonstrating outside the British Consulate, which is on the eighth floor of an office building at the southern tip of Manhattan Island—otherwise, in the shipping district not far from the financial (Wall Street) section. When events occur in the world which can even remotely be attributed to some action by some one Government of the British Empire, a procession will start from some part of New York and ultimately find its way down to the open space outside the Consulate. There appears to be no record of any of the various demonstrators having entered the building—let alone the Consulate premises. Speeches are made outside and meetings then disperse, whether they consist of Jews protesting about Palestinian policy, so-called Communists protesting about something in India or people just having some vague collective grievance. The police are usually able to prevent disorder without much effort, whereas their actions when they break up demonstrations at the City Hall would, in England earn them long sentences at hard labour for assault and battery and attempted manslaughter.

Inasmuch as such demonstrations never seem to occur outside the Consulates of other countries

(although there are thousands of Syrians in the city who should logically have demonstrated outside the French Consulate after the Damascus massacres, etc.) one wonders whether the habit is an historically instinctive one, dating from the time when England was regarded as the enemy, the oppressor, the country to be feared. In view of the fact, however, that the vast majority of New York residents are not of XVIIIth century American stock, but descendants of comparatively recent immigrants, the explanation probably lies elsewhere. Probably the European fathers and grandfathers of these demonstrators all their lives thought of Britain as the world's greatest empire, supposedly responsible for most of what happened in the world (the international policeman), and the present generation still instinctively turns to the Empire's representative, with the vague but instinctive feeling that ultimate world-power and authority lies there. If true, this thought might be galling to good Americans, but although perhaps the whole idea is fanciful, the facts behind it are certainly as stated.

Such a demonstration must certainly be a nuisance to the Consular authorities, but it is an unintended compliment to the British.

A. A. S.

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

III.

By E. M. Rolric.

If it is true Education opens a sphere of wider vision and gives a breadth of view covering the out-stretched reaches of distant mental and moral horizon, it ought not to be difficult for the educated members of this Community to appreciate how much base reflection would come upon them, if they were to allow the Congress Movement to become parlous and moribund. It is quite true that much of its usefulness would be impaired for lack of funds, but after all, money is not the *sine qua non* of the Congress's existence and power to function. The fire of Patriotism must ring with the true combustion of self respect and nobleness of minds; whatever else may be lacking of material substance, Honour and the pride of name must always be sterling, never below par. A man's word must ever be his bond. There has been a good deal of shallow pretence, a bewildering atmosphere of unreality masquerading as public spirit.

It has been all husk carried away by the winnowing blast of the test of Time; the grain of honesty has been scarce, at least, very scanty; hence the painful instability which mocks every attempt to function we make in this Community. This is but a simple dissection of the cancer—the disease responsible for our invariable failure to do things.

Consequentially, there comes on, that lack of confidence in one another; this in its turn brings suspicion and jealousy and morbid rivalry. One looks back and mourns the loss of the great hearts who were foundation members of the Congress. It is a dogged fatality of this Community that the men who have striven to take up every good cause which was calculated for the uplift of the country, have as it were by a remorseless decree been cut down by death, one by one, and very few of their tribe may now be seen. There is an urgent duty pressing on the shoulders of the leaders of Congress in this Community. Money may be urgently required, but this is not to the extent as that of a vigorous persistent and intelligent propaganda work amongst the young men and women of the city. They need to be educated. Why should not it be the policy of the Executive Committee of Congress to invite either monthly or quarterly a number of young men and women to discuss matters which pertain to the welfare of the country and over a cup of tea which should not be beyond its capacity make easy what may at the outset appear difficult.

There are so many clubs and societies of the young at the present; whatever may be the specific objects, it ought not to be difficult to attract their interest into some definite act of helpful—co-operation, thus imperceptively affording them a training into spheres of a more serious and tangible import. It ought not to be necessary with all our boasted pretensions of education for one as it were, to strain at a gnat to make clear the difference which a sense of proportion accredits its recepients with. Except it be that one is stricken with a mental malady by which has come a restraint to the free exercise of his reasonable faculties, or has allowed his mind to be warped with prejudice, it is difficult to appreciate how satisfaction could be enjoyed as many seem to do when their aims and aspirations begin to totter and crumble and the issue is greeted with a nonchalance as though nothing had happened. What ever may be the opinion of others, it is not difficult to see that cant, unreality and deceitfulness are root plagues in the character of any people who, whatever their boasted opinion of themselves may be, have yet to learn and assimilate the rudiments of true character. This has been the cause of the undoing of many. This has been the secret of the gourdlike existence of many; flourish in a day and before the setting of the sun they fade away and "like the baseless fabric of a vision leave not a rack behind."

Now if the Congress must not die as is the conviction of some in this community that it has, the Congress must take hold of the Schools and Colleges and drive home in the mind of the youths such elementary lessons of nobility of Character and honesty of purpose. The oncoming generation must be trained to look at things from a clearer perspective and be made to scorn every thing that is mean and false. In such lines should some of the time of Congress be spent. This could be done by lectures and conference, by group studies and such like diversions which will aim at giving correct vision of life to the young people, and how its duties may best be compassed. This has been one of the set purpose of the Director of Education—Mr. H. S. Keigwin the announcement of whose severance from this Colony has come with terrific blow to many in the community. Never had the Community been blest with a man whose interest in the African people had been of such high order as has been found in Mr. Keigwin. The amount of good work he has put in, within the short time of his tenure of office has been worthy of any record. He has been a true man alive with a sense of his duty to the people amongst whom he laboured. If he became unpopular in some quarters latterly, it was because he saw what was really lacking in the development of the African as an African and he sought to retrieve it when even the very Africans, at least some of them, began to howl and growl, backed up it is believed, by speculators after selfish purposes. Mr. Keigwin was a true friend of the African and his policy would have helped to develop the aspect of character which appears to be so much lacking, and the reflection of such poverty in moral grit makes the Congress Movement to be attendant with so much difficulty.

South African Native Protectorates.

Cape Town, December 2.

Commenting on General Hertzog's opinion—expressed in an interview yesterday—that the change of the High Commissionership was an "excellent reason for handing over the control of the Native Protectorates to the Union as soon as possible," the local Nationalist newspaper contends that the Union Government by its administration of the Transkei and Zululand has proved itself capable of governing the Native Territories, and also expresses the hope that Great Britain will pay no attention to the arguments of negrophilists, who are more concerned with the political and economic rights of natives outside the Territories.

A former native administrator of eminence, Sir Walter Stanford, in a statement to the "Cape Argus," declares that the Basutos, Swazis, and Bechuanas unquestionably desire to remain under the direct control of the British Government, and "even in the Transkeian Territories, which I regard as very well governed under the old Cape system, the desire was expressed recently to be placed more directly under British control."

The "Argus" remarks:—"It is very necessary to bear in mind that something approaching unanimity would be required before the British Government would listen to an address from the Union Parliament. And the prospect of a favourable reception is much reduced by the events of the last two or three years, culminating in General Hertzog's speech to the Empire Parliamentary Association a month ago."—The "Times."

BRITISH NATIVE POLICY.

The Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament which is to consider the reports on closer union in East Africa, together with the statement of the conclusions of H.M. Government, met in private on Thursday for the first time, when Lord Stanley of Alderley was elected chairman. We are pleased to note that all future meetings will be public, and everyone connected with Africa will follow with deep interest the discussions on this vital issue. On Wednesday the Government issued a White Paper, giving the text of the correspondence between the elected members of the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia and the Colonial Office. These representations record detailed disagreement with the Government's ill-fated Memorandum of June 27 on Native Policy in East Africa. They rightly hold, and we are in entire accord with them in their contention, that "The British Empire is primarily concerned with the furtherance of the interests of British subjects of British race, and only thereafter with other British subjects, protected races, and the nationals of other countries, in that order." Now that the Joint Committee of both Houses is going into action on the question, we hope that this peculiarly apt expression of the White Settlers' views, not only in Northern Rhodesia, but throughout the wide continent of Africa, will be seriously taken into account, in spite of the Secretary of State's pronouncement that the views expressed are wholly irreconcilable with the considered policy of His Majesty's Government.

Race Problem-1930

Africa

THE "ROOINEKS" OF NIGERIA.

"The Red Men of Nigeria." By Capt. J. R. Wilson-Haffenden. (Seeley, Service and Co., Ltd., 196, Shaftesbury Avenue. 21s. net.) West Africa

Capt. Wilson-Haffenden's contributions to the journals of the African Society and of the Royal Anthropological Institute are sufficient to guarantee the interest of any book of his, but "The Red Men of Nigeria" is of particular interest, since it almost synchronises with another work, in which the Jukuns, of whom the Kwottos form a section, are held to show affinities with the Hebrews of old. Unfortunately for that hypothesis, Capt. Wilson-Haffenden treats the evolution of human beliefs in what he calls the "functional," as opposed to the "historical," manner, a method which has—to the mind of the present reviewer—the overwhelming advantage that it requires of his subjects, be they Kwottos or Fulani, Pagans or Muslims, nothing but the endowment of the ordinary human faculties vouchsafed to all of us, whatever our race, subject only to the limitations imposed by our progress in the paths of true science. Briefly, the difference between the two schools is that the "historical" would explain the origin of a custom by an elaborate process of abstract reasoning on the part of the originator. The last would make an object, say, resembling an enemy, and reason that the resemblance must be more than physical, and that by maltreating it he would thus harm his foe. The "functional" school claim that in a transport of rage the originator probably first attacked some article that reminded him of his enemy, and when, by a coincidence, the latter fell ill, traced a connection between the events and afterwards conventionalised the process. By following this second line Capt. Wilson-Haffenden often finds himself in disagreement with investigators of the other school, but his views are always eminently reasonable, although in one respect they need amplification,—in his study of origins he has almost ignored subsequent evolution, especially the conscious elaboration of magic and religion by those clever enough to see in it the opportunity of gaining power or wealth. The growth of a "fetish" practice under the stimulation of a "professional" practitioner after a lucky coincidence may as easily be studied to-day as by a reconstruction of the past, and goes to prove that magico-religious beliefs are the products of forces that include the efforts of ignorance to reproduce a miscomprehended cause-and-effect relation, the direct and natural fear of the bizarre or the unknown, the conventionalisation of natural expressions of human emotion by the many forces upon which the continuance of organised human society depends, and the deliberate acts of self-seeking individuals or groups of individuals. 12-13-30

The first seven chapters of Capt. Wilson-Haffenden's book deal with his life as an administrative officer and, while most interesting as describing the varied duties that fell to his lot, especially in his management of "political" labour for the railway construction, have little direct connection with the ethnological studies of Fulani and Kwottos, "red" and "white" men, that give the book its title. On the origin of these peoples the author expresses no opinion, but contents himself with expressing the various traditions given by the people themselves and by such investigators as Mr. H. R. Palmer, the present Governor of Gambia. The customs of the "cow" Fulani, as might be expected where the conditions of life limit the size of the social group, have remained fairly simple, but exhibit curious "sport-comradeships" (the "joking-relationships" of French writers) with Wangara and Beriberi which seem to show a former closer connection with these peoples. The fact that Fulani women, but not men, may intermarry with Beriberi, and a number of other points go to suggest that in earlier times the Fulani were to some extent subject, or indebted, to the second people. The importance of the father's relatives in the upbringing of children is common to Kwotto and Fulani, and much of the relationship of the child to his or her father's family may, Capt. Wilson-Haffenden shows, be traced to the need to avoid, in polygynous society, the strong jealousies that would arise among the sons of different mothers if each were brought up entirely within what, to European ideas, would be his natural group. It is interesting, however, to note that there are already signs among the Kwottos that the European, or biological, family-idea is being evolved, as indeed must be the case if the people are to take their place in a world which has for the most part already proved the "extended family" a bar to its further development.

One would like to hear more from observers of other adaptations to modern needs, for, useful though the old culture is undoubtedly proved to be by such books as the present, the old systems, based on family groups, cannot hope to stand in the presence of (to mention but one universally disruptive factor) means of transport that tend to reduce to nothing the powers and sanctions of the family heads and of the authorities based upon them. In the light of studies such as that of Capt. Wilson-Haffenden, the disappearance of such cultures becomes less a matter of their death than of their hastened evolution to meet the needs created by contact with other cultures that, following exactly the same course in the past, have for various reasons attained yet higher development. London, England

Probably few books in recent years have given so clear and informative a study of "primitive" customs and have at the same time contrived to retain so closely the doctrine of the essential brotherhood of man and of the universality of his intellectual and cultural heritage, and Capt. Wilson-Haffenden's work is a model to officers who are interested in the circulation of true knowledge and not merely of the titbits of the ethnological dustbin.

E. R. J.

NIGERIA, PAST, PRESENT—AND FUTURE?

West Africa

II.—PRESENT—INTROSPECTION.

12-13-30

[WRITTEN FOR "WEST AFRICA" BY GEORGE K. WEEKS.] London, England

A comparison of Nigeria of 25 years ago and that of to-day causes amazement. Quite recently a mail steamer homewards from the Coast carried about 130 European passengers, of whom 75 were women.

In the place of a few hundred pioneers, who were sometimes chided that they came to avoid a worse punishment, there are now about 5,000 Europeans in the Colony and Protectorate, a proportion wives of merchants and officials who have accompanied their husbands to make life easier and happier. A perusal of the book Europeans are requested to sign on alighting from the train at Kano reveals the names of a number of tourists who make this land a place of holiday.

Railways are commonplace. From the coast on the South-west and South-east these lines of communication form a pair of legs joining a trunk—a circuitous route in the North. A right arm penetrates the North-west, the neck is at Kano, and head awry to the east-ward; both latter members being in touch with the Sahara. Bearing the produce of a fertile land, and tapping the tinfields, these arteries of trade have

proved their worth. Restaurant cars with good food, sleeping compartments electrically illuminated and cooled make travelling fairly comfortable in a tropical country. Speed is not a forte; the compensation is safety. The coast termini are the ports of Lagos and Port Harcourt, each of which can berth—at one time—a number of the largest ocean steamers of West African trade, having the means of loading and unloading with expedition, and commodious stores for the reception and temporary accommodation of produce and cargo.

Over 5,000 miles of motorable roads connect the various Government and trading centres with the railways and ports, link markets with towns and villages with each other. A few months ago a European who had missed the mail steamer at Port Harcourt was motored from the Calabar Province in the east; a distance of 566 miles was covered in 23½ hours and the whole of South Nigeria was crossed. He caught the steamer at its next and last Nigerian port of call—Lagos—with over two hours to spare. Similarly, another motorist had his breakfast in Onitsha (on the Niger) and his dinner in Lagos the same day.

Steamship companies vie with each other in increasing size of vessels and improving speed. A measure of comfort in travelling, hitherto undreamed of, is the order of the day.

Towns have been skilfully planned in many places. Offices and other business premises are well built, in imitation stone or brick, with a view to modern efficiency. Shops have entered into competition in design with those of other lands. Houses are home-like, with up-to-date equipment. Electricity illuminates streets and buildings. Electric fans have displaced the lamp-driven variety which generated more heat than they disseminated, and made us feel hot watching the propeller blades struggle round. Some houses have refrigerators. Telephone installations are not uncommon, and trunk lines are in existence in some districts

Death's sting is now fortunately inactive in the White Man's Grave. Just over 30 years ago 28 died in Lagos out of 150 people in a few months; the figures for a recent year show 42 deaths in a European population of nearly 5,000, for the whole year. The application of the efficiency of medical science—with consequent sanitation, an influx of medical men and the erection of hospitals at strategic points, an improvement in food, the daily dose of quinine, use of the sun helmet, provision of necessary recreative exercise, have played their part in enabling health to be maintained; while a greater knowledge of the country's climate has given the necessary wisdom for reasonable precaution. A growing tendency to be callous is noticed. Feminine fashions now decree the sun helmet to be old-fashioned; double felt hats are worn at noon-day, and in the afternoon—while the sun is still high—many bare heads are seen. A warning note is necessary; death's sting has not lost its venom.

The motor trade, that prodigious infant of the business of the world, has found a home in Nigeria. Thousands of vehicles (mostly of American manufacture) are in use all over the country. Businesses have been organised which specialise in motor transport. Regular motor services operate thrice weekly right across South Nigeria, in both directions. Each section of the journey is made in a daily stage, the stages connecting consecutively. Motor traffic has grown to such an extent that police are needed to regulate it; traffic "cops" on motor-cycles attempt to prevent contravention of the motor laws. In some places the white line on the road is used. Lagos has one-way traffic in the busy parts.

Development of the Nigerian people has exceeded all possible thought. Contact with Europeans awakened a natural impulse, based on intuitive religious instinct, and created an unpredecented desire for education. Largely maintained by missionary enterprise, fostered by Government, who needed clerical and mechanical staff, this enlightening influence is quickly dispelling—in the present generation—the darkness of witchcraft and superstition. Innate fear, once so prevalent, is now almost unknown. Thousands of schools are dotted all over the country. The diversity of language of the various tribes created a difficulty which was overcome by Government's Education Department in the insistence that English be taught in all assisted schools. While serving an immediate purpose and making general administration superficially easier, it was short-sighted. The people lost part of their nationality, and Government failed to get a knowledge of the few good things in the fabric of old-time institutions, with a risk of their being lost to the people. The elimination of indigenous language in schools has caused education to savour wholly of the West, instead of combining the good in Western ideas with that of the country. Consequently, the tendency has been to produce unnatural Africans. Missions are blamed for this; they are not guilty. They resisted the wholesale teaching of English to the detriment of tribal language, but their hands were forced by Government.

Worthily imitating the good in European ideas, the inhabitants have improved their houses and living conditions. In the towns the appearance of many buildings differs but slightly from those the Europeans live in. Villages in the bush have improved their mud and wattle structures by equipping them with windows and doors high enough to walk upright through, with head-room and ventilation in the rooms. Homes are no longer hidden away, but often erected on the roadside. The health of the people is improving, and the good father—Government—has provided many hospitals where the sole objective is the care of the bodies of the Africans.

Nigeria's people are born traders. Living in the heart of the bush for a number of years, where no English was spoken, one experienced a sense of the love of bargaining. On one occasion, in ignorance, the price asked for an article of food was paid without question and the goods changed hands for money. Less than an hour had passed when the original owner came back with the cash and asked for a return of the article, stating a mistake had been made. Undoubtedly the lack of bargaining had caused the idea that the seller had been "done"; a little arguing in the first place—resulting in the buyer saving some of the cost—would have given complete satisfaction to the seller. It was common for young children to be sent by parents with goods for sale. In response to a question of price, childish innocence would state "Mother says I am to ask sixpence. If you won't pay sixpence the price is fivepence. If fivepence is too much—fourpence; if you won't give fourpence I must bring the bunch of bananas away." Women tramp a dozen or more miles to a market with sixpennyworth of goods or produce in a basket, and sometimes march home again at night without selling a thing. The return is made lightheartedly, feeling a victory has been won over others who failed to pay the price that was asked.

Studying the country reveals a growing tendency on the part of the people to depend more and more upon imported food. The desire of the younger generation for "book knowledge" has detracted many from the soil. Increased population is not producing as much food as the lesser numbers of a score or more of years past.

Administration known as "indirect rule through the Chiefs" has been attempted. Having worked well in the North, the same system has been gradually extended to the South, and now embraces the whole of Nigeria. The result has been like the curate's egg. The Nigerians' only common basis is colour. There is no comparison between the people of the North and South, while those in the West differ entirely from those in the East. Over a score of tribes make up the population of the country, each speaking a separate language—with dialect distinction in each language, having diverse customs and tendencies; with a difference between them as great as that of the European nations. To place responsibility upon them is good, but the policy needs to be moulded in each instance to fit particular tribal conditions.

A spirit of independence, consequent upon enlightenment, is growing. Women, who had been looked upon as property, are gaining a freedom in life. Recent riots in the South-East are proof. To consider this a manifestation of primitive savagery is error; it is a newborn feature. The barbarous method used in demonstration is the deplorable factor. Human nature was ever prone to such mistakes. Knowledge of the language and better acquaintance with tribal customs on the part of Government's representatives would have helped to an understanding of the situation before it reached troublesome proportions.

World trade depression is now being felt in Nigeria. There is a probability that the older trading companies are responsible for the acute manner in which this depression is affecting the country. The Great War, and the years immediately following, caused Nigeria to attract a full share of the world's attention. Established trade then assumed a dog-in-the-manger attitude. Fresh enterprise, often in the shape of the "small man," attempted to begin business in places hitherto untouched. The older companies followed—sheep-like—opening up around the newcomer. The new venture, remunerative for single effort, was swamped by the crowd; uneconomic competition resulted, a condition which has spread all over the country. The people benefited temporarily, but rational effort in the time of the "boom" would have produced results lastingly beneficial to all.

The present situation has its problems. Quite naturally Nigeria's sons and daughters are at a loss to understand that their response to the instruction of Government and others to improve the indigenous products of their country is giving them a smaller return to-day than was received from the crude effort of a decade past. A youthful people knows nothing of the lands beyond the sea and the circumstances that determine price. Acceptance of the position is therefore difficult.

Adverse conditions establish character; this truth in individual life can be proved in the community. The abnormal progress apparent during the past few years is being slowed down. Retardation has a redeeming feature in that it must develop the resourcefulness of the Nigerian. He need not worry about world markets. Living in an extremely fertile country, so prolific that sticks used to build houses are known to take root and branches appear inside the buildings, these people can afford to ignore the fruit of their land which has attracted the man from oversea.

While the European bemoans the fact of the supply of oleagenous products being greater than the demand, the African has an opportunity of using the fertility of his land to yield other vegetable produce for which there is need. Law has preserved to him his land; now is the time for him to show his ability and demonstrate to the world that all is well with Nigeria

Race Problem—1930

Africa.

Native Teachers' Claim.

Anna Zahnstunder
9-Th-30
("Star")
Kingwilliamstown
South Africa.

An extraordinary financial situation has been revealed within the past few days in the Transvaal Education Department. It appears that the department is liable, under its own regulations, for arrear payments of increases and allowances to Native teachers dating back to 1928. These teachers have not been paid, and at the present moment it is estimated that a sum of £25,000 is required to meet the department's obligations

A Native teacher in Johannesburg has tested the validity of his claim in law, and he has received the amount due to him.

Should the other teachers entitled to these arrears choose to issue a summons against the Department, it will mean that, roughly, 1,031 demands will be made for payment, and the Department may be seriously embarrassed. The position is that the Union Government will have to find the necessary £25,000, for the province cannot tax for Native education.

In 1929 the Education Department published a handbook, T.E.D. 341 containing regulations referring to an increased scale of salaries and allowances for Native teachers in the Transvaal. The regulations were gazetted in March, 1929, and it was expressly stated that they would become operative from April 1, 1928.

The Native teachers of the province naturally expected to be paid in accordance with the terms of the regulations, and it came as an unpleasant surprise to them to find that the regulations were regarded as a dead letter by the Department. The Native Teachers' Association held at least two meetings of protest with Mr Scott, the late Director of Education, and one meeting was later held at which Dr Viljoen, the present Director of Education, was present. According to information given to a representative of The Star to-day the only excuse advanced at these meetings for the non-payment of arrears was that the Department had not the money available. It was pointed out however, that if the issue was forced, the inevitable result would be a reduction of establishment all round and a full stop would be put to the development of Native education in the Transvaal for several years.

FORMAL DEMAND ISSUED.

Feeling that this was a position which clearly called for public vindication Mr J. R. Rathebe called upon his solicitors, Messrs Benson and Smits and asked them formally to demand from the Department of Education payment of the salary increases and special allowances due to him.

Mr. A. S. Benson in the course of an interview with a representative of The Star to-day, outlined the course affairs had taken since he was approached by his client, Mr. Rathebe.

A letter of demand was written to the Department of Education on May 14 last. On May 22 a reply was received from Pretoria stating: "The Department is not at the present time in a position to pay allowances laid down in the regulations, owing to lack of funds. It is hoped that funds for these allowances will be available in the course of a few weeks."

On June 19 Mr. Benson again wrote to the Department asking when Mr. Rathebe might expect a cheque for the amount due to him, and pointing out in the letter that to a Native the money owing by the Provincial Administration was a serious item. He trusted that payment would not be unduly delayed.

To this letter a reply was received on June 23 stating that "It is hoped to pay the increased emoluments due to Native teachers, as laid down in the regulations, at the end of July next The allowances will be payable as from July 1, 1930."

Mr. Benson's reply to this was to issue summons immediately. Under the law a Government department is given three weeks in which to enter appearance. On the 22nd day after summons had been issued the Government attorneys communicated with Mr. Benson and told him they were not entering any appearance to defend, and that there was no defence to the action. They pointed out however, that the summons would require some slight adjustment of the amount payable.

SUGGESTION FOR CONFERENCE.

Then the Director of Education, in consequence of these proceedings, asked the Native teachers' organisation to meet him in conference, but upon the advice of their attorney the Native teachers declined this offer, as it was felt that the matter had then gone too far to be dealt with departmentally. It was then suggested that a meeting should take place between the attorney for these teachers, the Government attorney and the Executive Committee of the Provincial Council. This meeting took place on Thursday, August 21.

According to Mr. Benson, the Administrator admitted liability to all Native teachers in the Transvaal, and stated that according to the Department's accountant, the amount at issue was approximately £25,000, and that this money at present could not be found. The Administrator stated that, of course, the money could actually be paid if circumstances demanded it, but it meant an absolute deadlock in Native education in the province. Establishments would have to be reduced all round, school building would have to stop, registration of new schools would have to cease, and all development would be speeded

NEW CONFERENCE ARRANGED.

Mr. Benson declared that the position was then so very serious that he suggested that the matter be referred to the Union Government or to the Native Affairs Department in order that it should be properly ventilated and discussed. He contended that the matter should be placed on a proper basis from a financial point of view once and for all.

It has now been arranged that when the Minister of Native Affairs arrives in Pretoria early in September a round table conference will take place between the Minister, the Administrator of the Transvaal and Mr. Howard Pim, Advocates Schreiner and Ramsbottom, and Mr. A. S. Benson, as representing the Native Teachers' Association. In the particular case of Mr. J. R. Rathebe, who demanded the money due to him, Mr. Benson declared that a cheque for the necessary amount had been received

Native Opinion
Good Provokes Evil.
of South Africa
9-7-30

History has it that over eighty years ago the military authorities stationed at Ngqakayi in the Peddie District came to Chief Maqoma in search of a place with water, as Peddie was dry and waterless. Chief Maqoma gave them the present place where Fort Beaufort is situated. His councillors objected to the grant of the ground for the reason that the place was where their cattle rested after drinking from the Kat River. But Chief Maqoma, insisted in the grant, saying "Water was one of those necessaries that could never be refused even to strangers, how much to the whites who were the friends of my father Ngqika." The ground was granted and Fort Beaufort was built.

Now, in August, 1930 the descendants of the very people who granted Fort Beaufort the present site 80 years ago, came to the Fort Beaufort Town Council for permission to water their stock on account of the recent drought, and the reply is "That a letter be sent to James Ngcelwane, Headman of Healdtown Location informing him that the Council is unable to grant facilities to water their stock in the commonage owing to the danger of bringing jointed cactus on to the ground which has already been cleared." A good deed does not always provoke, even if it deserves, another.

The Native Problem.

Native Opinion of South Africa

[By "Inquirer,"]

9-7-30

Sir, I am of opinion that "Wayfarer" who wrote, on the above subject, in your issue of June 5 unobtrusively laid bare the root of the segregation falacy, and was logically correct when he said that the evolutionists or materialists are afraid to appear publicly with their faces unmarked; and that the nefarious doctrine of evolution is the only ground on which the present governments' Native policy may be justified. He contrasted the teachings of Charles Darwin with those of Jesus Christ, and probably knew Professor Hugley the chief evolutionist. Why does Rev Ross recommend Professor Thompson to him.

If evolution is not a doctrine it is neither a theory but a hypothesis. Doctrine (1) Teaching, instruction, (2) That which is taught; what is held, put forth as true and supported by a teacher, a school, or a sect, a principle or position, or the body of principles, in any branch of knowledge, any tenet or dogma; a principle of faith as, the doctrine of atoms; the doctrine of chances. The doctrine of gravitation." "Theory (1) A doctrine, or scheme of things, which terminates in speculation or contemplation, without a view to practice; hypothesis; speculation." "Hypothesis. (1) A supposition, a proposition or principle which is supposed or taken for granted in order to draw a conclusion or inference for proof of the point in question sometimes not proved, but assumed for the purpose of argument, or to account for a fact or an occurrence; as the hypothesis that head winds detain an overdue steamer. Webster's Dictionary pp. 441, 1496, 722.

It is not enough to say, this theory supplies the strongest argument in favour of not giving the Natives," as Rev B J Ross infers in "Imvo" of August 1930 but must be proved that the doctrine of evolution is beneficent and not nefarious (as Wayfarer says it is). Rev Ross's pleasant views which Wayfarer recommended were not those of expecting him ignorant of not holding the theory of evolution "Evolutionist (1) one who [illegible] evolutions (2) one who believes in the doctrine of evolution, either in biology or in metaphysics" Webster's Dictionary p. 518, Rev Ross has signally failed to answer a single point Wayfarer's argument.

Government By Opinion

Mr. Jansen, the Minister of Native Affairs can be credited for being candid in his expressions. At Umtata last week he openly told the four thousand Natives congregated in pitso that "the Government had to deal with the position as it was, and the Natives must remember the Government cannot go further than white public opinion will permit." No matter how painful it is to listen to the foregoing expression, the structure of all legislation by the Union Parliament is founded on this solemn truth. We admire Mr. Jansen for the courage of expressing openly what all politicians and statesmen fear to give out. What whites as a race cannot suffer to be done to Natives, the Government dare not do. The land question as embodied in the recommendations of the Beaumont and Scully commissions is a clear example of how whites will not give and take in the solution of the problem. The laws of the land are framed and passed in a manner that will satisfy only white public opinion. No matter how far the principle of equity and justice is sacrificed where Natives are concerned, the opinion of whites must prevail. So said the Jews to Pilate the judge in the biblical trial of our Lord Jesus Christ. All christians, including the Native Affairs Minister, admit what a catastrophe it was for Pilate to succumb to the public opinion of the Jews. But in this country our politics do not run *pari passu* with christian belief and principle no matter how eloquent and convincing the sermons our pastors preach from the pulpits. The curse that ultimately befell the public whose opinion condemned our Lord is universally known for decades past. The words uttered by Mr. Jansen, viz. "Natives must remember the Government cannot go further than white public opinion will permit," will be recorded in the minds of our people in ineffaceable characters and never to be forgotten, in the same way as Mr. Havenga's dictum that "the attitude of the Government was that South Africa must be made a white man's country," expressed in the Union Assembly on the 7th February 1929 in the "No Confidence Vote."

The reply given by Mr. Jansen at Umtata on the franchise question when the Tembu paramount chief likened the Native vote to a jacket, was an attempt to treat the important franchise question with levity. The Minister failed to state the reasons why European voters clung so tenaciously to the individual franchise when it was a centuries old jacket to them.

Gone at Notes.

Native Opinion of South Africa

10-9-7-30

Native Teachers' Salaries

The South African Native Teachers' Federation consisting of all teachers in the Union is piloting a test case in the Courts, through one of its members, a Mr. Rathebe of Johannesburg. The case is the result of the failure of Union Provincial authorities to pay the stipulated increments according to the scale of teachers' salaries laid down in 1928. The amounts claimed cover the period for the year 1929 and part of 1930. The reason assigned by the provincial authorities is that the Minister of Finance representing the central Government has not paid out the necessary funds prior to July 1930. Professor D. D. T. Jabavu of Fort Hare is treasurer of the test case funds. On Saturday, 23 August a Reuter message from Johannesburg was circulated, which details the outcome of the test case in the following terms: "An extraordinary financial position has been revealed in the past few days in the Transvaal Education Department. It appears that the Department is liable under its own regulations for arrear payments of the salary increase and allowances to Native teachers dating back to 1928. These teachers have not been paid, and at present it is estimated that a sum of £25,000 is required to meet the Department's obligations. A Native teacher in Johannesburg tested the validity of his claim and received the amount due to him. Should other teachers entitled to these arrears choose to issue summons against the Department it will mean roughly 1,03[illegible] demands made for payment and the Department may be seriously embarrassed."—

Needless to say, the claims of her Native teachers in the various provinces will be brought forward in a similar manner

Race Problem - 1930

Africa.

THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO. OR BLACK CULTURE VERSUS WHITE CULTURE.

Weekly News

II.

By O. T. George.

9-10-30

FORWARD:

The Negro in evolution cannot be affected by any problem of toleration under white culture. He does not recognize the existence of such a problem. He does not plead for white toleration. He is not keen for the "whiteman's" society. He would be prepared to dine by himself in European hotels without loss of honour. He is too politeness to wish to force himself into the eating company of strangers. He believes that it is the 'whiteman' who is forcing himself upon him: forcing his trade goods and trade drink upon him, through economic pressure; forcing his foreign methods upon him; tempting him to contribute to European aggrandisement; and that the natural consequences of this position, may make him the Europeanised Negro, so much repugnant to the European. He believes that in this connection, the responsibility of alienation is dual; that it devolves upon the European or the American, the continuous tempter and exploiter; and the prospective Europeanised Negro, the too willing victim of the temptation.

MORALS.—He is aware of the painful fact that before the contact of the Negro and white races, his people were happier and more genuine than after the contact. His lads and lasses were more obedient and chaste; his men and women were more honest and content; and altruism was the ruling principle in all the systems of his culture.

CHURCH AND STATE.—The African system held Church and State, as inseparable departments of government. Their laws were co-operative. The King, was in most cases, legislative head of the Church. The system is much akin to the ancient Jewish system. The government was Theocratic; and it must be remembered that, it was the wickedness of the Jews which caused God to allow them to select a king.

The beliefs which the secular and religious customary laws of the African system create, have a very strong hold on the African mind; generally determine the choice of his moral conduct, either as regards his obligations to his compatriots or his obedience to the priests whom he regards as agents of the lesser deities—the intermediaries between God and himself. The priests or lords spiritual thus exercise a controlling influence in the Legislature, during the framing of laws. The civil lords and the king usually submit to their ruling, particularly, because the views which they express are claimed by them to be inspirational; that is, as emanating from God, though the intermediary dieties. The power at the back of the laws (whether civil or religious) accounting for obedience to it, is thus spiritual. The culprit does not submit to the ruling of man's wisdom, but to Divine wisdom. And he thus submits, in the majority of cases, with resignation,

In cases of escape from the officers of justice, he is nevertheless still haunted by the spiritual power of the law sanctions, through the forceful auto-suggestion which his belief creates. And he, invariably either returns and surrenders himself, or destroys his own life, according to the gravity of his offence, as a self-inflicted expiation for his crime. He does these, whether the offence is criminal—stealing a goat or farm-product, murdering a citizen; whether it is religious; desecrating a shrine committing fornication; or whether it is civil—refusing to refund grain or cattle borrowed.

Now, we are about to let out an important secret which accounts for the failure of Caucasian culture on the average aboriginal African. The aboriginal African discovers that most of the laws of the Caucasian system are of merely intellectual inspiration or origin; that they only depend upon brute-force and circumstances, for their execution and effective-ness; that they could be evaded by the witty and adventurous. In short, he discovers that he may defeat the ends of the laws, by being either consistent in falsehood or by escape; and that he may do both with impunity, as long as he is persistent in the former instance, and out of reach in the latter instance. *He knows that the laws are merely automatic and have no connection with his beliefs.* Whenever he is sworn in Court on a matchet, or any other symbol of his natural religion, he knows that it is incomplete and a sham; that the fetish shrine is absent, as well as the mediumistic oath of the fetish priest, *He knows that he does not believe either in the efficacy of the laws or in their wrongful application.*

It is further to be noted that, in every case of infringement of a religious law in the African system, summary sentence is passed to take effect almost immediately, or in the very near future. The sentence is not prospective as is the case with the Caucasian Christian system, which reserves penalty to offenders after their death. The African system insists upon a provisional hell in this life: which is just a state or condition of misery consequent upon guilt, and created by the *innate belief of the offenders.* This provisional hell of the African system is absolutely consistent with the esoteric doctrins of Correspondence: "As above so below;" "as within so without"

Now, it is important to note that unless belief is in evidence, that state of misery or wretchedness which is the provisional hell, cannot be created. It is thus evident that, the average African, and for that matter, the average Christian irrespective of race, cannot be credited with the possession of that actual faith or belief, which is the basis of the Christian religion, in view of the overwhelming evidence of unchristian conduct or behaviour. ("By their fruits" says Christ, "ye shall know them.") That is to say, *Moral conduct must be the crucial test of religious belief.*

But the desire-force for evil is so strong in man, that unless immediate relief is available through the provision of a corresponding summary punishment in this life, for all the evil done whether religious or secular, the tendency is to risk the issues, by the continuous commission of evil. The offender does not really believe or consider the after-issues. He believes, through the evidence of his conduct, that the question of hell and punishment after death, is a religious speculation, which after all, might be evaded: especially as religious controversy, has yet to surrender its weapons of doubt on the matter. So that the fatal flaw in the Caucasian religious system, seems to be the doubt which the doctrine of hell creates in the minds of its professors. (This could be remedied if Christian Theologians would teach and explain the various aspects of Esoteric Theology, and their relation to esoteric doctrines.)

With the African offender whose psychology is more realistic, this doubt is synonymous of unbelief. He therefore takes his chances. He does not believe as we have noticed that the punishment will ever be executed. He experiences no symptoms of punishment in his physical life. His mind is therefore not perturbed. There is no condition of misery created; and experience proves to him, that provided the necessary precautions are taken, he may go on committing other offences, with similar impunity. His seeming regard for the entire system is thus gradually destroyed; and he either reverts to his old fetish beliefs, or remains a faithless creature, who has lost both his old and new religious moorings. Now, the Caucasian system could easily avoid creating an *impasse* as regards belief in its religious and secular laws, by merging them together and making them punishable by the same methods in this life, as obtains in the African and old Jewish systems, leaving punishment in hell (Tartarus) to the impenitent, at the time of death.

We have at length demonstrated the futility of the doctrine of the "ticket-on-leave" criminal and the superiority of the African and old Jewish systems in this behalf.

The African system makes strong emphasis on the principles that (a) Summary punishment is a most effective lever in regulating and creating genuine belief; (b) genuine belief can only be created, when the doctrines or laws to be accepted, are claimed and believed to emanate from God, and not from merely human origin. This implies that human laws should be invariably enacted on the basis and authority of Divine Laws.

The late William Ewart Gladstone seems to have held similar views; and interested readers will do well to read his essay on "Church and State."

The above we say clearly illustrate the superiority of a latent African culture which should be properly standardised by the Negro evolution: eliminating the pagan rites and barbarous practices linked with it, and employing more advanced and refined methods.

Cameroons,
21st August, 1930.

NATIVE EDUCATION.

Lagos Weekly Record
9-9-30

That the educational development of the Native races of South Africa is a matter of minor importance with the Union Government authorities is being shown with more prominence as the years go by. State financial support to our Native educational institutions has been repeatedly requested in vain, and matters lately seem to have proved beyond doubt that our Government is not by any means keen to give African Natives the academical training which is so vitally necessary to them in the vanguard of their progress and uplift ment. Agricultural training is being encouraged satisfactorily; but that is only one branch of educational development. The entire black race cannot be expected to plod the lonely furrow of agricultural training. That would be as disastrous as the present day Native teachers' training that has resulted in the glut of that profession. Coming to the Government's apathy towards granting ample facilities for Native educational development, the deadlock that has arisen in the Transvaal province as a result of Mr. Rathebe's test case, and the subsequent attitude of the Provincial authorities, reveals a parlous situation. The courts have awarded Rathebe the arrear salary increments due to him under the Department's own gazetted regulations; but in order to stave off the impending claims of thousands of other Native teachers in similar circumstances, the Administration lapses to the low level tactics of robbing Peter to pay Paul. Mr. Benson, attorney for Rathebe, declared that "the Administrator admitted liability to all Native teachers in the Transvaal, and stated that according to the department's accountant, the amount at issue was approximately £25,000, and that this money at present could not be found. The Administrator stated that of course the money could actually be paid if circumstances demanded it, but it meant an absolute deadlock in Native education in the province. Establishment would have to be reduced all round, school building would have to stop, registration of new schools would have to

cease, and all development would be suspended."

To think that the latter undertakings were all along run at the cost of robbing Native teachers of their legal allowances is nothing short of a disgrace; and to suggest the discontinuance of these services is below the dignity of any respectable Government to do.

Away over in London the High Commissioner for South Africa, Mr. te Water cut a sorry figure when questioned on South West African Native educational facilities in the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations replying to questions as representing the mandated power Mr te Water inter alia said:—"the real problem was who was going to pay. There was no demand for education from the Native though ethically he agreed that to fulfil the mandate they must be given education. In the Union Native education implied largely their training on vocational agricultural lines, but in this respect education in South West was not making great strides. It was difficult to explain why it was impossible to educate a person against his will. The Administration firmly believed agriculture was the best form of education for Natives, but here again it was a question of finance."

"It might be many years before the South-West became an agricultural country, if indeed it ever did so. But that did not mean the territory had not a great future. He attached importance to ranching and the question of boring, but the problem was to know where the money would come from. He refused to believe in the possibility of the Natives dying out in the South-West."

"The chairman declared the Commission would like to see applied to the Natives a considered programme of economic policy, either by encouraging agriculture in the reserves or some other method, and hoped the next report would bear some indication of the pursuit of a definite Native policy.

Regarding the petition from THE KAOKOLAND GESELLSCHAFT Mr. te Water declared that the Union was not prepared to enter into the merits of the case, for the Government had cancelled the concession. To cancel without compensation was a perfectly usual practice in South Africa.

A long discussion followed on the right of any Government to do so. The Commission decided to draw the attention of the Council to this question of the principle under which certain rights in land tenure could thus be cancelled without compensation."

The foregoing discussion of the Mandates Commission is an eye-opener as revealing the self contradiction of this Union diplomat. What Mr. te Water means by there being no demand for education by Natives is known only to himself. Could ignorant people demand knowledge when they are unaware of its existance?

The most astounding statement Mr. te Water made was that of the usual practice in South Africa to cancel land concessions without compensation. This practice is abundantly given prominence in the Peddie concessions granted to the Fingoes in 1835, and the far-reaching provisions of the Native Administration Act, where individual land tenure by Natives is being abrogated without compensation.

Notes.

Rev T. B. Soga

(Bantu Mirror 8-9-30 Native Opinion)

Our sympathy goes out to the Rev Tiyo Burnside Soga of the Bantu Presbyterian Mission at Emgwali, Dohne over what is now believed to be a piece of deliberate arson that has involved him in a personal loss of over £700 when his residential barns and stores were gutted by a fire. The loss includes an uninsured Whippet sedan car, wagon, agricultural implements, small stock and first rate poultry. As he is getting no compensation for what is really the tangible accumulation of a life-time of frugality and industry we are thankful that some friends have already begun to send him contributions ranging from 5/- to £10 in various parts of the country. We trust this will catch the eye of many others hitherto unaware of this tragic disaster who may be moved to assist either by sending their gifts direct or through our columns.

Late Mr. F. J. Greenslade

(Bantu Mirror 9-9-30 Native Opinion)

The death is announced on the 28th ult, of Mr. Francis John Greenslade, the well-known pioneer merchant of Aliwal North. Apart from the beneficent donations he made to numerous Native deserving causes, the gift of £1,000 to the S. A. Native College of Fort Hare, Alice for a medical scholarship for Native students, will be an everlasting memorial of how a white Christian can materially assist in the upliftment of the weaker race, and thereby consolidating the most desired spirit of co-operation between black and white. It is seldom that magnates whose affluence was derived from Native patronage, ever think of showing their gratitude in similar acknowledgement; but this isolated example is nevertheless highly appreciated by our people. Natives in Aliwal North paid their last respects to their departed friend and benefactor by turning out in huge numbers, as many as 2,000 taking part in the burial ceremonies. The following resolution by Aliwal North Natives shows the high esteem in which the late gentleman was held, and is typical of Native feeling throughout the country.

The following resolution was passed unanimously and with deep feeling by the Native residents of Aliwal North at a mass meeting held on Sunday afternoon August 31 in the Municipal Location, convened by the Bantu Associations of Aliwal North including the following:—

Native Advisory Board including its various block committees and Glebe and Butt's location management board,

"That with profound sorrow we record our sense of loss in the passing of Mr. Francis John Greenslade ever a friend of the Native people. We recall his generosity to our people shown publicly in the many ways in which he furthered pressing Native needs. We remember his many munificent gifts to the local hospital proud and are that one of the Native wards is called by his name. His work of the Native Child Welfare Society and in the establishment of a Child Clinic will be a fruit in the coming year and as one of the founders of the Joint Council of Europeans and Natives in Aliwal, he was always our friend. In the wider aspect of the South African Native life he showed his generous interest and his wise instinct for the future in the establishment of the Greenslade Medical Scholarship at the South African Native College. Mr. Greenslade will be greatly missed in Aliwal North where he lived and served for so many years and so splendidly but by none will be missed more sincerely than by the Native people who had learned to count on him in every need. We would associate with this resolution his dear wife Mrs. Greenslade and pray that for her there may be comfort of Almight God and the joyous remembrance of all her husband's love and loyalty and cheer in these dark hours of loneliness and sorrow."

BLACK AND WHITE IN AFRICA.

Union Minister Explains.

PRETORIA, September 19.

Speaking at the annual Congress of the South African Nationalist Party to-day, Mr. Grobler, Minister for Public Lands, and leader of the Transvaal Nationalists, replied to criticisms of his speech on Wednesday, in which he attacked British native policy in Africa as expounded by the recent White Paper. (African World 9-27-30)

Despite the severe comments of the "Cape Times" and "Cape Argus," which described the Nationalists' native policy as being "Formless and one-sided," and "summed up in the assumption that a white skin entitles its possessor to a permanent position of superiority," the Minister asserted that his views were shared by the "whole country."

He declared that the Union Government only wanted to co-operate with other African states in their efforts to find a solution for their common native problems. "We do not want to interfere with or dictate to any other African state," he said "but we feel that their interests are also our interests." If they were to adopt an unsound policy it was bound to have repercussions in the Union. "That is why I found it necessary to warn them," he added. (London Express)

Mr. Grobler went on to deny that his speech embraced the prophecy of General Smuts, the leader of the South African Party, that the British African states would become a federated whole. "Such a federation would indeed be fatal to us," he declared, "if other British African states are going to uphold the policy that the interests of the blacks must outweigh those of Europeans."—Reuter.

Race Problem - 1930

Africa

S.A. Native Farmers.

MINUTES OF THE FOURTH CONFERENCE OF THE CONGRESS.

PRESENT.

The fourth annual conference of the South African Native Farmers' Congress was held on Friday the 13th December 1929 at 10 a.m. at the Teko School of Agriculture, near Butterworth. The following members were present: President, C S Sakwe, Idutywa; Secretary-Treasurer, D D T Jabavu, Fort Hare; delegates, S H Ntuli, Keiskama Valley; E Qamata, S W Mrwetyana, Xalanga; J F Ngcatshe, Herschel; H Ntsonkota, Ama-Ndlambe, Berlin; M Gantsho, D Peswa, Idutywa; W Mlonyeni, D Balfour, Centani; S P Ngcolu, J Gobeni, Willowvale; B N V Monakali, Peddie; Rev P Mata, Elliotdale; Elisha Mda, A Yengwa, Umtata. There were thus seventeen accredited delegates and forty other interested members of the agricultural movement. The meeting was opened with a hymn and prayer.

At this juncture the conference was honoured by the arrival of Mr W T Welsh, Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories, accompanied by Mr J W D Hughes, Director of Agriculture, Umtata and Mr F R B Thompson, Principal, Teko School of Agriculture.

WELCOME

The gathering was given a cordial welcome by Mr Thompson, and he was followed by the Chief Magistrate, who in the course of his remarks said that although he personally owned no land, he was nevertheless deeply interested in agriculture and stock raising. He had done his best in furthering the establishment of several centres of agriculture and sheep farming, the employment of seventy demonstrators, an exhibition caravan, the construction of dams and the prevention of soil erosion. The Ciskei could well copy the Transkei in these respects. He felt highly delighted at being present and gave every encouragement to the movement for he was sure that when the Native people thus began to think and work they were on the eve of great developments.

Expressions of thanks for these addresses were made in behalf of the conference by Messrs Ntuli, Mda and the chairman.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The President delegated the delivery of the Presidential address to his secretary. Mr Jabavu, after thanking the distinguished visitors for their presence, their encouraging remarks, and kindness in accommodating the conference specially thanked the Chief Magistrate because he had spontaneously fulfilled a long-standing promise to open one of our annual conferences. He agreed that the Transkei had much to teach the Ciskei in sound development because it had the General Council that was able to realise what they in the Ciskei only dreamed. He dealt with the difficulty of finding a market for surplus mealies in districts like Pondoland that were far from the railway, suggesting the Ciskei Native as being the best buyer at present. But there was a sore need for an agent to connect the producer with the buyer. He also described the advantage of Swiss goats in the family milk supply. He laid stress on the necessity for the establishment of new farmers' associations and the keeping alive of existing ones by live secretaries. Meetings, he said, should be held regularly every quarter, the proceedings published in the press for the stimulation of distant people, and the funds banked on condition that three trustees at least be necessary for signing all withdrawal cheques, all such withdrawals being made only on the authority of a resolution by the meeting.

MR J W D HUGHES

In response to a special request by the committee, Mr Hughes gave an intsructive address on "Markets and Marketing." The producer, he said, should know what his soil will best produce. At Umgazi a bag of maize fetches only 3/- and its quality was not worth that. Our natural market was overseas. If we produce the right quality we shall command good prices. The solution for a glut is to sell the maize on feet, in the shape of pigs, cattle and fowl. With wool we must grow the right quality also. The twenty years' restrictions on cattle movements have killed our cattle market and caused overstocking by scrub cattle. The speaker knew of one Native owning 600 cattle. He favoured the project of a central show, but it had been turned down at Butterworth.

ROLL CALL.

The roll was called and seventeen delegates responded representing ten associations as afore mentioned. Three other associations had paid in their annual subscription but had sent no delegates:—Healdtown, Ergcobo and Tabankulu. From four other associations that had previously sent a subscription no financial response had come:—Enyandeni, Lady Frere, (Glen Grey), Cofimvaba, and Hackney-Oxkraal. We still hope and pray that the following twenty-eight associations that are at present standing outside, will soon join this congress:—Butterworth, Nqamakwe, Tsomo Qonce, Lusikisiki, Mt Ayliff, Tsolo, Upper Tugela, Masern, Roma, Mafeteng, Peka, Teyateyaneng, Umbabane, Shiloh, Wakkerstroom, Polela, Marianhill, Lourdes Inhana, Ratschitz-Wesselsnek, St Micheal, Dumisa, Maryhelp, Xumeni, Mt Fletcher, Centocow and Hlokazi.

There are thus forty five associations in existence, active or dormant.

MINUTES.

The minutes of previous conference were read and passed.

FINANCE.

The Treasurer's balance sheet for 1929 showed a gross income of £31/1/6; an expenditure of £9/16/6 and a credit balance of £:6/5/. The income was made up thus:—Balance from 1928, £15/11/6; Healdtown £1 for 1928, £1 for 1929; Herschel £1 Idutywa £1 for 1928, £1 for 1929; Centani £1 for 1928, £1 for 1929; Willowvale £1 for 1928, £1 for 1929; Ergcobo £1; Tabankulu £1; Keiskama Valley £1; Umtata £1; Elliotdale 10/; Peddie £1; and Xalanga £1. The expenditure was made up thus:—£3 Deputy to Cape Town as per minute 24, printing of minutes 17/. invitations to conference 10/.; postages 9/6. Under clause 10 (c) of the constitution the officers offered to draw no charge for 1929.

CENTRAL SHOW.

The secretary read the reply of the Native Affairs Department to last year's resolution requesting a central show and it was stated that both Major Herbst and Mr. Thornton, the new Director of Native Agriculture, had again turned down the proposal. The congress was nevertheless undaunted and it was resolved on the motion of Mr. Qamata seconded by Mr Ngcatshe:—(a) That the Transkeian General Council be requested to make a grant towards the formation of a central show among the existing show centres in the Transkei territories; (b) That each centre concerned make a financial contribution thereto; and (c) that Councillors E Mda, C Sakwe and E Qamata introduced and supported a motion to this effect in the 1930 Bunga.

The following speakers took part in the discussion:—S Mrwetyana, W Mlonyeni, D Balfour, and A Yengwa

AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS AGENT.

A motion was discussed from Engcobo urging the need for an all-time organiser who shall guide and strengthen existing Native Farmers' associations and to encourage the establishment of new ones in fresh districts. J Ngcotshe moved, seconded by S Mrwetyana, supported by N Mazwai, B Monakali, M Gantsho, A Yengwa and D Jabavu. "That this congress requests the Transkei Bunga to provide and set apart one agricultural organiser whose duty shall be to strengthen existing Native agricultural associations and to encourage the establishment of new ones in fresh districts"—Carried.

BETTER PRICES.

E Qamata, seconded by J Ngcotshe, moved:—"That this congress take steps to urge all transkeian associations to assist members in securing better prices for their wool and maize by selling their produce in combined groups and by pooling their quantities to fill railway trucks in order to achieve a more economic and direct connection between the small producer and the distant profitable market or buyer." S Ntuli, M Balfour, M Gantsho, and A Yengwa enlarged on the advantage of this proposal and the motion was passed unanimously.

NON-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE.

Mr Jabavu explained the nature and objects of the Non-European Conference due to meet at Capetown, January 2 5, 1930. It was agreed th t congress await the publication of the Constitution before active steps are tal en.

CASH FOR PRODUCE.

On the motion of E Qamata, seconded by P. Matta it was unanimorsly resolved that: "This congress approach Government with a view to passing a measure making it an offence for licensed traders and other buyers to make their payments for agricultural and pastoral products to Natives otherwise than by cash, cheque or other negotiable instrument whenever such Native sellers specifically desire cash for such sales."

INCWADI YABA LIMI.

The secretary announced that the second edition of the "Incwadi yaba Limi" lies in waiting at the Lovedale Book Store, 1/7 post free, to be bought by all new members of branch associations, All local secretaries should arrange to order it in bulk for their respective meetings.

OFFICE BEARERS.

The office bearers for the years 1930 and 1931 were elected as follows: President, C. Sakwe; Vice-President S. Peteni; Secretary, D. D. T. Jabavu Vice-Secretary, N. A. Mazwai; Treasurer, D. D. T. Jabavu. Committee members:—

Keiskama Valley, S. Ntuli; Xalanga, A Tsengiwe; Herschel, J. Ngcatshe; Ama-Ndlambe, S. E. Mqayi Idutywa, J. K. Finca; Kentani, L. L. J. Mjamba; Willowvale, J. Gobeni; Peddie, J. C. Mpati, Elliotdale, P. Qosho; Umtata, Elisha Mda.

PLACE OF NEXT CONFERENCE

It was resolved that the next conference be held in the Ciskei, and that the secretary ascertain from among the Ciskei associations where exactly it could be most conveniently held. (Proposer, J. Tsengiwe, seconder, B. Monakali.)

CONCLUSION.

The President announced, amidst acclamation, that the Principal, Mr Thompson, had freely given all hospitality to the conference as well as the cost of transport to and from Butterworth.

In reply to a vote of thanks moved by H Ntsonkota, seconded by E. Qamata, and supported by the secretary and the chairman, Mr. Thompson congratulated the congress on its establishment and progress, and further offered to welcome it in future every year at Teko (Loud applause) whensoever it desires to come. He urged that the proceedings of this conference be widely advertised and disseminated for the benefit of local associations.

Thanks were rendered also to the Teko Boarding Master and his wife who performed the functions of host and hostess to the conference and the other staff members who had entertained the visitors in hospitable fashion.

The happy conference then concluded with prayer at six in the evening.

INTER-MARRIAGES AMONG WEST AFRICANS.

(By Speedo)

The article by Kobina Aponsah which appeared in the *Nigerian Daily Times* of the 12th certainly provokes a reply. The basic principle of inter-marriages enunciated by him as a stepping-stone to United West Africa is all very well and seems at a distance to be the first step in the right direction; but the path leading to this stepping-stone is obscured by so many tribal prdjudices, hatred and other encumbrances, that before I could subscribe to Aponsah's views he needs make some explanation.

On the Gold Coast, speaking on the average, there is a distinct hatred of foreigners; even amongst themselves there exist tribal hatred and prejudice. In Accra all foreigners including natives of the Gold Coast who do not belong to the Accra or the Ga districts are called *Koruobi* that is "people whom wind blew to their country" and one can imagine the kind feelings of foreigners when they are so daubed. In the Fanti coast, the same thing is done though in a lesser degree; foreigners are called *Aratufu*—an uncomplimentary name. I do not know whether foreigners in Nigeria suffer the same thing: at any rate, I have not heard it yet. So that in the Gold Coast from the outset there can hardly be anything approaching friendship between the people and foreigners except amongst a few who have been cut, but this is the beginning.

To go a bit further I take the ladies. A foreigner is never welcomed in a ball-room on the Gold Coast; the people always make him feel he is a foreigner—a *Koryobi* or an *Aratafu*, and though rarely they might be disposed to give him a dance, the fear of the jeers of her countrymen for dancing with a *koryobi* or an *aratafu* restrains her, and as the local dialect is what is used freely in such a gathering, a foreinger is generally "at sea." It is unfortunate that the same thing is done here for I had thought that Lagos might be better off in this respect, but I was quickly undeceived when I attended my first (and I sincerely hope my last) dance here. Strangers who have been to Sierra Leone will agree with me that things are not like that there, for foreigners are received everywhere with open hands and every effort is made to make them happy in the ball-room, in the playing ffelds and in the office; Sierra Leoneans therefore feel themselves deeply wronged when they receive contrary treatment. The Gambians welcome the strangers equally as the Sierra Leoneans; therefore, if Amponsah's dream is to be realised, West Africans should be taught to love one another and treat a stranger as a brother. But as long as you make a man feel he is a stranger, there is no hope of any confidence between the two. The men who should set the example are unfortunately far from doing it.

I remember when the Nigerian African Team visited Accra for the first time, I was there then and attended the matches. Unfortunately, for the visiting team, they hadn't many of their people to cheer them, the slightest miss called forth the jeerings, approaching hooliganism, from the people, whilst there was always a roar of deafening cheers at every stroke of the home team. Call it patriotism if you like, what concerned me more was this. There was a Gold Coaster in the Nigerian team, whom a friend and I met the evening after the final game. My friend was not present at the game and it had probably escaped him to ask me about the result of the game until we met the player. On being asked who won the game, he replied "We of course." Now this player, a Gold Coaster, was playing for the Nigerian Team and the manner in which he replied provoked me to question the use of the word "we" as the Nigerian team had lost the game. But he said "I am not a tool and you should not expect me to play and beat my country." This may be patriotism, but it lacks true spirit of sportsmanship and of brotherhood, the stepping stone to nationhood.

Now if there should be successful inter-marriages, there should be *love*, *sacrifice* and *sympathy*, neither of the last two could be enjoyed if the first is absent, and owing to the wide taste, habits and customs of us, Africans, a great amount of sacrifice and sympathy would be necessary to cement the lives of any two people who take the course to settle for life. It is sometimes said the Sierra Leonean is brother to the Gambian and cousin to the Nigerian, but nothing is said of the Gold Coaster whose habits and customs seem to be distinct from any of the others. All the marriages I know of between Gold Coast men and Sierra Leone or Gambian women have been utter failures That there is, or has been any successful one I have yet to learn. The reason is not far to seek: hatred and prejudice in the wife's new surroundings and a continuous reminder that she is a strange woman, wreck the marriage. I prefer to stop thus for, but may have more to say again if need be.—*The Nigerian Daily Times*, February 18.

ABYSSINIA TO-DAY.

The impending coronation of H.M. Negus Tafari as Emperor of Ethiopia at the end of the period of mourning for the late Empress Zaidutu will be carried out with great ceremonial, and should once and for all disperse the rumours recently circulating as to revolutionary risings against the Negus. Being directly descended from the Emperor Menelik, the position of the newly elected Emperor is exceedingly strong, and even though his progressive mentality already displayed in many directions on recent occasions has created enemies for him in local retrogressive circles, there can be little doubt that the country will before long be opened up to great development. Under the highly intelligent guidance of the Emperor, his country is making headway rapidly. Schools, hospitals, and orphanges have been founded, not only in the capital, but in the chief cities, such as Lekemti, Gore, Harrar, and Dessier, and others are to be opened in the important counties of all the provinces. The project for an aerodrome to shelter the aeroplanes lately acquired by His Majesty the Negus is now in hand. The hangars and aviation field will be situated in the neighbourhood of Addis Abeba. Abyssinia to-day is a new centre of enterprise to which capitalists should turn their eyes, a country full of natural and mineral wealth, and also of great attraction for tourists and hunters. Under the wise control of His Majesty it is daily becoming more evident that Ethiopia will shortly attract the interest of the entire world.

Africa

THE PASSING OF SIR GORDON GUGGISBERG

GREAT SERVICES TO WEST AFRICA.

We announce with deep regret the death of Brig-General Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg, K.C.M.G., D.S.O., which took place at Bexhill on Monday in his sixty-first year after a long illness. Sir Gordon will be remembered as one of the ablest Governors of the Gold Coast Colony, which he administered from 1919 to 1927.

It was always his endeavour, as he himself expressed it, to give the natives a sporting chance to place themselves alongside Europeans in any sphere of life, and to be leaders of their own countrymen, says the "Times." With this object, while promoting the economic development of the Colony, he also did his best to secure the mental and moral progress of the people. He was an enthusiast for education, not on any imported system, but only on lines adapted to the African and to the customs and conditions of his life. But, successful as were his two Governorships—he was afterwards Governor of British Guiana—it may be doubted whether any part of his work for the Empire was of greater value or interest than his early surveys both in the Gold Coast and in Nigeria. There was no aeroplane in those days, and Guggisberg's life in the bush had all the hardships of pioneer work in the outer marches. In it, as also in the War, he showed marked powers of leadership and organisation.

Ten years before he arrived on the Gold Coast as Governor, he and his wife, who will be remembered as that charming and talented actress and singer, Miss Decima Moore, had published a combined account of life in the Colony, entitled "We Two in West Africa," which is still of interest as a study of a transitional phase in West African development. When they wrote that book together, Major Guggisberg, as he then was, may have hoped that he would one day return as Governor. Certainly it shows vision and imagination, as well as intimate knowledge of the country, of the native chiefs of the various tribes, and of the economic problems, especially those arising out of the goldfields.

The most striking memorial of his term of office was the great new harbour of Takoradi, which was completed after he had left the Colony, but he was characteristically silent as to the part played in this enterprise by his own foresight and determination. The omission, however, was made good by a correspondent, who, in a letter to the "Times," quoted from a speech delivered some weeks before by Sir Gordon's successor, Sir Ransford Slater, who spoke of:—

"the far-seeing Governor who conceived the whole scheme ere ever he took up the administration of the Gold Coast in 1919, and who, throughout the following eight years, through good and evil report, tenaciously, courageously, and with never-failing enthusiasm, carried through practically to fruition the great enterprise which will mean so much to the Colony he governed. Generations to come will assuredly bless the name of Sir Gordon Guggisberg."

Work for Native Education.

In August, 1921, Sir Gordon described to a Special Correspondent of the "Times" the great future of the Colony. He showed how much was being done for the education of the natives, especially by trade schools, both for the training of character and for instruction in handicrafts, to be carried out on the lines of the Boy Scouts. He was bent also upon establishing secondary schools for the older boys, and he spoke of the development of transport, and the introduction of a promising trade in shea-nuts and ground-nuts. Before his term of office ended he had doubled the railway mileage, provided a water supply and electric light, established hospitals, and taken measures for agricultural development. The Governor never missed an opportunity, especially when home on leave, of making as widely known as possible the needs and the progress of the Colony. In this he was ably seconded by his wife, to whose enthusiasm and gift of artistic design the success of the Gold Coast Pavilion at Wembley was largely due. When at last he left, in April, 1927, his departure was marked by extraordinary demonstrations of affection.

It was not long before Sir Gordon's services were again called upon, for in August, 1928, his appointment to be Governor of British Guiana was announced, and he was sworn in at Georgetown in the following November.

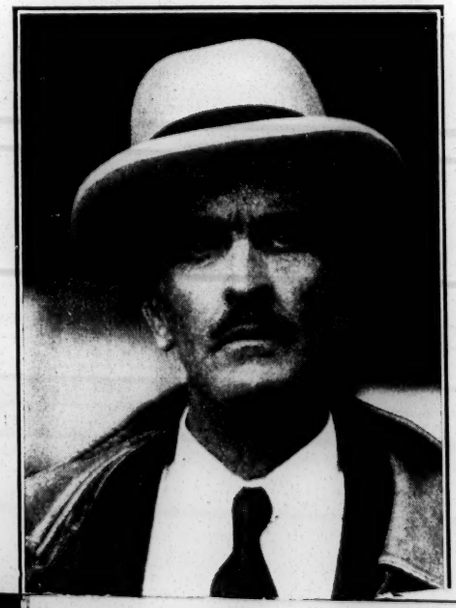
He took office a few months after the new Constitution, which substituted a Legislative Council in place of the old Court of Policy and Combined Court, and simplified the work of administration had been brought into force, and in his first address the Governor announced that his Government would first devote itself to settling the population question and would then take up the problem of education. He said frankly that he had been scandalized at the system of education in British Guiana, and not overpleased at the steps taken to reform it. Unfortunately Sir Gordon's health began to give way, and in July, 1929, he was obliged to leave the Colony. He resigned his office in January last.

Frederick Gordon Guggisberg was born in Toronto on July 20, 1869, the son of Mr. Frederick Guggisberg, of Galt, Canada. He was educated at Burney's, in Hampshire, and was commissioned in the Royal Engineers from Woolwich in 1889. He served for some years at Singapore, and then returned to Woolwich in 1897 as Instructor in Fortification. In 1902 he began his long service under the Colonial Office with an appointment on the survey of the Gold Coast and Ashanti, and was promoted to be Director of Surveys in 1905. In 1910 he was appointed Surveyor-General of Nigeria; a handbook which he prepared for the Southern Nigeria survey is of high technical interest, for it includes a text-book on topographical surveying in tropical Africa.

When the War broke out he resigned his post and, coming home by the first available boat, rejoined the Army and was appointed Commander of the 94th Field Company, R.E. In 1915 he was appointed commanding R.E. 8th Division and in 1916 was transferred to the same post with the 66th Division. In 1917 he was promoted to command the 170th Infantry Brigade. In 1918 he went to G.H.Q. as Assistant Inspector-General of Training, and subsequently he commanded the 100th Infantry Brigade. He was mentioned in dispatches five times, and was awarded the D.S.O. and the Legion of Honour.

Sir Gordon was good at games. He played polo, rackets, and golf, and had often distinguished himself at cricket with the M.C.C. and at Association football with the Casuals. He was the author of "The Shop: The Story of the Royal Military Academy," and a work on "Modern Warfare." He was made C.M.G. in 1908, and was promoted to K.C.M.G. in 1922. He is survived by Lady Moore-Guggisberg, who was made C.B.E. for her work in the War, his second wife.

He leaves two daughters by his first marriage, whose home has been for years with Miss De Winton Corry, of Yateley Hall, Hants.



Traffic in Maseru.

The Comet

3-6-30

The capital is the most important town in Basutoland so far as traffic is concerned, being the only place in Basutoland where we boast of a rail-head and a short railway line of less than a mile! We have motor traffic, ox wagon transport from the mountains through the town to the rail-head and donkey and mule transport. There is always plenty of merchandise to be transported from the rail-head to the trading stations in the country and up the mountains and this is done by ox-wagon transport and motor-trucks. Every morning, except Sunday, there is always a long train of ox-wagons slowly rolling and creaking their way through the town to the railway station with the drivers cracking their whips and urging the oxen forward to their destination.

In the afternoon the same wagons will be seen on their return journey, some loaded to the utmost of their capacity, some partly loaded and some empty, and they all disappear in the country with darkness creeping behind them. As we have said this happens daily like the sun travelling from the East to the West.

With the increase of motor traffic here is a slogan "we want good roads" all over South Africa. At first that slogan was like a cry in the wilderness but as time went on roads improved and continue to improve, not only in the Union but even in Basutoland. Modern methods of road construction were introduced in Basutoland and with it came modern implements such as stone-crushing engine and motor trucks for carting gravel and stones and before long the roads in town assumed a new appearance that made driving on them a pleasure. These, no doubt, meant increased expenditure which is borne by the Basuto.

Unfortunately in the Capital of Basutoland improved roads turned to be too good for ox-wagons which had to be ordered off the main road running through the town to the railway station to a by-road branching from the main road in front of the Government hospital runnning between the town and the nice barracks, passing Lerotholi Technical School and then round the hill overlooking the railway station and joining the improved main road at the gate of the station. This by-road, notwithstanding the minor improvements made on it is bad and dangerous. Opposite the Lerotholi Technical School there are dangerous dongas and sharp turns which are always a trap to the wagon drivers. Unfortunately we are not quite sure how many wagons have fallen over and passing one of these dangerous places there. Perhaps the boys at the Technical school if they could be trusted, could give us the real figures. Besides these dangerous turns that we have pointed out the road is sandy and heavy and hours and hours have been wasted by drivers trying to draw wagons that have stuck fast there. These people are forced to use the road against their wish and endure this quite unecessary hardship. But when one has to consider that the wagon drivers have to undergo this hardship when there is a good road maintained at their expense the matter becomes very painful indeed. It is quite unjust to the wagon owners. But what good reason is there for the wagon to be prohibited from using a good road, or this part of the road in particular? Could it not be better for the people to know the reason why they suffer than to endure the suffering without knowing why. For after all they begin to think that the Government is not prepared to do anything for the good, and when matters come to that it requires a man with extraordinarily strong jaws to explain things to their satisfaction, and there is such a man we fear his like born once in a century.

Yes, good roads we want but why should we have them if they are a curse to the wagon owner who must pay for their maintenance?

Native Problems.

Mr Jansen, the Minister of Native Affairs, announced last week in the House of Assembly that the Government had decided to appoint a committee to inquire into :—

(1) The economic and social conditions of Natives, especially in the larger towns of the Union.

(2) The application to Natives in urban areas of the existing laws relating to the regulation of wages and for dealing with industrial disputes, and/or the desirability of any modification of these laws or of providing other machinery for such purposes.

(3) The economic and social effect upon the European and coloured population of the Union of the residence of Natives in urban areas and the measures, if any, to be adopted to deal with surplus Natives in and to prevent increasing migration of Natives to such areas.

(4) What proportion of the public revenue is contributed by the Native population directly; or indirectly; what proportion of public expenditure may be regarded as necessitated by the presence of and reasonably chargeable to, the Native population.

"It was not my intention," added the Minister, "to make this announcement until the personnel of the commission had been completed, but circumstances have arisen which make it desirable that the House should know exactly what the Government has in contemplation. As soon as the personnel of the commission has been completed I will inform the House of the names of the members."

At long last it would appear that wiser counsels have prevailed with the authorities as to the best method to inquiring into and settling the causes of Native unrest so rampant at the present time. Pressure towards this direction had been brought to bear for a considerable time past by the Native press and various organisations that have the welfare of the Union Natives at heart. The Joint Councils of Europeans and Natives, we must concede, have played no small part in striving for the sympathetic consideration of Native problems particularly in urban areas. Missionary bodies also have gone far out of their way to focus the attention of the authorities to the economic difficulties of our people, the disregard of which resulted in the continual unpleasant agitation by Natives. To the above mentioned bodies Natives owe a debt of gratitude. The Government must be congratulated on the very wise step of inquiring into the social and economic conditions of the Natives. We sincerely trust the personnel of the committee or commission will not savour of any political party influence, if there is any genuine seriousness by the Government of finding the root cause of Native unrest; more than anything else, a proper, sympathetic and equitable manner of settling grievances. The confidence of the Natives in obtaining a square deal from the Government has been vastly diminished, particularly by reason of recent legislation that singled Natives out by reason of their colour. The Old Age Pension's Act, the Poll Tax, Native Representation Bill, the Native Administration Act, Riotous Assemblies Act and lately the disfranchisement of Native and Coloured women are measures that will remain indelible in the minds of the non-European of South Africa as a memory of stupid, iniquitous and ungodly race prejudice on the part of a race that boasts of and is obsessed with a superior culture and civilisation. Therefore the attempt to inquire into the conditions aforesaid is only a small beginning to regain the lost confidence and good-will that has been offset by hostile legislation designed to protect the civilisation of the white man in this country. It will be in the final outcome of the deliberations of this commission, and the manner the Government will adopt conciliatory recommendations that the Natives will look to with any measure of hope rather than to the mere announcement of elaborate arrangements for palliative research.

Bantu-European Student Christian Conference.

The Council of the Bantu section of the Student Christian Association of South Africa in co-operation with the larger Student Christian Movement of the country, have decided to hold a joint Bantu-European Student Christian Conference at the South African Native College, Fort Hare from the 27th June to July 3rd. This conference will bring together 150 Bantu students from the Native Training Colleges throughout Southern Africa; 50 or 60 European students from the European Universities and Colleges of the Union, and 50 senior people including a number of ministers, teachers and other men and women of the European and Bantu communities who are interested in the larger spiritual and social life of the Bantu population and in the promotion of a better interracial life.

The Student Christian Movement has already held two smaller sectional student conferences of an interracial nature. This movement has likewise at most of its conferences given a leading place to a discussion of interracial questions from the Christian point of view. This will be the first time however, that the Student Christian Association will have undertaken a conference on such a large scale which will be nationally representative of Bantu students and at the same time of an interracial character.

The programme of the conference has been so drawn up as to deal with the following comprehensive questions: (1) The content and demands of the Christ an message; (2) the application of the Christian message to practical problems of life such as the general social conditions of the Bantu population both urban and rural, the economic situation and aspects of the racial question; [3] the large question of the Industrialization of the Bantu and [4] a constructive programme of study and helpful service, where possible in regard to these questions, on the part of students.

Plans for this conference are well under way. Delegates will be entertained at Fort Hare and Lovedale as well as by staff people of these two Institutions and citizens of Alice who have gladly offered their co-operation. Following is a list of speakers and leaders who have been invited and most of whom have agreed to serve: Dr. J. H. Hofmeyr, M.L.A. Dr. Edgar H. Brookes, Mr Howard Pim, Dr. James Henderson, Prof. J. du Plessis, Rev. E. Macmillan, Rev. John L. Dube, Rev. R E Phillips Rev. A. Cardross Grant, Rev. R H. W. Shepherd, Dr A. B. Xuma, Mrs. Charlotte Maxeke, Mr. T Mabiwane, Mr R. Selope Thema Principal Alexander Kerr, Mr. D. D. T Jabavu, Mr. L. Marquard, Mr. W. G. Ballinger. It is hoped very shortly to announce the full programme of this conference as well as a complete list of speakers and leaders. The organizing secretary for the conference is Mr Max Yergan Secretary of the Student Christian Association.

It is further planned in connection with or immediately preceding this conference to have a formal opening of the S. C. A. Building and Y.M.C.A. Hall now in course of construction at Fort Hare. The sessions of the conference will be held in this building which will be the conference headquarters.

Race Relations 1/3

Africa.

THE COLOUR BAR PROBLEM.

A series of Public Lunch hour Lectures—was planned by the Society of Friends to investigate the question of "Colour."

The first took plce on Tuesday 22nd October 1929 at Friends House Euston Road, London

Weekly News 4-12-30

The Chair was occupied by Mr. Nicholson who before introducing the Speaker requested the audience to join in silent prayer for a few minutes before he introduced Mr. James Maxton, M.P., for North St. Pancras. After the Chairman introducing the Lecturer the afternoon said that he did not think it was possible to bring about a world peace except on the basis of the brotherhood of man. A case had brought to the front the question of the existence of a colour bar in London, the case being the recent one of the refusal by twenty hotels to admit a wealthy Negro, a well-known Journalist and Proprietor of an important Newspaper in America; some of the Members of Parliament in London said they had objections to Indians; one or two of whom would be well recommended, but when in one case he would be taken privately, to a few introduced Mr. Maxton to address the gathering.

Mr. Maxton spoke to the following effect:

That he did not intend to deal with the question from the Anthropological standpoint, as he was not going to a case showing that the Colour bar existed in London. When he was a student at the London School of Economics he had dealt with certain aspects of this matter on the social point, but the case of Mr. Abbott a wealthy American Negro whom two hotels had refused to admit accentuated his. At one hotel Mr. Abbott and his wife were allowed to remain for a while but were requested to leave. Mr. Abbott in speaking to him about this said "that it was bad enough to be refused admittance to an hotel but to be turned out was adding insult to injury." Some hotels would accept Indians, Chinese Japanese but not Negroes. Recently learned persons had invited here certain West Indians for an intellectual venture; the two West Indians were not given accommodation at any London hotel. All this might be due to American influence. Hotel keepers might be obliged to look at the matter from the Commercial standpoint. Some said they would not risk losing the custom of wealthy American Clients by accommodating Negroes. Who was to blame? He had received a letter from Mr. Paul Robeson who with his wife, had recently been refused admittance into the Savoy hotel where they had often been admitted before to dinner. In this case they had been invited to meet some friends—white, at the Savoy for a drink and a chat. As a result of the astounding attitude of the Management Mr. Paul Robeson and his wife, together with the friends who had been lunching with them left the Savoy. This incident holds Negroes in the Metropolis.

Free Town Sierra Leone

It was difficult for the Englishman to understand the American Negro's attitude. A case could be made out against Negroes who were guilty of crimes against white women. There was a black woman. There was no case for the Negro. Sympathy was given to cases of the Negro. This unquestionably contributed to fostering prejudice in white minds against a black man. Even the American Trade Unions had legislated for Negro labour. This led to undercutting. The English had not taken for but the responsibility affected them. The problem was a menace created by the power of Western Civilisations. They had in many cases taken the Negro from his home and placed him in other surroundings; transport development had made the Negroes to become Neighbour, yet they had not yet developed a proper attitude towards the change.

There must be a natural antipathy on both sides at the beginning of contact between white and blacks, but the assumption of superiority on the part of the white man had a great deal to do with the root of the trouble. The African was developing his own culture in his own way. There was this, with white influences flowing, these two cultures must not be allowed to come into conflict with each other. If the coloured man who went abroad met prejudice, he would retaliate. These men were semi-educated the really educated man was yet to be found: yet differences in culture was exaggerated to the extent they were.

Missionaries had been sent out to preach that there was one humanity, one God, yet there were serious differences discernible as being made out by the white man in his attitude towards the black man. The South African Native at Johannesburg had good for asking the Missionary "How is it that at the beginning of our contact you had the Bible I had my land—whilst now after you in contrast have both of—should be having, find you have my land and I have your Bible?"

It should be considered that there were in some places islands of whites in oceans of blacks. There was an attempt to create amateur friendships. If they offered insult to coloured people there would be bound to be repercussions. English thought must accommodate the broader and deeper aspects of the colour question. We have to be treated as an equal or not? The whites were developing the psychology of power to a strangly great degree, they accorded recognition to coloured races only in so far as such races showed capacity for the destructive forces which white engineering and belief had created.

Weekly News 4-12-30

The situation was one requiring careful consideration.

The speaker was applauded for his able address and the Chairman invited questions several of which were asked by ladies and gentlemen to which the lecturer gave answers; subsequently the chairman advanced the plea that as two other weekly meetings were to be held and addressed by other speakers by the time the series ended, it would probably be considered advisable to call a conference on the important subject. Dr. Moody said that there was no bar for any coloured man or woman to get into a London Medical School and he asked if it was wise to throw these people who would become leaders in their own countries into the arms of non-English Teachers. The colour bar question is a very serious one.

The audience were loud in their applause. The Chairman then briefly called for questions, and again questions were asked by ladies and gentlemen to which the lecturer gave replies. After the usual vote of thanks had been tendered to Dr. Moody, the Chairman announced that the next week's meeting would be addressed by Miss Winifred Holtby and as the previous meetings had drawn satisfactory numbers he had hopes that good results would ensue. The gathering then dispersed.

Miss Winifred Holtby the moralist, was the speaker at Friends' House on Tuesday 5th November on "The Colour Bar as an Imperial Problem" and made a brilliant speech.

After defining and examining the actions restrictions which debar all coloured peoples from political, educational, social and economical advantages and the different treatment in different parts of the world of coloured subjects, Mrs. Holtby pleaded for a cultural, not race test of enfranchisement, and the gradual incorporation of all the cultured of all races into representative governments.

Weekly News 4-12-30

The Speaker pointed out that about five out of six persons in the British Empire are coloured. Great Britain and Dominions White 60,000,000 Indians and Cingalese 315,000,000 Africans 40,000,000 Arabs 6,000,000 Malays 6,000,000 Chinese 1,000,000 Polynesians 1,000,000; other races 100000. Applying the theory of treatment for all races within the Empire Miss Holtby quoted the pronouncement made by Mr. Winston Churchill when in the Ministry in 1921. "There is only one ideal that the British Empire can set before itself, that there should be no barrier of race, colour or creed which should prevent any man by merit from reaching any station if he is fitted for it."

SOUTH AFRICAN RIOT LAID TO NEW POLICIES

Times

Wide Native Resentment Seen Against Government "Riotous Assemblies" Bill.

5-8-30

CAPE TOWN, May 5 (AP).—The rioting yesterday in the native compound at Worcester, sixty miles from here, was ascribed today to native resentment against new government measures.

New York

Five natives were killed and three policemen and seventeen natives injured. Captain Barter, commander of the police, was in a critical condition tonight.

N.Y.

Trouble has been brewing for some time among the native multitudes of the Union of South Africa who regard with great suspicion the government's native policy. Nationalist members of the Assembly have expressed their fear that the whites in South Africa would eventually be swamped by the increase in the black races, and to avert this so-called black-menace the government has evolved a policy backed by absolute powers.

Under a new "riotous assemblies" bills, these absolute powers are vested in the Minister of Justice. From his decision there can be no appeal to the courts. When the bill was introduced recentldy, the Minister declared he had evidence that Communist agitators were stirring up the natives against the government.

Agitation among the natives has been led chiefly by the African National Congress.

The new absolute powers of the Minister of Justice are violently opposed by the opposition, and the government's position has become delicate.

THE COLOUR BAR PROBLEM.

Continued from our last

Miss Holtby cited several inconsistencies. In South Africa the Native Bill of 1926 set up a colour bar shutting out Africans from certain skilled occupations, and cited two points of view one by a European witness at the Commission held in connection with these Native Bills—this witness would not give the educated African who had relinquished his tribal conditions any share in the government of the country as far as Europeans are concerned and he believed a struggle for race preservation was inevitable. On the other hand an African witness—Professor Sabadri said every Black man who has a vote has in fact abandoned the position of barbarism, we are ranged on the side of civilization, our interests are on the same side—in fact, if there were to be a war between barbarism, and civilization, we should be on the side of civilization. The Speaker argued that Democracy was not a matter of civilization nor race, the colour bar was not related to culture but to prejudice, even the Jew at Tarsus was able to say "I was a Roman born."

Miss Holtby advocated the mandate principle for undeveloped races and Dominion status for Nations eager for and able to carry it. In Economics, she looked to see self Organizations of coloured workers seeking to raise the standard of living and thereby create wider markets for manufactured goods. The adoption of the International Labour Convention would prove helpful. The only protection for the coloured labourer worth having was self-protection, and the greatest benevolence towards them was justice.

The large gathering expressed pleasure in rounds of applause after which the Chairman called for question. Several having been asked by ladies and gentlemen, to which answers were given, a vote of thanks was tendered to Miss Holtby through the Chairman. The Chairman in closing, informed the audience that the Council had decided to call a conference to decide what further steps to take towards solving this vital problem, and that the time fixed for this would be duly announced.

The meeting was then brought to a close.

The fourth meeting was the Conference which rounded off the above series and great was its gathering which was thrilled with much enthusiasm. Outspoken words were uttered by coloured men of two in particular one urged that the red flag of Soviet Russia should be unfurled; the other spoke strongly against Imperialism as being the tool of exploiters. An Englishman, as a member of the Anti-imperialist league strongly denounced the colour bar. Other speaker voiced the harmfulness of the colour bar as being the menace to the well-being of the Empire. Doctor H. B. Morgan, M.P. for Northumberwell *inter alia* voiced a very telling charge against the Colonial Office as being a seat of colour prejudice. Many in the audience were greatly surprised to hear this. There is no doubt that the Colonial Office for years did not discourage this tendency for in the experiences of your correspondent at home in Africa he has more than once heard disparaging words from Officials against Africans which had been better left unsaid; and further your correspondent knows several intelligent Africans born out of Africa who were approached by different and foolishly advised white Officials and told "You are different to those people you know," thereby implying, have little to do with your kinsmen in Africa. Yet it is these people who provide the pay of these ungrateful Officials and who caused the late E. D. Morel when editor of a newspaper to speak of such as "Rounders"—a much too mild but a fitting appellation.

A letter that was read aud greatly appreciated by the Conference came from Dr. T. Drummond Shiels then Parliamentary under Secretary of State for India is as follows "Colour Preiudice Conference." I regret that I cannot attend, as I hoped to do, the above Conference. I wish to express my strong sympathy with its object and my sense of the great importance of this subject. I am grateful to the Society of Friends for their efforts to remove prejudices which are harmful and unjustified. Wishing the conference every success." Dr. Shiels is now Under Secretary of State at the Colonial Office. Dr. Shiels was a member of the Donoughmer Commmission which last year framed recommendations for reform in the administration of Ceylon. It has now been decided that the Legislative Council will become a State Council elected by adult suffrage, all property, income, literacy and sex qualifications being abolished. The Ceylon Labour Party and Trade Unions have been strongly in favour of a Constitution on broad Democratic principles.

Before the conferenc was concluded, the following Resolution was moved by Miss Winifred Holtby, and being duly seconded was put by the Chairman to the Conference and unanimously passed "This Conference of white and coloured people, called to consider the Colour Bar Problem in Great Britain, has received evidence of many instances of colour bar in this country, particularly on the part of hotels. It regards this racial discrimination and the prejudice which causes it, as a great danger to peace and international understanding and as a reproach to our Christian civilization.

It asks the Society of Friends, who have called this Conference to take steps to form a permanent Joint Council of white and Coloured People whose work shall be to deal wisely with cases of colour bar as they arise, and to try to remove colour prejudice in this country by encouraging personal contacts, by spreading information and making known in Great Britain the achievements of coloured people. The Conference was thereafter closed in the usual manner.

THE ZIMBABWE LOAN EXHIBITION.

(Special to "The African World.")

Zimbabwe is a descriptive name given by the Makalanga people of Southern Rhodesia to the kraals of their chiefs and to ruined structures scattered about the country. Great Zimbabwe is situated seventeen miles from Victoria, and though it and smaller ones had been known of through Arab raiders for more than four hundred years, they were first visited by Europeans only in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the 'nineties a good deal of casual digging went on for gold and curios, and the site lost much of its archaeological value by disturbance of the deposits.

In 1905, however, Dr. Randall MacIver was commissioned by the British Association, which was to meet that year in South Africa, to report on the age of the ruins, and expressed his own view to the effect that there was no evidence of great age.

Miss Caton Thompson, sent out also by the British Association early in 1929, previous to its second meeting in Africa, not only confirmed Dr. MacIver's conclusions, but by the discovery of small beads of recognisable age under the cement floors, placed the date at about A.D. 900. In the course of her excavations she made a considerable collection of objects, while Mr. Armstrong, working on the Bambata cave, near Bulawayo, made a careful study of both the deposits and the rock paintings above.

The early haphazard digging brought a great variety of objects to light, but they were dispersed amongst private collectors and public museums. Much of the gold naturally was irretrievably lost, and although the African museums have fairly representative exhibits, they are by no means complete. The British Association felt that it would be widely appreciated if the scattered objects could be brought together to form one exhibition, even though in the nature of the circumstances it could only be temporary. They therefore approached the Union and Rhodesian Governments and museum authorities, and met with a very generous response. Not only were loans of collections made, but every facility in the way of transport was given.

The trustees of the British Museum courteously placed the basement of the Assyrian Section at the disposal of the Association, and helped to stage a really comprehensive exhibition. This is to remain open until the middle of May, and has already attracted a large number of visitors. Although it has always been interesting to examine the partial collections in the various museums, it is only by viewing them en masse their number and scope can be appreciated. The only regret is that the exhibition must necessarily be temporary. However, Professor Myres told me of the Association's intention to make several casts of many of the more important objects and present them to the museums which had co-operated. In this way the partial collections in Africa and England will become much more representative. Professor Myres spoke also of the decision to try to organise a special Zimbabwe Museum somewhere in Rhodesia.

The exhibition is extremely well arranged, the descriptive catalogue proving of great help in correlating facts. Round the walls are plans from the aerial surveys made by the African Air Force, and some very beautiful photographs. These show the nature of the country and vegetation and details of architecture, and add precision to ideas gained from verbal descriptions. Pictures of kopjes showing the flaking of granite slabs indicate the readiness with which they can be worked even with inadequate tools, and one of the minor mysteries is not that such buildings were erected, but that, with such material at hand, the tradition of stone working should have so completely died out.

In the cases the exhibits are grouped according to material, except Miss Caton Thompson's finds, which are shown separately. Here are many objects carved more or less elaborately out of soapstone—birds, beams, bowls, and emblems—which are probably accessories in some fertility cult. There is one figure of a woman with negroid features and tribal marks which forms the sole physical record we have of the soapstone workers, who were also, presumably the builders.

The case of gold articles includes a beautifully worked chain, circlets, bangles, foil, and gold tacks. The bronze, copper, and iron weapons are handsomely worked, and there are interesting cross-shaped moulds for casting copper ingots, still used as currency on the West Coast.

The beads, although of such value in determining the age of the ruins, are the least spectacular of the exhibits, their size and elaboration varying inversely as their age.

Perhaps we laymen, who cling to a tradition of antiquity, will regret that the weight of scientific evidence is opposed to attributing great age to these ruins, but we must take comfort from the mysteries still left us. Who were the builders? Did they build of their own initiative or was it slave labour? Their civilisation grew, prospered, and collapsed all in a few centuries! The site was ruined and overrun by barbarians, and, whether they were wiped out by disease or warfare or simply degenerated, no trace or the tradition of the founders has been left us.

[In publishing our correspondents' report on the interesting Zimbabwe loan collection we would like to state that we do not share the views of either Dr. Randall MacIver, Miss Caton Thompson, or Professor Myres for reasons of great importance.—EDITOR, THE AFRICAN WORLD.]

LONDON.

According to the Daily Mail, the death of the Empress Zaiditou of Abyssinia was due to an ice-cold bath that the priests had given her. When she fell ill, it is said she refused to see any one else but the priests. When the doctors finally were called it was too late for their care to do any good.

The Empress was suffering from diabetes. The bath was a holy rite. The Empress was very religious and held to the old rites.

It is reported that the former husband of the Empress, the Ras Jauxa, attempted to seize the throne, but in an engagement in which aeroplanes bombarded his position he was defeated by the forces of the Emperor Tafari, was captured and executed.

Race Problem – 1930
Africa

FORT HARE.
Native Opinion
4-15-30

We heartily congratulate the Principal, Professor Alexander Kerr M.A. and his staff at the Bantu University College, Fort Hare for the wonderful year of success gained at all the examinations of last December when seventeen students—a record number—gained the Matriculation and Senior Certificate qualifications. Nearly all the under graduates made their first and second year B.A. or B.Sc., eighteen being successful and only one failing; while eight passed the Education Diploma and three were awarded their completed B.A. degree being capped by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of South Africa on the second of the current month, namely: Henry Gannon, of Cape Town; Mildred Kay, of Port Elizabeth; and Joseph Joshua, of Kimberley.

An old student of Fort Hare, Innes Gumede from Natal has recently returned from Birmingham, England, having completed the medical degrees of M.B., Ch.B., D.P.H. with credit.

Two new students are to benefit this year by the Greenslade Medical Scholarship of £50 a year and by the William Girdwood memorial loan of £50 a year.

Also £203 has been received by the Governing Council of the College through Dr. McCord from the Keith Fund towards the medical loan fund primarily for the benefit of Zulu medical students. Through the efforts of the Rev Max Yergan the Students' Christian Association of New Zealand has raised a sum to provide for the education in that country of a South African Native medical student.

The course there is a five years' course and a New Zealand qualification will be recognised in South Africa. Mr. Yergan has also secured two other offers: (1) The offer of a medical scholarship for a South African Native student to study in Germany and (2) another at Beyrout Medical School.

The graduation ceremony was held on Wednesday 2nd April in perfect weather, and with everything lovely after the recent rains, a large gathering was marshalled in the College Assembly Hall at Fort Hare, and was constituted a congregation of the University of South Africa by the Vice-Chancellor, Mr Hugh Bryan.

After the reading of Scripture and prayer by the Rt Rev. Bishop Smyth, the congregation united in a musical rendering of the Lord's Prayer.

Then the secretary of the College Senate, Mr. D D T Jabavu, presented three of the college students for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and they were capped by the Vice-Chancellor.

Addressing the graduates and the college, the Vice-Chancellor reminded them that the treasures of knowledge were fully realised only when shared with others, and hoped the example now set would be a beacon of progress to the Native and Coloured people on a way that often was perplexing.

There were vast fields of service for these graduates among people of their own blood. He begged them not to weary their wings unduly by beating against the bars of prejudice. Let them have patience and love for their fellowmen and be ready for sacrifice and to place their service on the altars of their people.

Mr. Bryan spoke of the inspiration that lay in and immediately around Fort Hare. How bare had that spot been but a decade or so ago! Near at hand was Lovedale, and on the hill behind them stood the Stewart memorial. These things bade them go on. There was no lack of inspiration here. He felt that this college might prove a rallying point for the Bantu and other allied races of South Africa, where they might find their soul.

One thing ran through human experience like a thread—the sense of the existence of God. That idea might take forms that were crude, laughable, cruel and bestial, but nothing yet had taken the place of the Christian belief in a God of love.

Progress in these things might be slow, but time in such things did not matter. The history of the Native people furnished instances of a vital and splendid courage in the tasks that lay before them. There would be a call for all the vitality and courage that was in them.

TRANSVAAL NATIVE EDUCATION.
Serious Criticism of a Department

The state of native education throughout the Union, and particularly in the Transvaal, is giving rise to serious criticism by the Joint Councils of Europeans and natives in Johannesburg and Pretoria, and in November a deputation from these bodies met the Minister of Native Affairs.

It is stated there is hardly any equipment in the schools, the buildings are dilapidated and the schools are hopelessly understaffed. Teachers in native schools receive the following emoluments:—

£8 10s. for a principal; the actual salary is £5 10s., but various allowances make up this sum; £6 for an assistant qualified; and about £3 10s. for the uncertificated teacher of whom there are about 400 in the Transvaal. There are 590 registered schools and between 150 and 200 unregistered in the Transvaal. All the natives are tax-payers but only one quarter of the native children in the Union are in Government-aided schools, i.e., three-quarters of the children of native tax-payers receive no benefit from the proportion of taxes which goes into the Native Development Fund.

In the Transvaal the education of coloured children costs £6 per child per year, while the education of native children is 37s. The Native Welfare Association, a joint council of Europeans and natives, want the native development account increased by contributions from the general tax and suggest that the large proportion of natives' contributions towards the Customs should be devoted to educational purposes.

The education of poor whites, it was alleged, costs an amount which is out of all proportion to the taxation paid by that section of the community. The sum spent in the past year by the Government on native education in the Transvaal was about £80,000, and three millions approximately was spent on the education of European children.

"Miserable Salaries."

When this £80,000 was divided among 590 primary schools and the two secondary schools for natives in the Province, it would be realised what a small sum was available for any one school. The Government grant generally just about covered the miserable salaries of native teachers. At the end of 1929 there were more than 66,000 native children on the roll.

There were only three white inspectors, whose task was enormous when it was considered that they had to attend to the 590 schools spread all over the Transvaal.

Medical inspection, which was even more important, suffered even greater disability. The deputation requested the Minister to increase the proportion contributed from the general tax to the native development fund account from 4s. to 8s. in the £, and also requested him to appoint a commission to investigate the whole question of the encouragement of the amalgamation of small native schools in one area. They also asked the Minister to investigate the question of the suggested increase and bring the matter to the attention of his colleagues.

The Minister promised to consider industrial training, and undertook to inquire into the possibility of contributions being made to the native development account from the Customs duties.—"Cape Argus."

ETHIOPIA TO FLOAT LOAN
American Bankers to Advance $20,000,000 for Nile Dam.

Commercial Appeal
4-29-30
Memphis, Tenn.

WASHINGTON, April 28.—Preparations are practically completed for a $20,000,000 loan from American bankers to the little known kingdom of Ethiopia in Africa, it became known here today.

The money will be used in the construction of a gigantic dam on the Blue Nile, which will eventually control the famed British Assouan dam on the White Nile.

Further credits of an additional $20,000,000 also will be sought to establish an important hydro-electric plant in the kingdom to supply cheap electric power for all purposes.

The American minister to the Ras Taffari, as the absolute monarch of this African domain is called, is Addison A. Southard of Louisville, Ky., who is now on leave in this country.

Gen. Hertzog's Policy

The opinion persistently expressed in these columns regarding the Premier's Native policy has been corroborated from a quarter we least expected—from a newspaper published in the Natal province, the "Natal Advertiser." It is a singular occurence however that Natal Europeans are staunch supporters of the Premier's impracticable policy while professing and admitting its fallacy on the other hand. The "Natal Advertiser" writes as follows:-

"Many different interpretations have been put on General Hertzog's speech to the central committee of the Women's Nationalist Party.

The actual words the Premier used are these: "To talk of making South Africa a white man's country is silly. South Africa will always have both black and white races. The struggle is not to make South Africa white but to keep the authority of the white man, not for to day, not for to–morrow, but for as long as the white man remains here." The sentiment is one, we know, that will appeal to very many people in this country. It is one that will provoke a prompt approval in the breasts of the intolerant. It is one that furnishes an ample cement to bind a great party together. It is even more potent than independence. It will gather to itself all who profess and call themselves negrophiles; and we can imagine Dutch and English alike (of certain sorts) finding a common touchstone in this creed to make them all brothers.

Yet does the reader see exactly what this tocsin of the Premier amounts to? It amounts to the bare unadulterated fact that at long last the Native problem is to be definitely a political party issue. It amounts to this that Nationalism fought for secured independence so that it might enjoy the free and unfettered right to keep the Native in perpetual subjection in this country. It amounts to this that the old Boer creed is now exalted to the level of a political faith; and the Native is for evermore to be vassal and serf to the white man merely because the white man is white.

This does not surprise us. Time and again we said that the essential and fundamental conflict between Dutch and English in this country is in respect of their opposing and traditional attitudes towards the subject peoples in Africa. The one fight in South Africa that matters, and that always has mattered, is the fight to decide what is to happen to the Native. We do not for a moment maintain that the Dutch are always intolerant and the British always liberal. There are plenty of English speaking folk in this country who, on this matter, should be fighting under General Hertzog's banner, just as there are very many Dutch-speaking folk who have as noble a liberalism as any who speak the tongue of Wilberforce. But, broadly speaking, the traditional Dutch view is the view that General Hertzog enunciated on Friday, and that he urged the Nationalist Party to adopt as its creed; while the traditional English view is that men should not ultimately be judged by their speech or their colour, but by their capacity to absorb civilisation as that term is generally understood.

We do not set against the Prime Minister's faith the picture of the Native franchise in South Africa in fifty years from now. We do not urge that the white man then, or at any other time, should abdicate his leadership or suffer himself to be deposed by the black. We will fight hereafter as tenaciously as ever the Prime Minister to see that the civilisation which begat us and gave us leadership shall not fail us in the hour of trial. Men may be proud of their race and lineage without being ostentatiously cruel or unjust to others not so happily born.

But to tell the black man that, strive as he may, live as he may, educate himself as he may, civilise himself as he may, he will always be kept in a position of inferiority because he is black and for no other reason is to sound the deathknell of progress and advancement in South Africa. It is to substitute ultimately the law of the machinegun for the law of the only liberty that matters—the liberty to reap the lawful harvest of effort, sacrifice and obedience to the law. What (we would ask any reader) does this dictum of the Premier convey to the Native? It conveys this, and nothing else: that because he is black he is accursed; because he is black he is born to servitude; because he is black he shall ever be in subjection to the white. It is true enough, and must for a long time be true, that, because of his backwardness, he is hewer of wood and drawer of water to us of another race and civilisation.

This is inevitable: and the Native accepts the situation with a good grace. But this is a far different thing from saying that, come what may, the Native shall have the white man's heel on his neck, "not for to-day, not for to-morrow, but for so long as the white man remains in this country." The man who preaches this creed is preaching the race war. He is pitting race against race on the most pitiable and irrational grounds conceivable, the grounds of colour. He is banging, barring, and bolting the door against Hope: and Hate and Despair and Arrogance are left to contest the ensanguined field. It is a poor solace to reflect that the high gods will finally overthrow those who nurse and cherish these political madnesses in their brains. Before this brand of Hertzogism is finally out-rooted the white man may for his own safety's sake, have abandoned South Africa."

Native Unrest In The Union.

During the debate in the Senate Senator F S Malan drew the attention of the House to the prevailing native unrest, which, he said, was peculiarly with the consent of the Senate, because four of their members had been specially nominated to look after Native affairs. The confidence of the Native and coloured population in the fairness and impartiality of the Government must be retained. He could conceive of nothing more fraught with danger than that these peoples should lose their faith in Parliament and take direct action. Those who had taken part in the demonstration of unrest on whatever side must be told that the law and order must be maintained at all costs. The exploitation of any disturbances for political purposes must be avoided, and likewise the suggestion that there was one justice for one section and another justice for another. In some cases there was just a suspicion.

Senator C J Langenhoven: Don't make a general statement, be explicit.

"I refer to Rawsonville," replied Senator Malan, adding that some of the people who had joined in had gone beyond what they were entitled to do. The attitude of the Government should be merely to find means of repressing demonstrations of this kind by legislation of a sort which had proved fatal in the experience of almost every country in the world. In some cases force might be justified, but wherever possible other means of settlement should be used. "I want to ask what steps the Government will take with regard to the commission of inquiry on the social welfare and economic conditions of the Natives," continued Senator Malan.

A Nationalist: How do you know about it?

Senator Malan: From the newspapers and also from a correspondent at Stellenbosch, who informed me that he had been approached to sit on this inquiry. I think that the House should know if such an inquiry is contemplated."

Replying, Mr Havenga (Minister of Finance) said that he thought a premature announcement had been made on the matter of the inquiry and that the Government should say nothing further at that stage than that such a commission was contemplated. With regard to the general policy, he said that if they were not able to prohibit or control a certain class of disturbance, matters would get out of hand, and the necessary powers must be given, but he was fully in agreement with the suggestion that the scale must be held

Race Problem - 1930

Africa

I. L. D. Calls Upon Negro Newspapers to Help Fight Smuts' Campaign of Lies

Sends Cable To South African Negroes

Every Negro newspaper in th country was called on today by th International Labor Defense to join with the radical working class press to militantly expose the imperialist role of General Jan Smuts, former premier of South Africa, who made a tour of the United States, spreading lies about the toiling masses of South Africa.

The I. L. D. also cabled to its connections in South Africa, the International Class War Prisoners Aid (the I. L. D. in the British Empire), telling of Smuts' poisonous campaign on behalf of British imperialism against the fight of the Negro workers for independence. May African workers are members of the South African I. L. D.

Part of the statement sent out to the Negro press and the South African workers declared:

"At a meeting in New York, General Smuts, an agent of imperialism, declared that 'the African is the most patient of all, next to the ass."

The I. L. D. makes bitter protest to the General's campaign of vilification and in his evident role of publicity agent for the British Emprie.

The I. L. D. hails the struggle of the African workers to reach independence, and declares that only through a union of white and Negro masses of workers can imperialism and race prejudice be destroyed.

The International Labor Defense demands the end of imperialist exploitation and butchery.

Down with the agents of imperialism—whether Yankee imperialism which murdered Negro workers in Haiti and upholds lynching in its own homeland, or British imperialism which slaughters Negro workers in Africa and Hindus in India.

SOLVING ZIMBABWE'S ORIGIN.

It would appear that the subsidy of £5,000 recently granted to Professor Leo Frobenius, for copies of ancient cave paintings and towards the expense of his expedition for solving the Zimbabwe mystery has been justified by the latest results attained. In an exclusive message to the "Daily Telegraph" this week, the learned German archæologist told the Durban correspondent of that journal that the answer to the Zimbabwe riddle had been found in the Dharwar region of Southern India, where the Professor states he found the missing evidence. The religious practices of the natives of South Rhodesia and Mozambique appear even to-day to be exactly those of the Shivaism of Southern India. These ancient civilisations extended from Southern India to Mesopotamia and Southern Arabia, thus confirming Theodore Bent's conviction that the Temple buildings he found in Southern Arabia were very similar to those erected at Zimbabwe. Dr. Frobenius is now convinced these Southern Asiatic colonists came to Africa some three thousand years B.C. with the main object of exploiting the mineral wealth of the Central South African areas with special reference to exporting bronze—of a similar kind found in Southern India. We congratulate Professor Frobenius cordially on the success of his work. The highly interesting letter we received by last mail from Captain St. Claire Wallace, the able Curator of Great Zimbabwe, who has spent nearly twenty years in charge of the Ruins, bears out much of the theory and latest discoveries by the eminent German savant, who holds probably a greater knowledge of Africa's ancient culture from personal investigations in North, West, Central, and South Africa than any other living authority on the subject.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

Weekly News

We have reproduced with pleasure in this week's issue from the Lagos papers just come to hand, reports regarding the holding of the Fourth Session of the Congress in Nigeria, which we believe will prove interesting and will rejoice the hearts of all true lovers of the Race Many were the fears entertained and the doubt expressed as to the wisdom of the decision to hold the Sessions in Lagos and some even predicted failure as a result of such action, but in this case it has turned out that "our doubts are traitors and make us lose the good we oft might win, by fearing to attempt,"

Once again courage and faith have triumphed. The people of Lagos especially the leading men and the press have all accorded to the Delegates a friendly reception; a reception which soon developed into enthusiasm at the First Public Meeting held in the Glover Memorial Hall on New Year's Eve, when the Hon. CASELY HAYFORD addressed an over flowing audience.

The Hon. CASELY HAYFORD that wise courageous tactful leader has thus justified his selection for leadership: A section has at last been reformed at Lagos with, we understand, Rev. W. B. EUBA as President and E. M. F. AGBEBI, Esq., Barrister-at-Law and Dr. MAGNUS MCAULEY as Vice-Presidents

We congratulate Mr. CASELY HAYFORD, Mr. SAM R. WOOD, the General Secretary, the whole of the Delegates and the community and Press of Lagos on the success of the Fourth Session of the Congress.

Cape Native Voters

The annual convention of the Cape Native Voters Association met at Queenstown on Dingaan's Day under the chairmanship of Professor D. D. T. Jabavu and over 60 delegates attended. The following resolutions were adopted:—

1—That this convention of the Cape Native Voters assembled at Queenstown on Dingaan's Day desires to record its emphatic protest against the action of the Minister of Justice in terrorising the loyal Native residents of Durban by force of arms without a justifiable cause. Further the Convention is uncompromisingly opposed to the proposed Amendment Bill to the Riotous Assemblies Act as contemplated by the Minister for the purpose of muzzling Native free speech.

2—That with regard to the Prime Minister's Native Bills this Convention re-affirms its resolution of December last, and empowers its delegation to the All South Africa Non European Conference to table the same, with a view to securing the support of the entire nation. Further, that a Union Committee be appointed at the Non-European Conference to prepare a memorandum on the Native bills to be submitted to the Prime Minister and Minister of Native Affairs early next session of Parliament.

3—That this Convention notes with gratitude the institution of a Non-Racial Franchise Association in the Cape Province and the praiseworthy work it has already done in the interests of the Cape Native franchise, as well as the establishment of the principle of a Union Franchise system that shall be free from all colour discrimination.

4—In view of the stringent economic conditions of the Native people of the Union this Convention firmly supports the attitude of the Union Congress of the Chambers of Commerce in favour of the total abolition of the Native poll tax.

5—The Convention congratulates Mr E. G. Jansen, ex-Speaker of the House of Assembly, on being raised to cabinet rank, and bespeaks for him a successful term as Minister of Native Affairs.

6—The convention regrets that the Immorality Act is not giving the looked for relief. Instances are on record that Native women were sent to prison for contravening the law with white men who were subsequently acquitted and in some cases where both were convicted, the women get up to six months and the white men only two months.

One woman, it is alleged, complained of being raped, and was sentenced along with the white man. The convention urges the Government to keep even the scales of justice and not to encourage discrimination between white and black in the courts of law.

The following were elected to office for the ensuing year:—Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu, President, Messrs Sol. T. Plaatye and H. T. Mangcu Vice Presidents. Mr. C. A. W. Sigila, General Secretary. Mr. R. H. Godlo, Assistant General Secretary. Mr. S. M. Bennet Ncwana Organising Secretary. Mr. A. M. Jabavu, Treasurer.—"Representative."

A Remarkable Decision

South African

The question of whether the resolution passed at the recent congress of Non-European races at Cape Town that all non-Europeans who are adherents to the Dutch Reformed Church resign their membership within three months, is remarkable or not depends upon the circumstances that give rise to the decision. It is a well known fact that the Constitution of the Dutch Reformed Church is the only one that lays down the colour bar that no Non-European may hold office in any capacity in the Church. It is also recognised that the outspokenness of our Dutch friends in saying what they believe in rather than applying a silent colour bar (as is the case in other denominations) will make their creed a conspicuous target when Non-Europeans begin to demand that the principles of Christianity be practised as preached by European missionaries. Missionaries, it must be admitted, have their social difficulties and shortcomings that all human beings are subject to; but when a missionary society like the Dutch Reformed Church lays a hard and fast rule that the question of race and colour finds place in its activities, it is time that those Non-Europeans who joined Dutch Reformed ranks unaware of the existence of this terrestrial colour line should take cognisance of the fact that the trail to a celestial kingdom cannot be blazed by people who are spiritually insincere. Knowing the self-sacrifice that Non-Europeans make of themselves in any thing that savours of service to the Deity the Cape Town congress of Non-Europeans in our opinion has not erred in proclaiming a boycott of those individuals who fail to secede from the church in question within three months. These dupes require to be assisted to save themselves from a self-imposed ostracism and the resolution passed is not any more remarkable than the colour bar engraved in the Constitution of this church. With the advance of knowledge and theology Non-Europeans are better able to appreciate the precepts of Christianity, and it behoves all the churches to bestow the full benefits of Christ,s teachings in matters material as exhorted in the spiritual life. Failure to demonstrate the spirit and life of brotherhood to Non-Europeans will create, as in China, a desire for a national Non-European church where the rust and moth of race prejudice can find no way to enter. The belief among Coloureds is gaining ground that their services in the European churches are retained in a capacity to work ain the Lord's vineyard and for others to eat of the fruits thereof.

MAPPING RHODESIA FROM THE AIR.

63,000 Square Miles to be Surveyed.

By Major F. A. De V. Robertson.

HESTON (HOUNSLOW), SATURDAY.

I have just had a flight in a unique aeroplane. So far as I know there is nothing else like it in the world. It is known as the Gloster survey aeroplane, and it has been built to the specifications of the Aircraft Operating Company, Limited, which will use it to survey and map an area of 63,000 square miles in Northern Rhodesia—a tract nearly equal in size to England and Scotland. Guardian

In the general appearance of the machine there is not much that would strike the casual onlooker as very unusual. It rather suggests a twin-engined night-bomber, for it has two Jupiter engines, one out on either wing, and the nose of the fuselage sticks well out in front of them. The undercarriage has an unusually wide track, and there is no axle between the two wheels. The shape of the wing-tips on the upper and lower 'planes is different. 1-31-30

Actually, however, this machine has been built to meet a badly felt want of the aerial surveyor. The company which is to use this machine has done a great deal of surveying in Northern Rhodesia and elsewhere. It has made shift to do this work by adapting ordinary aeroplanes, but these adapted machines were too slow when flying at a height and took too long to cover the ground. In case an engine should fail the company had to clear one landing-ground for every 400 square miles of the work, yet one of the machines was forced to land in unexplored bush, and the pilot and the geologist who was with him had to walk 70 miles to the nearest white outpost. So the company decided to have a machine built which would do the work properly. Val 22nd 5

This new survey aeroplane has been designed without the slightest regard for pay-load or ton-mile figures, which usually hamper the designer of civil aircraft. It has a metal frame, of course, to withstand variations of climate, a wide track with no axle, so as to be able to work from a rough aerodrome in the bush, and a clear view in all directions for the pilot. This last point is very important. At 9,000 feet it will fly level on only one of its engines, which is also of prime importance. At 20,000 feet its speed is 118 m.p.h., and it can fly for 7½ hours and cover 800 miles.

With this aeroplane it will only be necessary to make one aerodrome in the whole area of 63,000 square miles. Parallel lines of overlapping photographs approximately thirty miles apart will be taken from an altitude of 18,000ft. Quite straight flying is very necessary for this operation. Ground survey parties will fix the true position of outstanding features by ordinary survey methods, and the machine will then fly at right angles to the first lines of vertical photographs and will take oblique photographs of the whole area. Some 700 plates will be exposed on each single flight. The maps will be made from the photographs at the company's offices at Hendon, and the whole work should be complete in two years. London Manchester Eng.

Lord Thomson and Mr. Montague, the Secretary and Under Secretary for Air, made the first flight in the new machine at Heston this morning. Sir Edward Crowe, Comptroller General of the Department of Overseas Trade, and Sir Sefton Brancker went up on the second trip. All were delighted with the behaviour of the machine, especially Sir Edward Crowe, who had never flown before. So, I may add, was I. The machine is delightful to fly in, though somewhat noisy. It was particularly interesting to see the ease with which the pilot turned to the left with his starboard engine throttled right down. The range of speed is also very good.

Lord Thomson said after his flight that the Aircraft Operating Company is going to do a great deal to develop the Empire, while a flying company which made good without asking the Air Ministry for a subsidy was like a "spring of water in the wilderness." He was surprised to hear that they could survey at £4 per square mile. He said that he would do all in his power to help the company to obtain new contracts.

"BLACK CABINET" DREAM.

And a Black Governor-General!

An ingenious scheme, providing for the setting up of a "Black Cabinet," to work in co-operation with the existing "White Cabinet" in ruling South Africa, is reported to have been propounded, apparently in all seriousness, by Dr. B. H. Wellington, a native propagandist, as the solution of the South African native problem, and as a logical conclusion to General Hertzog's proposal for the political segregation of natives.

Dr. Wellington's scheme is credibly reported to have received the unanimous support of the conference at Idutywa, in the Transkei, which was attended by over 500 native delegates. African World

Dr. Wellington has arrived in Johannesburg to secure support for his proposals, which, it is stated, have been forwarded in writing to both the Union Parliament and the British Government. 2-1-30

Dr. Wellington is nothing if not ambitious. He has suggested a new Constitution, whereby a black Governor-General, a black Prime Minister, and thirteen other black Cabinet Ministers would take office. He has naturally been chosen to fill the position of black Governor-General.

To Deal with Europeans! Vol. C.K. 20/1/21

To match the recent appointment of Mr. Jansen as Minister to deal exclusively with native affairs, Dr. Wellington has made provision in his "Shadow Cabinet" for a Minister to deal exclusively with European affairs, and presumably to act as liaison officer to the "White Cabinet." Africa.

The list of names is complete, even down to the appointment of secretaries to the various "Black Ministers."

When questioned as to whether the members of his "Shadow Cabinet" had accepted nominations, Dr. Wellington is reported to have said that although the positions had not yet been offered to the various natives, steps were being taken to "notify them of their appointments."

Dr. Wellington has successfully evaded any jealousies which might arise between Cape Town and Pretoria as to which should be the seat of the "Black Government," and has avoided a cumbrous "dual capital" system by choosing Queenstown as the legislative and administrative capital. Incidentally, Queenstown is the headquarters of his organisation, known as the Wellington Universal Improvement Association, and the African Communities' League.

Apparently Dr. Wellington's idea is that the natives should be represented by their own people in the House of Assembly. The main outline of his proposals is contained in a resolution which was unanimously adopted at the conference referred to above. The resolution reads: "That it is now high time that in South Africa there should be a black as well as a white Cabinet, composed of the Ministers of the Crown, who will rule the country in the best interests of both the white and black."

Nat ve Schools

South African Native opinion

The decision of the Tamara Local Council to take control of Native mission schools was hailed with great satisfaction. We had hoped to hear more of the Qugqwala school question by now, but somehow progress is slow. We trust that those responsible will act while the iron is hot, and open the way for many other schools that are deserving of Bunga support.

Race Problem- 1930

Africa

South Africa's "White" Problem

THIS illuminating account of the present state of affairs in South Africa generally and in Natal in particular was written by a correspondent in South Africa for the *New Statesman,* from which we reprint it. The "black" election referred to was primarily a fight for the premiership between General Smuts, leader of the South African Party, and General Hertzog of the Nationalist Party. General Hertzog, who won the election, made the race question the main issue in the campaign with his slogan of "a white South Africa." General Smuts contended that the race issue should be kept out of politics.

The "black" election of June last has already begun to bear fruit. Having deliberately appealed to the country's anti-black fears and prejudices, the government had to show that it was as good as its word and take any occasion that offered to uphold the white man's prestige (in the good old Back Veld way) and teach the natives a lesson and a proper respect for the forces of law and order. Recent happenings in Durban, where the new young Minister of Justice, Mr. Pirow, has sought to emulate Mr. Churchill's Sidney Street exploit, have doubtless had some notice in the cables. They are, perhaps, more significant as evidence of the European mental approach to our problems than of deep-seated native discontent—which no doubt exists—and "unrest" at the habitual manifestations of that mentality in policy and in administration.

For a long time past the natives of Natal have had good reason for discontent. In the older, more spacious days large numbers of native families found homes on European-owned farms as share-paying squatters. The 1913 Land Act made the shares system illegal, decreeing that natives should hold farm land only if they gave ninety days of "labor service." In Natal since 1913 there has also been a notable development of European agriculture, with less room for squatter families of any kind, and increased pressure on those remaining as labor tenants. Evictions became common; those evicted, and others, removed to the "Reserves," which in turn have become uncomfortably crowded—the result being a heavy drift, both from farms and from the increasingly crowded "Reserves," to the towns. The Natal natives, being proud but not very advanced or enlightened Zulus, with a common language and a strong Zulu tribal tradition, are likely to stand together in a common emergency better than the very mixed native community, say of the Rand. The Zulus, moreover, have never taken to mine labor, but habitually prefer to take their chance of urban occupations in general service as store boys or as dock laborers. In spite, therefore, of the shortage of labor in the mines and elsewhere, urban wages in Natal have been even more than usually stagnant—by some reliable accounts showing little or no rise on pre-war standards. Meantime evictions from farms have continued, economic pressure generally has been intensified, and even rural natives have flocked to join the rather bellicose but perhaps inevitably ill-organized and not very effective trade union, the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, or the I.C.U.

Now to the small white community of Natal the Zulu War of 1879 is still a very live memory; quiet and peaceable citizens live in real dread of fire and murder on lonely farm homesteads. White Natal, moreover, is politically conservative, and in the worst sense "imperialistic"—readily entertaining a *Times* or even a *Morning Post* horror of the world-wide machinations of bolshevism, red, white, and black. For their own part these nervous Natalians have failed on the whole to meet even the urban problem of providing satisfactory living conditions for their hosts of town laborers; and native discontent, and for a time the I.C.U., have grown apace. In defiance of all evidence the I.C.U. is held to stand for sheer bolshevism, the precursor of something like a general Zulu rising. Twice at least I.C.U. offices in remote country *dorps* have been sacked by a European mob (without the white culprits being brought to book); and in June last a native boycott of municipal beer-shops in Durban led to riots in which (by the finding of a judicial inquiry) the high-handed intervention of white civilians was in large measure responsible for serious loss of life.

Since June nothing at all has been done to allay native discontent, and the well-sustained boycott of the municipal beer-shops has served to keep excitement alive. Meantime, by reason of poverty, of clumsy and defective administration, and to some extent perhaps by native design, collection of the relatively very heavy poll-tax had fallen into arrears. Periodical raids by the local police were none too effective, and, by the official account on one occasion the natives counter-attacked and released forty of a band of some 150 arrested defaulters. This much, therefore, may be said for Mr. Pirow's exploit, that in face of native discontent the all too normal police method of tax-collecting could not continue unless backed by an overwhelming show of force.

Some time ago, accordingly, while the minister responsible for Native Affairs went off as if unconcerned to his peaceful farm, his colleague of Justice, having first gazetted a stringent Riotous Assemblies bill for the compassing of future "agitators," collected a powerful force of police, himself took aeroplane to the scene of operations, and about three o'clock one morning stood by while the minions of the law routed natives from their beds, exacted salaams of respect, demanded tax receipts, collected a "disappointingly" small number of "lethal weapons" (evidence of "Red" plots), and effected the arrest (not necessarily the conviction) of a few hundred of the 5,000 natives thus "rounded up." About six, as a parting shot and as an "experiment," the gas squadron (themselves fully armed with gas-masks) dropped among the unoffending spectators thus rudely wakened from their beds apparently as many as three tear-gas bombs—"specially provided," says Mr. Pirow's official statement (to a Nationalist Party meeting), "for it is as harmless as it is effective, and will no doubt be extensively used in future native disturbances." Mr. Pirow himself was soon satisfied with the "complete success" of his demonstration and flew back to Pretoria, followed a few days later by his special police force, which had in the meantime similarly combed and scoured all the rest of Durban and its neighborhood. A few days later again it was announced (as it might well have been many months earlier) that the statutory Native Affairs Commission was being ordered to Durban to investigate and report on native grievances—the commission being a body of three with unlimited "powers" of advising the government, but no assurance of its advice being taken, or even made known for the education of the public.

So the white man's power has been vindicated and a wholesome lesson of respect for the "law" inculcated—by methods of highly dubious legality. Mr. Pirow's is unmistakably the voice of the Back Veld to which the government made its electoral appeal; a young and inexperienced minister, who never in his life has had dealings with any but his own native servants, is as confident as those he represents of his ability to govern the great native peoples of South Africa, as he would his own farm or kitchen, by sheer "benevolent" despotism. Natal is little if any better than Mr. Pirow and the Back Veld; what had a little more excuse in the primitive days of the Zulu War, enforced "respect" and unbending despotism, must alone prevent a recurrence of the events of far-away 1879 in the industrial conditions of 1929.

If a more liberal and enlightened alternative government were in sight our plight were less desperate. But even while Mr. Pirow gallivanted in Durban, General Smuts, our one internationally minded statesman and intellect, was shocking ever staunch admirers by his deliverances on African policy at the Sheldonian Theater in Oxford. South Africans perhaps get their share of outside criticism and are always hotly resentful of such partial and ill-informed opinions. An outstanding South African representative like General Smuts might have been expected to be careful to give the whole truth. At Oxford, on the contrary, he was inaccurate in his history—very politely chiding the missionaries and philanthropists for their past failures, when the truth is that South Africans themselves forcibly prevented the carrying out of a "humanitarian" policy which might have saved them from the embarrassments of a native land problem, whose existence General Smuts himself faintly admitted. He was still more inaccurate in his description of present-day conditions. He painted an almost wholly fanciful picture of a native population—really barely half the total—comfortably placed in large "Reserves," sending their male folk out to work (he did not say the conditions are so severe that 50 per cent and more of the adults are perforce absent at any one time, though the Mandates Commission suggests 5 per cent as a maximum compatible with social stability); what time "the children attend the village school" and the "women keep the home fires burning"!

General Smuts did indeed recognize the existence of another class, not quite so small as he and others commonly imagine, of completely detribalized, urbanized, and even educated natives who do not fit into this picture. In spite of them he plumped for a visionary scheme of "segregation," manifestly inclining to the now much-favored plan of separate and "communal" representation of natives, if they are to have any voice at all in the sovereign Parliament. But the Union of South Africa today is the monumental warning of the dangers of just such a class and "communal" representative system. For such purely native areas as remain, the plan may yet be tried; but in fact nearly half of our natives live and work and have their being in immediate dependence on farmers or other white employers, with interests inseparably bound up with those of the European community. The sponsors of a communal franchise for natives make it abundantly clear that the representatives of natives shall be only a handful, thus threatening to perpetuate and intensify the present injustices which arise of necessity from the dependence of any conceivable South African government on what except for a few Cape seats is an exclusively white electorate.

This white electorate is our real problem, since for political ends it is even encouraged in its prejudice of thinking of the natives as a "menace," not as an essential part of a greater whole. Nervous South Africans are as much to be pitied as blamed. Poor whites fear native economic competition and, as in Natal, memories of native wars are still so vivid as to confirm Europeans in Mr. Pirow's misplaced confidence in a "prestige" resting wholly on force. If the country is to be saved from itself it must have a sharp lesson—perhaps even now, in pain and travail, it is laboring under the birth of a new white mentality. Mr. Pirow has had a poor press, and General Smuts has not wanted critics. European concern matches native resentment and discontent, and the state of tension revealed in the daily papers cannot safely continue. The handful of more enlightened natives, acknowledged by General Smuts, are evidence that, in a community avowedly democratic, native policy cannot forever be a matter of dictation to the servants' hall. Hard as the lesson is to learn, the domination of Europeans must give way to the securer bonds of conciliation and consent.

LIBERIAN SLAVERY AND FORCED LABOUR?

We learn from Monrovia, with reference to alleged charges of slavery made against the Government of the Republic, that shipments of labourers out of the country against their consent would have stopped last year had the Legislature acted upon a measure submitted during its last session. This measure passed the House, but was tabled in the Senate and held up. A local journal reminds the Liberian Legislature now in session that there is serious danger in permitting the shipment of labour from Liberia to any country except to Fernando Po, to which island labourers may be shipped on proper contracts. It was stated in the American Press this month that President King had on his personal authority stopped the departure of twenty-four Kru labourers for shipment, and there can be no doubt that, in view of the grave discussions a few months ago at Geneva and the impending activities of the Commission of the League of Nations, the wind is up to some extent at Monrovia. We believe that sundry other difficult problems are engaging official attention at the capital, and the early arrival of the new American Chargé d'Affaires, the Hon. Carter, the first white Minister of the United States of America to the Negro Republic, is looked forward to with keen and rather anxious interest. According to a recent Reuter telegram from Geneva, the President of the League Council and Mr. Arthur Henderson as Reporter have appointed Monsieur S. Meek and Judge Arendal, a Norwegian, as members of the International Commission set up at the request of the Republic of Liberia to inquire into the alleged existence of slavery and forced labour in Liberia. M. Meek has spent much of his career as a judge in the Belgian Congo, and has a good experience of African Equatorial affairs. Two more members have yet to be appointed—one nominated by Liberia and the other by the United States, after which the Commission will set to work in earnest.

BELGIAN PROGRESS IN RUANDA-URUNDI.

REPORT TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FOR 1928.

The Belgian mandated territory in East Africa comprises an extensive stretch of country east of Lakes Tanganyika and Kivu, lying between those lakes and Tanganyika Territory. It is bounded on the north by Uganda, and the total area is about 21,000 square miles, or 13,240,000 acres, which is about equally divided between Ruanda in the north and Urundi in the south. About 30 per cent. of the total is suitable for agriculture and afforestation.

The latest report (1928) of the Belgian Government, presented to the League of Nations by M. Henri Jaspar, the Belgian Colonial Minister, contains a lot of interesting information. The report, in fact, contains no less than 150 large quarto pages of small type, together with a tremendous lot of figures. It seems only reasonable to inquire if quite such elaborate and detailed reports are necessary or desirable, for in their present form they require a vast amount of close and concentrated attention to get at the essential facts. These essential and leading facts are not separately given or emphasised either by means or diagrams or curves or in the form of summaries, but have to be laboriously distilled amid a mountainous mass of secondary material. It may be that the League of Nations desires its reports on mandated territories in this form, and has a numerous staff with plenty of time available to deal with them and extract their essence; but when one reflects that a British Colonial report, e.g., on Egypt or the Sudan—countries vastly greater, more populous, and important than Ruanda-Urundi—are only about one-twentieth the size of the present report, and then contain all the essential information needed, and in a much more convenient and readable manner, there does seem room, in some of these mandated territory reports, for at least a certain amount of discriminating condensation and better arrangement. A few summaries or leading tables here and there, or a final précis of the whole, would be appreciated by those who have to study the vast and rapidly growing mass of literature on African affairs.

The leading and vital problems which stir our interest in other parts of Africa are met with here in all their apparently intractable and spinulous persistency, only perhaps even more so. Above all the impact of European civilisation on Africa and African mentality is accompanied here, as elsewhere, with the most difficult and perplexing consequences. Here, as elsewhere, the European has assumed the rôle of guide, counsellor, and friend, in accordance with the latest views of African development; the policy largely composed of laissez faire and paternalism has been adopted, and the native has been encouraged to make the most of himself by his own efforts, mainly through the media of his own traditions, language, and customs. But the amount of success achieved in this part of Africa does not appear to have been too brilliant. The attempt made to leave the natives as much as possible to themselves, to encourage them to manage their own affairs a little more efficiently and intelligently; the strenuous and determined efforts to educate the chiefs and notables up to a certain minimum stage of appreciative responsibility, have not, in Ruanda-Urundi, been conspicuously successful. The present report, in fact, has much to say about disaffection and indifference, and even revolt in some quarters. The Belgian guardians, in the true spirit of trusteeship, do their best to interest and stimulate the chiefs and notables in the rudimentary elements of administrative and judiciary procedure, but very often with disappointing results. At the same time there is no need to emphasise the failures and ignore the successes. Steady progress is undoubtedly being made, but it is a very uphill task. It may be slower than in West Africa, where the native is perhaps of a more docile and teachable nature, but it may in the end be of a more enduring and effective character. It does not infrequently happen that those who are the most difficult to teach ultimately become the best taught, retain their teaching the longest, and know how to use it to best purpose. If these methods do not work with the African native it certainly does not yet appear what other and better methods can be used. It is impracticable and inhumane to leave him alone altogether, a prey to famine and disease and slavery, and eventual extinction. He may, indeed, become extinct under the European impact, but it will surely be a less painful process. The future course of world history, black and white, is on the lap of the gods, buried in the velvety folds of dark futurity, hidden in the impenetrable mists of the hereafter. A little way ahead we can see and try to prepare for, and that is all.

This part of East Africa has of late years been sorely smitten by famine, and this has taxed the time and resources of the Belgian administration to the utmost. Native agriculture appears to be stagnant, and to native inefficiency must be added the cruel vicissitudes of a difficult and perverse climate. Much could no doubt be done if only the natives would show a little foresight and care for the future, and even an incipient degree of skill in husbanding their resources and laying up for a rainy day, or, rather, in this case, for a rainless season; but with their inherent fatalism, probably the most stubborn and difficult trait in their mental make-up that the European has to deal with, they think only of the present fleeting moment: children of the hour that is now, they care not for the future. The report says (page 67, Annexe to Part III.):

> "The natural improvidence of Muhutu, the passivity with which he meets that destiny which is deaf alike to charm or invocation, his characteristic fatalism in the presence of adversity, and, above all, the infection of collective discouragement resulting from continual failure, are all cumulative factors which prevent any effective resistance in the face of universal famine."

An excellent map is given at the end, and it has one rather unique feature, an entire absence of railways, and this is certainly unique, even for Africa, in this era of railway development. Another remarkable feature is the abundance of rivers shown, with thousands and tens of thousands of tributaries, so that scarcely a quarter of an inch of territory is without its undulating blue line of watercourse of some sort or another. If these are all based on definite survey, which is hardly possible, then Ruanda-Urundi is the best watered territory in all Africa.

Turning to the commercial and industrial side, as developed solely by Europeans and other non-native peoples, there were, in 1928, 151 commercial establishments in Urundi and 94 in Ruanda, making 245 in all, as compared with 233 in 1927. Of these no less than 124 were under Arab control, 79 under Indian, and only 30 European. The chief items in the Import trade are foodstuffs, and in the export trade hides and skins.

NATIVE OUTRAGE IN KENYA

U.S. Woman Missionary Murdered.

Reuter's telegrams from Nairobi say that a ghastly case of outrage and murder is reported from Kijabe, fifty miles from there. An American missionary, Mrs. Hulde Stumpf, aged 63, who has been working in Kenya Colony for the past 22 years, went on Thursday of last week to her room on the mission estate, which is a single hut situated some 300 yards from any other buildings. During the night her room was entered, and she was outraged. The following morning she was found dead, apparently from suffocation.

The police are investigating the case and are combing the surrounding native villages. Mrs. Stumpf, who was stone deaf, was a member of the African Inland Mission, an American organisation.

Exchange and Central News telegrams state that Kijabe was the scene of a similar occurrence a few years ago, when an old lady named Mrs. Ulyate was gravely assaulted and a native convicted.

LIBERIA AND SLAVERY.

The League Takes Action.

If Liberia lacks railways and other modern conveniences its Government clearly does not lack common sense, says the "Children's Newspaper" League correspondent. It has just established a legation at Geneva and appointed a chargé d'affaires to maintain relations between the Liberian Republic and the League of Nations.

Liberia has another special tie with the League at the moment in connection with the campaign against slavery. Its delegate to the last Assembly protested against the accusation that slavery and forced labour are still practised in his country as a recognised system, and announced that his Government was willing to stand the test of a special inquiry into the matter.

He invited the League to appoint a representative who, with an American and a Liberian, should investigate and report to the League. He added that, as there are no railways in Liberia and consequently communications are difficult and distances great, some isolated cases might be discovered, yet Liberian law forbids slavery and forced labour, and the founders of the Republic in 1847 wrote in their Charter of Independence these words:—

"The love of liberty brought us here. There shall be no slavery in the Republic: nor shall any citizen of the Republic, nor any resident therein, deal in slavery either within or without this Republic, directly or indirectly."

Our remembrance of slaves only now being freed in our own territory at Hong Kong should make us tolerant of Liberia and its special difficulties.

Race Problem – 1930

Africa

THE BELGIAN CONGO.

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent.)

BRUSSELS, February 4.

Wireless Communications with the Congo.

In its annual report the Société Générale de Belgique announces that towards the end of the first half of this year the Brussels Société Belge Radio-Electrique (the S.B.R.) will commission its short waves station for telegraphic and telephonic messages to the Congo. African World

The Léopoldville sister station for telegraphic and telephonic communications with Belgium will be in commission at the end of this year 2-8-30

The Air Line to the Congo.

Colonel Smeyers, managing director of the Sabena, told me last week that the air line to the Congo will be maintained alternately by Belgian and by French aeros and airmen.

As already said, the service, a weekly one, will be inaugurated in September next, and the first flights will be performed without passengers and with the mails only.

The C.B.M.C. Takes Over the L.R.B.

To take over Lloyd Royal Belge, the Compagnie Belge Maritime du Congo is to increase its capital from 115 to 165 millions frs London England

The Port of Matadi.

The Société Générale report states that when the improvements now being carried out at Matadi by the Congo Railway Co. shall have been completed the port will be able to handle an annual traffic of one million tons, that is to say, twice as much as at present.

Congo Exports Last Year.

According to the Société Générale report the Congo exports in 1929 represents a value of 2 milliards frs.—a notable increase on the previous years Vol of

The Congo Sugar.

The Sucrière Congolaise informs me that the "Thysville," arrived at Antwerp on Friday last, brought here the first cargo of Congo sugar; some 250 tons. African World

These 250 tons are part of the 820 produced in 1929 by the Sucrière. 20 1922

The Lower Congo-Katanga Railway.

The Générale report states that the survey of the line Léopoldville-Port Francqui (and Pt Francqui is already connected by rail with Bukama, Elisabethville, and Cape Town) could be completed end this year, "so that to eventually allow to start the building of the line in 1930."

The Générale report states that, on account of the difficult conditions of transport on the Kasai River during the low waters season, the construction of the line Léopoldville-Port Francqui should be hastened.

The Katanga Railway Traffic.

According to the Société Générale report the Katanga Railway carried: In 1927, 3,066,000 tons of freight; in 1928, 3,156,000 tons; in 1929, 3,460,000 tons (about).

J. ROUSSEAUX.

THE "EAST AFRICAN MANUAL."

A Wealth of Information.

The voluminous and comprehensive "East African Manual" appears this year with its wealth of information increased, and its appeal wider than ever. Published by Mining and Industrial Publications of Africa, Ltd., and edited by Mr. C. Carlyle-Gall, it adds to the attractiveness of its massive knowledge with over 400 illustrations of local appeal.

It would seem impossible to cover its interesting territory more thoroughly, for it embraces Governments, agriculture, industry, mining, transport, big game-hunting, motoring, etc., in Kenya Colony, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Uganda and Zanzibar Protectorates, and Portuguese East Africa. This range reveals how invaluable it must be to everyone interested in the East Coast.

In particular one can recommend it to those for whom the country has new and strong attractions in its farming, prospecting, mining, touring, and big game-hunting. It is truly stated that East Africa is not a new sphere to venture in without previous careful consideration, for its history holds tragedies amongst men whose fate was due to a lack of the qualities necessary for facing the conditions of the country.

Rich Opportunities.

Opportunity is rich, and a future promising for the man of courage and industry. It is particularly so for the farmer, for the soil is wonderfully fertile, and the climate—on the whole—genial. In this "Manual" the prospective settler is given complete information for his guidance 2-8-30

Full descriptive information of the facilities offered by the Kenya-Uganda Railways, and road routes and motoring matters are collected, whilst some attention has been paid to tractors and steam ploughs for the farmer's benefit. African World

As many farmers must rely more upon native labour than upon costly mechanical implements the sensitive questions arising from this labour, which are so liable to become intense controversy, are stated clearly as a guide to the new settler.

The mineral resources of East Africa have their appeal to the settler, and he is therefore supplied with useful information, whilst the exacting conditions which govern big game-hunting, so necessary in the interests of the countries, are set forth. New residents should study this section carefully to obviate trouble arising from their innocence. London, England

It is the home life in every new country which is the first thought and care of the woman, therefore the "Manual" stresses the adaptability of East Africa, particularly Kenya, to their natural desires, the cultivating of social life, interesting occupations and the needs of the children.

For 30s. (with maps) the latest "East African Manual" is a bargain.

NATIVES AND LAND.

At a meeting of the Stockenstroom Farmers' Association called specially to consider the question of the blowfly menace, at the conclusion Mr. Burger, the magistrate of Seymour asked if there were any farmers present adjoining the High Veld Hill farm at Mankazana, who had any objection to the Government purchasing this farm for a Native settlement to adjoin the Healdtown Institute. Native Affairs 2/22/30 South Africa

After discussion Mr. H. Theron proposed that this Association strongly protests against any land being purchased in this district for Native settlements.

This was seconded by Mr. A. A. Morris and carried unanimously.

Now this is a most curious resolution to pass. The Stockenstroom Farmers' Association ought to know that the allocation of land by the Beaumont Commission giving 75 per cent of land in the Union to barely a million Europeans, and the remaining 25 per cent to over five million Natives, was unsatisfactory and unacceptable to the Native people. Do they not know that the Native reserves are so congested that they could neither support man or beast, with the result that there is a great trek of Natives from the reserves to towns and labour centres despite attendant evils? Do they not know that a recent congress of the Chambers of Commerce held at Cape Town the following resolution was passed:—"That this congress considers that the welfare and prosperity of the white and native races of South Africa depends in large measure on their complete segregation in towns and on the gradual repatriation of all male Natives to the country, except such as are housed under the compound system while serving periods of employment."

Now in view of the above resolution whatever are the Natives supposed to do? They are human beings and not birds which live and have their being on air. It is such resolutions as these that at times Natives lose patience over and doubt the ordinary common sense of some of our European friends. But we console ourselves with the knowledge that the landlessness of Natives cannot last long. The whole question of Natives and land will come to the forefront for settlement, and when its true position is placed before farmers, their attitude will change and Natives be given their fair share of the land. The Transkei itself which is considered sparsely populated is now congested according to the report of the recent Bantu Conference held at Kentane. We make no apology to our readers for repeated references to this question. It is a matter of life and death to our people.

Future of the Native.

Native Affairs 2/22/30 South Africa

Some highly interesting views on the future of the native races of South Africa were expressed by Dr. T. T. Barnard, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Capetown, in the course of his inaugural address at the fourth vacation course in African life and languages. "It seems to me essential," said Dr. Barnard, "that through the clatter of the cliches of 'segregation,' 'developing the Native on his own lines,' and similar much used and little-understood phrases, we should hold on to this: that in the end whatever means we take to avoid it, the African people will take over the civilisation of the West." He contended that two accidents only could prevent it, and neither of them represented a chance upon which a policy could be legitimately based. The one accident was that the African races by some selective disease or racial decay might become extinct; the other, that European civilisation might disintegrate before the process was complete. "You and I and every European in Africa (continued Dr. Bernard), consciously or unconsciously, are taking part in a prodigious social experiment—the replacement of African tribal culture by the civilisation that we still call western and European, but which is rapidly becoming for all its imperfection, the civilisation of the world" In con

nection with the policy of "developing the Native on his own lines," the writer declared, adverting to General Smuts' Oxford address, that "to claim that by any system of segregation or repression it is possible to ensure that the Native organisation would not be materially affected is downright nonsense." The lecturer contended that it was juggling with words to say that the imposition of taxes, the maintenance of roads, the amendment of Native law and the improvement of agriculture, was allowing the Native to develop on his lines The great process in which they were all engulfed was inevitable: the substitution of "European" civilisation for the tribal custom of the African Native. "But (concluded Dr Burnard) we may be able to exert some direct control, as the light ing can be directed though it cannot be stopped, And the directive policy of the European in Africa should not be the development of the Native on his own lines, but the development of the Native with the forces of responsibilities of our civilisation, on his own feet." "*Cape Mercury.*"

Xosa Doctors.

(By "Daukbaar").

[*Continued*]

It may happen that the head of the family becomes ill. If the illness is of serious nature the services of a witch-doctor are required, and as there is the belief that illness is caused by some evil disposed person the duty of the doctor is not only to heal the sick but to discover the person who may be the cause of the trouble. The special function of a witch doctor used to be what Europeans termed "smelling out" ukunuka or ukombulula, "osiyazi" finders of the cause of trouble, abanomshologu men with spirits of divination or familiar spirits, abavumisi same as above ab.hlaba izihlabo finders of the cause of trouble abakwitsi, abakafulayo, or abapopa ngomabopa men who use charms This is the special function of amaxwele or izinyanga herbalists. Recently the newspapers published an account of court cases in Natal having been reverted by the charms of this class of Xosa doctors who belong to the second class. The encounter of Rev Charles Pamla with one of these in early days shows that they could really do wonders. It was a clear day but directly as he began to work with charms to cause lightening to strike the minister a cloud arose and it began to thunder heavily and the minister went into the church to ask for God's protection wherein the thunder bolt struck the doctor dead on the spot. This is a true story in which it is manifest that the power of God is above that of man. This is the reason why Christians are disallowed to have fellowship with the demons. The following should be Mr Ross' description of those who imitate or ape the doctors as truthfully he says "The breakdown of tribal life, contact with Europeans, direct and indirect, with Natives of other tribes, and the discrediting of primitive heathen ideas through Native education has led to great obscurity and confusion. Worse still, poverty, with knowledge of the pleasures money can bring, and greed to enjoy these, coupled with an innate dislike of steady work have produced endless adventurers who pose as doctors. These are false doctors, who may be likened to false prophets in Israel. But a false prophet is not a prophet nor a doctor. Even in enlightened England there are many places where people are very superstitious, and where old witches and wizards, ghosts and hobgoblins, are verily believed in But in the pages of Peter Parley's Annual (of Dec. 25, 850. London) we can laugh at them heartily, and little children who read about them need not be afraid to go to bed in the dark The young readers of Peter Parley's works ought to be thankful that the days of superstition are on the wane. That they are utterly gone no one who takes notice of what is going on in the world will maintain. It was admitted that, upon any one pronouncing the divine name, the whole of these wicked spirits flew away, like mists at the rising of the sun. There is something in this incident we should note, for true it is that where the author of good is, evil is not, there is no ukutwasa or signing a contract with an evil spirit.

But, although old witches are put down in Europe as fortune-telling, mesmerism, ventriloquisim, spiritualism, thought reading, clairvoyaney, etc are not; there are still numbers of persons, especially old ladies of by-gone days, who lay out the cards to tell their fortune; many persons tell their fortune by the grounds in a tea or coffee cup. Some are frightened when they hear a death watch or see a winding-sheet in a candle, or when a looking glass is accidently broken; and look upon these occurances as omens Now all this is not only very silly, but very wicked, for we ought to consider that the All-Mighty and All-Good Governor of the Universe, has, in his great mercy, withheld from us a knowledge of the future; and we should not attempt to lift the veil, but to look forward with humble trust and cheerful hope that He, who does all things well, will preserve those that place their dependence upon Him, "through all dangers, ghostly and bodily," and save them from all evil, both in time and eternity.

We affirm what has already been said that Bone throwing and the divination postulators are an abomination. They flaunt their quackery and prey on the ignorance and credulity of their people. If Native doctors could be induced to pool their knowledge of medicinal herbs and roots for the benefit of humanity they might do a service worth doing and earn the gratitude of many.

ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE INTERNATIONAL MARITIME AGENCY.

On Saturday, January 25, took place the annual banquet of the International Maritime Agency in the company's superb hall, which was elaborately decorated for an occasion when the members of the staff meet to celebrate the increasing progress of the great firm and also to tighten the bonds of good will which unite the staff of upwards of eight hundred members.

The guests were received in the luxurious head offices on the first floor by Mr. Cattier, president of the Administrative Council, and Mr. Alex. van Opstal, the courteous and able Administrator-Delegate. This reception was preceded by an informal and still more intimate one, when Mr. Mariano de Tabuenca, one of the general directors, presented to Mr. van Opstal the jewelled miniature of the Order of Leopold, recently conferred upon him by His Majesty King Albert, accompanying the presentation by a few words expressive of the pleasure which such a distinction had given to the staff and all his colleagues.

Mr. Van Opstal presided at the table of honour, having at his sides Mr. Felician Cattier, Mr. de Tabuenca, Messrs. Scraeyen and Velge, general directors, Messrs. Steer and Bernaerts, directors; Messrs. De Keulenaer and Vereecke, under-directors; Messrs. Creten Gabriel, Noel and Thys, Messrs. Eelen, Mommens, Captain Van de Vliet, Mr. Landmesser, Messrs Arnoldy, P. Cattier, J. Le Bœuf, Van Havermaet, Ch. Hedgren, De Rooy, Steger, Hauff, Van Goubergen, Janssens, Wennegers, De Meyer, L. Van Dyck, Taeymans, Baerts, Neeffs, Luyten and Robinson, Mr. Eugene Van den Bosch, Captain Smith, Mr. Alder, Mr. Roca, Mr. Theritays, and Mr. Hollmann. At the other tables were gathered the numerous employees, who showed a spirit of jovial *camaraderie*, to which the excellent menu and first-class wines contributed.

When full justice had been done to the banquet, the chairman, Mr. Van Opstal, proposed the toast of His Majesty the King, which was drunk with enthusiasm. He then made a speech of much interest, recalling the inception of the International Agency, the troublous days of the War, when its founders were generously received in England by Lord Kylsant, and the reconstruction of the enterprise after the Armistice, due in such great part to the energy of their president, Mr. Cattier. Since those days the progress of the International Maritime Agency has been assured, and its future success was safe under the able management of its chiefs. He made special mention of Messrs. Steer, De Keulenaer, Count Bernaerts, the newly appointed director, and Mr. Vereecke, and congratulated General Holman on his appointment as director of the Soutiére Company, and Mr. Therefays, of the Ship and General Stores Company. He concluded by proposing the health of Mr. Cattier.

In a brilliant and humorous speech, Mr. Cattier thanked the chairman, and then referred to the project of union with the Lloyd-Royal, which, he was sure, would have the happiest results. He then proposed the health of the general staff. Replying for the personnel, Mr. Velge, who was very warmly received, said that the company owed much to its indefatigable staff, whose number was yearly increasing under the able and sympathetic management of Mr. Van Opstal. He referred in complimentary terms to the employees of the Lloyd Royal Belge.

Speaking of the trade of Antwerp, Mr. Velge added that its shipping handled, in exports alone, between fourteen and fifteen million tons, and concluded by raising his glass to the prosperity of the Agence Maritime Internationale.

The banquet was followed by a dance, which was, as usual, a great success, and Mr. de Tabuenca, who was the organiser of the charming fête, must be congratulated on the manner in which it was carried out to the complete enjoyment of all.—From the "Tribune Congolaise."

Race Problem - 1930

Africa

Proclamation Curse.

In the current Government Gazette No. 1839 of 10th January 1930 we observe the rescission of Proclamation No. 291 of 1911 in so far as the district of Umtata is concerned. No doubt this is as a result of the case REX vs. MRAZULI MTIRARA that was brought on appeal to Grahamstown from Umtata last November wherein Mtirara's appeal was allowed. The Proclamation in question was pronounced ultra vires; but the Governor—General (sic) abrogates the application of it only in the Umtata district, and elsewhere in the Transkei the Proclamation holds good. This is a clear example of how rule by Proclamation is a curse in Native administration. If this was an act of Parliament, the law would be null and void in respect of all the country, but being a Proclamation the measure may be juggled with and twisted in all manner of evil forms. The net result of the juggling is the wicked manner whereby Natives of other districts are compelled to go to lawyers and law courts over again to get a similar judgment to that of Mtirara's that will make Proclamation 291 of 1911 inoperative in their districts also. Whether this cruelty is the result of Government's policy or the machinations of its officials we cannot say; but we suspect it to be the work of the latter.

THE RHODES MEMORIAL LECTURES.*

By J. A. Spender in the "Daily News."

General Smuts's six lectures, though dealing with widely different themes, have an inner writing which makes them the expression of a definite attitude towards the world and its affairs by a man who has had a unique experience of both.

Dutch by blood, English by education, a true son of Africa, European to his fingertips, a former enemy, but now the most persuasive and understanding friend of the British Commonwealth, a bold and skilful leader of men in war, a wise and subtle politician in peace, one of the founders of the League of Nations—who among the public men that the world knows to-day has a record anything like this? Add to it that he is a philosopher and a student who has the kind of disposition which experience mellows and deepens, and the result will surely be the wisdom and humanity which we find in these lectures.

Their style makes them delightful to read, and, even when they are dealing with local and special topics, they have a touch which gives them the widest application. It would be well if everyone who is thinking about India and Egypt just now could read the Rhodes lecture on native policy in Africa. In that we find raised what is the fundamental problem everywhere where the European is in contact with an indigenous population, whether African or Asiatic.

Two Civilisations.

Can the two civilisations progress co-operatively, or must the one kill the other, or, if not kill it, so embitter it and thwart it that the process will be one of chronic rebellion and suppression? The most benevolent intentions and the sincerest conviction that white rule is good for native races do not answer this question. "The white man," says General Smuts, "does the native a grave injury by doing everything for him in the way of government, and thereby depriving his life of all public interest. Gone is the excitement of his petty wars; and if in addition there is the repression of all his former public activities and the suppression of his native values, we must expect a sense of frustration which will take all the zest out of his life." Hardly a word need be changed in this passage to make it apply to India and Egypt.

General Smuts's solution is segregation and the development of the European and native civilisations on parallel lines, with migration (of families) barred from the latter to the former. This may be possible as a future policy in new settlements, but it is, as he admits, extraordinarily difficult in old ones. When it comes to the point, we have to reckon not merely with bodies of people which can be thought of as "average natives," but with exceptional individuals who have put on European mentality, and who think of segregation as degrading. These very easily become leaders of the rest, and will not accept what seems to them an inferior status.

I can only glance at one or two of the scores of problems which are dealt with in these lectures. General Smuts evidently thinks that Africa can, and should, accommodate the population, on which restricted immigration is shutting the doors elsewhere. He pictures it as a land of immense potential wealth crying out for white settlers. He does not believe in the inherent incapacity, which is attributed to the white man, of rearing families in the Highlands or even (with the aid of tropical medicine) in the Lowlands of Africa, and he cites many instances, especially from tropical Australia, which seems to prove his case. Ultimately this can only be tested by time and experience, but there is certainly no ground for thinking that the negative is a foregone conclusion. It may even, as time goes on, prove to be a prejudice handed down from the days before tropical medicine.

All sceptics about the League of Nations should be compelled to read General Smuts on that subject.

WHAT WILL THE GOVERNMENT DO?

The Comet

1-22-30

Now that the Resident Commisio er's proposals for the improvement of the Native Courts have suffered their fate in the hands of the National Council, which is composed of the chiefs and their courtiers there remains one big question: What will the Government do Masemu

That the Basuto have legitimate grievances against the said courts is quite clear. The Council itself has admitted this fact An attempt was made in 1922 to remedy the grievances by amendments and additions to the custom laws but this failed through the apathy of the chiefs in enforcing the said laws. Thus the same state of affairs was allowed to continune. The Resident Commissioner then submitted his proposals for discussion in the recent Council and these were all rejected on the excuse that the people preferred the custom laws. It is obvious therefore that the chiefs have no made up their minds to redress the legitimate grievances of the people but to bargain by the Basuto until such time as the Government will take steps to intervene on their behalf.

It is to be regretted that the attitude of the present day chiefs is not so much to preserve peace and to help the people to progress as to make as much profit out of them as possible. For instance, they obtain forced labour from them and their courts impose such heavy fines as they can get on those who have means to pay. Those who have no means are beyond the sting of penalty. To show more clearly how this profit is made let us say X proceeds civilly against Y. The case is heard At the end of the hearing the court will find fault with both plaintiff and defendant and impose fines on both of them before finding in favour of one party. Where the court finds no pretext for imposing a fine in a civil case it will not take the trouble to enforce its judgment But then we are going back to a point that has been proved We should be discussing the question: What will the Government do? It seems to be the policy of all good governments to delay action until it is necessary to act. This, however, raises another big question: when is it necessary for the Government to take action? This is at the Government's discretion But they are more often too late than too soon The Government often wait until there is a revolution or an attempt at revolution. This is a very expensive way of settling matters. Thinking men have agreed that evolution is a wiser policy than revolution. It is always advised that constitutional methods should be adopted but when this is done the Government will be too slow to act. The people lose hope and resort to extremes. This does not always pay but what else can the people do when they are desparate?

One thing that stood out clearly during the discussion on the proposals is that the Basuto Chiefs are doing all they can possibly do to oppose any laws that will bind them to any system of government. They want to remain above the law o act as they like without any restrictions or obligations imposed by law While they delight in inflicting punishment on the people for the intringement of the laws of the country but they themselves must be exempt from the laws for similar offences or for failure to perform their duties That is certainly not the way to progress

When the Basutoland Council was established twenty years ago the object was that all classes of people should be represented. That was probably the reason why the Paramount Chief was allowed to nominate ninety-four members and the Government five. The Paramount Chief has failed to take a broad view of the matter and this laudable object has not been achieved. The result is that the interests of the people are not represented in the Council. For many years the Basutoland Progressive Association has advocated for popular election But this was opposed by the Chiefs. What

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nship, that is the last thing During the days of the Great ief Moshesh the Basuto enjoyed democracy. Everybody was free to express his views in the councils of the state and Moshesh could not do anything without consulting his councillors. Moshesh, like the present day chiefs, had his uncles and brothers but the views of his councillors were given first consideration to those of his relations. Today the position is different, the sons of Moshesh are chiefs and councillors all rolled in one. The voice of the common people is not given consideration. As one of the chiefs once said when a common man speaks in the councils of th state it is asked, whose son is he? That is not democracy. The Basuto customs have changed not for the better but for the worse. Autocracy has taken the place of democracy and the chief's word is law, and worse still chiefs are legion in B sutoland What will the Government do?

P Council Elections

Native Opinion

At a meeting of the Glen Grey Voters Association held last Saturday at Agnes Mission Station, Mr Harry T. Mangcu, law-agent of Lady Frere, was adopted as the Voters' candidate for the Provincial Council in the Tembuland constituency. Mr S. M. Bennett Ncwana, Organising Secretary of the Association will address a series of public meetings in the Transkeian Territories in furtherance of Mr Mangcu's candidature. News by S. M B. Ncwana, Organising Secretary, Lady Frere.

2-1-30

RIOTING IN CAPE TOWN.

African World

Natives Protest Against Assemblies Bill

3-8-30

CAPE TOWN, March 5.

There was an unusual scene at the Houses of Parliament to-day. They were guarded by squads of police armed with fixed bayonets and tear gas bombs, and a mounted squadron was held in reserve.

The occasion was a native demonstration to protest against the Riotous Assemblies Bill. This Bill has been introduced by Mr. Pirow, Minister of Justice, who explained that the Government felt constrained to ask for drastic powers on account of the great increase of Bolshevist propaganda among natives.—Reuter.

CHALLENGE RIGHT OF CHURCH TO INTERFERE

NEW YORK, Mar. 6.—According to late news reports, the younger natives in British Kenya are organizing politically against dominance by the white man.

Courier

According to Negley Farson, a special correspondent for the Associated Press, the reports of organized native unrest among the primitive Kikuyu tribes confirm assertions of veteran planters and big game hunters that throughout the length and breadth of the Dark Continent the younger Africans are bestirred. The young "Kikuyu movement" has challenged the right of the Church of Scotland, the Gospel Missionary Society and the African Inland Mission to interfere with the native rites of pre-marital initiation of girls into their tribe.

3-8-30

Insist on Ceremony

A few months ago the natives actually took a young Christian girl from the mission and performed the ceremony on her. The charge before the court of having inflicted grievous bodiiy injury failed. The refusal of the church to admit natives who had either assisted or been initiatd has been met with widespread and extended observance of this ceremony.

Pietermaritzburg Paper

In Kikuyu belief, young girls are perhaps the most valuable property possessed by the tribe. Their value is completely lost unless these premarital ceremonies are obsrved—they even believe that women cannot bear the right kind of children without them.

The rites usually take place when girls are between the ages of 12 and 14—an idea abhorrent to the proselyting white man. Missionaries who have been attempting to educate the natives out of their tribal customs claim that the high infant mortality is traceable to the mutilation involved.

The result of the controversy is that the number of mission adherents has been falling rapidly and at Kijabe, where a woman missionary was murdered, the number of "converts" dropped from 600 to 50.

Dances Continued

Defying the action of the government which recently prohibited the Kikuyu from practicing certain of their more immoral dances, the younger Kikuyu continue to dance them in inaccessible places in the forests or foothills and mountains, where, it is said, to show their disrespect for British and missionary authority, they sing obscene and contemptuous songs with pointed references to well-known missionaries and officials.

3-8-30

While the "Kikuyu Central Association" reports its innocence of such things, British government agents have reported that a "mission" at Kikuyu visited the peaceful Akaba tribe, endeavored to obtain subscriptions for political funds and taught the peaceful Akamba a seditious dance which the government had to prohibit.

According to A. J. Siggens, best known as the big game hunter who captured a herd of hippopotami for their remarkable death charge in the movie film, "Four Feathers," this movement has no connection with Communism and no affiliation with other secret native organizations such as the "Society of the Leopards," but it does appear to have originated from some secret center whose existence seriously challenges the future of British rule over the African natives tribes.

The Fort Hare Tour Of The Reef

Native Opinion

1-28-30

(Contributed.)

Kimberley Town

The arrival of the Fort Hare Students in the Rand on the 21st Dec. 1929 to play the various matches against (M.B.N. C.C. & G.G.M.N. in) the Transvaal Union, and "Stone Breakers" & "Champions" in) the N.R.C. League marks an epoch in the history of Native Cricket on the Reef. At Modder Bee the S.A.N.T. C.C. was entertained in a Reception Concert on the 21st Dec. when the M.B.N. C.C. was represented by Messrs H B Piliso Rev H D Hlabangane, R B Mlilwana, W V M Kunene, and J L Johnson.

THE STUDENTS MADE ELOQUENT SPEECHES on the object of their tour.

The first match was against M.B .N. C.C. at Van Ryn Deep grounds on the 22nd, and the Compound Manager and the V.R.D.N. C.C. were a kind host on the day. The host with several white ladies and gentlemen and a large number of friends also graced with their presence this important match.

The Modder Bee authorities had voiced the advent of the tour and many local white friends contributed towards the maintenance of the S.A.N.T. C.C. during their 4 days' sojourn in M.B. Indeed, the authorities hospitality as a host to the strangers soars skyward!

The next match was played against Stone Breakers at Wemmer on the 25th Dec. the reception being under auspices of Mr Festile assisted by Mr Motselope, the elocutionist, at the Inchcape Hall on the 27th idem. Professor Jabavu of Fort Hare and Mr B B Mdledle (Lovedale) also attended the reception. Speeches were made by Mr Howard Pim, "the good," and Professor Jabavu. The third match was played at Randfontein against the Champions on the 28th After a farewell social arranged by the Champions for the guests that night, the S.A.N.T. C.C. hurried to State Mines to play their last match against G.G.M.N. C.C. on the 29th The full night's repose at State Mines had revived their outlook, and one who saw them on the afternoon (30th) of their departure at "Park" says that they looked quite alert and vigorous as if they had been at a sanatorium whilst at the Rand

The S.A.N.T. C C. was composed of 14 students candidates of the different classes from Matric, B.A. Pre. Medical Course, and the one M.A. candidate being Mr D D Mtimkulu.

The music of the "Orpheans" (tourists) at these occasions, especially at the Inchcape Hall under their distinguished conductor and musician Mr D D T Jabavu B.A. (Lond.) has also imparted an unusual incentive.

The Reef deems the tour a very great honour, and would heartily welcome another tour by the Fort Hare Touring Team.

In town their temporary residence was at the Bantu Men's Social Centre.

LOYALTY TO THE THRONE.

Weekly News 2-1-30

THE holding of the Fourth Session of the National Congress at Lagos revives interest in the loyalty of British West Africa to the British Throne. The Congress was founded on the ground-work of unfeigned loyalty and devotion to the Throne, inviolate connection with the British Empire; and throughout these ten years, that principle has been kept in view, and all efforts of that body are directed towards "maintaining unreservedly all and every right of free citizenship of the Empire." The policy has always been and it is to work out the future of the nations of the British West African Colonies as integral members of the British Empire; to aspire to the highest goal obtainable by a British subject, and not to rest content until that is obtained. Freetown Sierra Leone

It is known that it may take a good number of years before it is realised that the Africans in West Africa are none the less British subjects entitled to all the rights and privileges of that enviable connection. We are convinced that the time will come when theory and practice will be united in according to the African those rights which admittedly are his. The present stage is transitory, when theorising predominates over practice. Much is now said about the inherent rights of British subjects. Declarations of far-reaching effects are made, but it is the practical demonstration of these declarations which fall far short of reality, The leaders of the Congress, since their policy is dictated by constitutional considerations should not in anyway be daunted by any delay in the full recognition of the rights of the people whose cause they are advocating, nor by any failure to accord them their full privileges. The unfeigned loyalty to the Throne and person of the King, the inviolate maintenance of their connection with the British Empire should always be kept in mind. It is significant, and worthy of comment that at every Session of Congress resolutions of loyalty are passed and communicated to His Majesty the King, and the whole trend of the discussions is based on the recognition of the duty owed to the British Empire.—GOD SAVE THE KING.

Race Problem - 1930

Africa.

THE NIGERIAN INQUIRY REPORT.

THE Report of the second, special Commission of Inquiry appointed by the Government of Nigeria in connection with the disturbances in the Dependency last December has now reached this country. In another column we give the chief recommendations of the Commissioners, together with the text of the reservations by two of their number, Mr Graham Paul and Mr. V. Bernard Osborne. The recommendations speak for themselves. In future issues of WEST AFRICA a gentleman well aquainted with the conditions of the areas concerned will review the general section of the Report, and especially the valuable memorandum on history and policy written by Major Lawrence, the experienced Secretary of the Southern Provinces. The two reservations we give fully, not only because Mr. Paul and Mr. Osborne had even before this inquiry done good service in the Legislative Council and elsewhere, but more especially because the two reservations have much intrinsic importance. If it be said that Mr. Osborne dwells upon the circumstances of the motor-car incident at Aba on the first day of the looting we do not agree. The accident was exceptionally unfortunate, occurring when and where it did. The occupants of the car will be the first to agree with this view. But the array of facts adduced by Mr. Osborne convinces one that the incident was an incident, and not a main factor in the troubles. And Mr. Osborne, who does not question the real nature of the women's grievances on the main issues, has done good service in the cause of racial harmony by stripping the incident of anything more than its genuine significance. It would have been really harmful had an impression been left in any quarter that at a time of tension a European motorist drove callously into a crowd of African women and wantonly inflicted personal injury.

Mr. Graham Paul's reservation is of broader significance. Indeed, it challenges the whole of the Government policy with which the Inquiry had to do. Mr. Paul has no patience with the [illegible] that the Government was taken by surprise with[illegible]t happened. He argues with great force that it had no business to be taken by surprise. It rejected the advice of the unofficial Members of Council on a vital point of policy—a course which probably no West African Government is ever wise in taking—and when the outbreak came to be investigated the fact made only too clear was that the Government, in imposing a revolutionary change in taxation, was guilty of something little better than a political gamble. To make matters worse, the chief effect of the change arose at a time when there was a world-depression in the prices of produce (which indeed there is still). Thus, the new, unwelcome demand by Government (unwelcome at any time) made itself felt just when the people were least able to meet it. The Report wisely directs attention to the connection between tax imports by Government and current prices of produce. To a very great extent indeed Nigeria is a nation of small producers, and Governments who wish to forestall disaffection must cut down expenditure when prices are down. Mr. Paul shrewdly reminds the public that the two Provinces concerned in these disturbances are not necessarily the only Provinces in which resentment smoulders. The inquiry into the Native Courts system which the main Report suggests—an inquiry which we assume the Government will institute with the least possible delay—might usefully be extended so as to include the larger issue raised by Mr. Paul.

The Commission has not hesitated to state, plainly and with dates and names, cases in which in its opinion firing was resorted to without full justification—though we do not think that the Commission necessarily means the word "responsible" to be read in all cases as "blamable." Such directness is to be welcomed. These are times in which to refrain from the most candid criticism of any British Government in Africa is to act the traitor to the cause of British-African co-operation. On the other hand, while the Government of Nigeria was no doubt hurried, by one or two personalities more masterful than statesmanlike, into courses which can scarcely be defended, and while the sacrifice of human life cannot be defended at all, there is one great point to the good which can perhaps be seen more clearly here than in Nigeria itself. The Government at Lagos once it woke or was woken to the fact that something was very much amiss, wholesomely and promptly discarded the point of view of those fatal people who put a narrow racial prestige before reason and justice. The Government sought the counsel of some of the most constructive elements of the European and African communities, and the result is a series of recommendations simple, clear, practical to a degree. Even half a score of years ago a similar set of circumstances would have been hushed up. To-day we have instant publicity, and that is half the work of reform. "Dull must he be of soul" who fails to perceive in this a precedent of the highest promise for the future of British West Africa. Those poor women of Nigeria did not lose their lives wholly in vain.

White and Black in Basutoland.

The Comet
vol 20 No 967
9-3-30

When the country is passing through serious times that we are experiencing to-day—we refer to the serious depression that is confronting us—it is time people should scratch their heads and think, not only how we shall go through it, but how they could have insured for such a time as this, as they insure themselves for accidents, their business against fire and their live against death. We insure our life so that our progeny may benefit after our death. This is a wise policy. Nobody will deny that.

Although it is a habit in Basutoland to take things calmly and to speak low even about the most tragic happenings, but conditions appear to show that of all parts of South Africa Basutoland will be the worst hit. The chief products of the territory viz: wool and mohair have no price. The winter crops have suffered from drought and insect pests, especially mealies which is the staple food of the Natives. There is however no fear of the price of grain rising to an abnormal height as South Africa has more than enough and the market is low but the big question is: where will the Basuto get the wherewithal to buy food?

Trade in Basutoland depends on the buying strength of the Natives and when they have to battle with depression and famine one can only predict that Basutoland trade will be seriously threatened. But if Basutoland suffers it will be chiefly the fault of the Government and the trading community. The policy of these two important bodies in this territory hitherto has been to exploit the resources of the territory and not to develop them and if the worst comes they have only themselves to blame. This reminds us of the words of Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr an admittedly wise and far-sighted man in the Union, in his recent speech at Cape Town when he said: "The dominant note in our attitude towards the coloured races is that of prejudice ... for my part I doubt if there is anything more important for the future of South Africa than a modification of that prejudice"

"Prejudice, prejudice will blind us old even the wisest man unless he makes up his mind to divest himself of it

"Science has taught us that in order to ensure good and continued productivity we must see that we do not exhaust our lands and impoverish the soil. This we can guard against by means of fertilising our lands. We must return something for what we receive from the ground. That is the best way of insuring our lands against their non-productivity.

If we want to get the most cream out of our milk cows we must feed them properly and see that they are properly cared for. If owing to selfishness we milk the cows and neither feed them nor care for them our selfishness will in the end react on us for we shall lose both the milk and the cows.

If you have a banking account, in order to avoid ovedraft you must see to it that you put in more money than you withdraw.

These are self-evident truths which we must always keep in mind

We now come to the topic of the day in all the world, the burning question in South Africa, a question that is keenly felt in Basutoland, a question to which the bodies referred to above have been very, very apathetic, the value of labour. The chief asset of a country is its labour, and if labour is not given its full value how can the country be developed. The exploitation of labour is the setting back of the country's progress As we have said above Basutoland trade depends on the buying strength of the Natives and if trade aims at getting the most out of the Natives and giving almost nothing in return we can reasonably expect very harmful results in the end. And yet this is the attitude of trade in Basutoland. The Territory was once known as one of the richest, if not the richest, Native territories in South Africa The position is different to-day The attitude of trade that we have pointed out, the parasitical attitude has already had its weakening effects.

(To be continued)

The Pathfinder Movement.

Native Opinion
Kingwilliamstown
South Africa

(Contributed)

Many of the Bantu people are asking questions about the above movement and it may be of interest to readers of the "Imvo" to have set out for them a few statements to explain the aims and principles of the movement. It seeks to train and educate Bantu boys of ages from 8–18. It is found that the training is best given by dealing with boys and girls in separate movements. For the girls the Wayfarers Movement provides a corresponding training. The movement is an extension of the movement which has been successful in over thirty countries among boys of different races, nationalities and tongues. In this wider movement over two million boys are enrolled. The movement tries to develop boys along the four lines of growth; bodily, intellectual, social and spiritual. Its methods thus aim at a complete development. The movement trains boys along lines which appeal to them. The natural tendencies of boys have been carefully studied; among these are, a desire to go about in groups, a fondness for adventure, a need for something to do and a great ambition to get on. The movement uses all these longings, and training is so devised that they are satisfied while the boy at the same time is unconsciously proceeding along the lines of development mentioned above. The boy grows naturally to like his meeting for Pathfinder work. The movement seeks to extend the work of both the day schools and the church. It however competes with neither. Its methods are its own. The movement is appealing to Bantu boys. Since last November over twenty troops have been established in the Ciskei and Transkei and many enquiries are being made about the movement and desires are expressed to be helped to start troops. Throughout South Africa it is estimated that over one hundred troops are being trained. The movement is also spreading to Rhodesia and other parts of the Continent. The movement is likely to satisfy a long standing want of the Bantu people. Many parents complain that their boys lack respect for them, the movement seeks to remedy this. Many boys also seem to find little to interest them in location life and leave for the towns. The movement tries to stem this drift. The interest of young folk is aroused in new games and pastimes. Many eminent Bantu leaders are continually reminding us of the need for this. 9/30/30.

The movement is gaining valuable support from many Bantu teachers, from missionaries and others interested in the advance of Bantu youth. Enquiries can be made of the Divisional Pathfinder, Healdtown, Fort Beaufort C.P. who will be pleased to answer questions or to help those desirous of starting troops.

Promoting Racial Hostility.

Native Opinion
Kingwilliamstown
South Africa

Our thanks are due to Professor Alexander Kerr, principal of the Fort Hare Native College for the statement he has issued (published in this impression) which did much to cleanse the foul atmosphere of racial bitterness caused by the distasteful vapourings of Dutch extremists. The resolution passed by students of Grey University College, Bloemfontein, the Dutch Press and other ill-advised and misinformed sections of the Dutch community of South Africa regarding the fraternisation between Natives and Europeans at a conference held at Fort Hare in June last, are sentiments which bode ill for the future relations between the black and white races of this country. We cannot believe that the entire intellectual class of Dutch speaking people can subscribe to these narrow views. Moreover, we consider it the duty of the saner and moderate class to call a halt to their brethren who allow prejudice to gain the upper hand of discretion. For the sake of ensuring happiness and peace for the future well-being of South Africa our Dutch speaking friends cannot afford to allow the country to be obsessed with negrophobia. Present day Dutch politicians tolerate and

9/30/30.

Illicit Intercourse.

Native Opinion
Kingwilliamstown
South Africa.

At the High Court, Gwelo, Rhodesia on Wednesday last Mr Justice Bissett sentenced two white girls to five years' detention in a reformatory and two Natives to two years' hard labour each, for illicit intercourse. The judge expressed the opinion, in sentencing the Natives, that the greater blame was on the girls. 9/30/31.

Oh! if only we could have the services of Justice Bissett in the Union, where, by a peculiar administration of justice, the Native invariably gets the heavier sentence in cases of immoral relations between black and white.

THE AMALGAMATION OF THE RHODESIAS.

Earl Winterton recently, in the House of Commons, called attention to affairs in Northern Rhodesia and in particular to proposals for the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and the attitude of the Government on the native question.

African World
London England
12-20-30

He described the recent White Paper on East Africa as "ill-worded, pontifical, and authoritarian." Great objection was taken to the division of the population into "native" and "immigrants," whereas, Lord Winterton contended, the proper designation was "European" and "African." The White Paper suggested, throughout, that the interests of people of European descent were inferior to the interests of Africans. It put forward a theory of trusteeship for the native population by the British Government and the House of Commons which was inconsistent with self-government in Northern Rhodesia and even in South Africa itself.

Dr. Shiels (Under-Secretary for the Colonies) said that the question of the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia opened up a big subject with great economic and political issues, and the Government must take time to go into it. Unless, after consideration, they felt that there was a *prima facie* case for amalgamation, a conference would only be creating false hopes.

We are pleased at any rate to note that the Government is at last waking up to its responsibilities in East Africa, and Earl Winterton has done much towards enlightening them on the situation, to which hitherto they have purposely remained blind or unsympathetic. As the issues proceed, yet more light cast upon the subject by others like Earl Winterton may bring the Government into line with modern conditions, present thought, and aspirations in East Africa, and, above all, the claims of the white settlers to a better consideration at the hands of the Socialists.

HEALTH IN WEST AFRICA.

African World
London England
12-20-30

How Conditions Have Changed.

Professor D. B. Blacklock, of the Liverpool University School of Tropical Medicine, speaking at the Royal Institute of Public Health in London, last week, said that the position of a person going out to the tropics now was vastly different from thirty-five years ago.

"In those days," he said, "he took his life in his hands and departed from these shores amid the condolences of his friends. It was mainly a matter of luck if he came back at all. There was something heroic about it. The diseases then were wrapped in mystery, whereas nowadays people went out with certain knowledge. The general rules of health for a man going to the tropics to-day could be written on the back of a postcard.

It was difficult to decide beforehand whether a person would be able to withstand tropical conditions, the professor added. Temperament was almost more important than good physique. Two types should not go to the tropics. First, the highly-strung individual, especially if he is easily irascible, and, secondly, the person who cannot take quinine. It was well recognised that excessive drink was largely going out of fashion in the tropics, and most men there belonged to the class of moderate drinkers or teetotalers.

Race Problem–1930

Africa

MEMORIAL

OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA (SIERRA LEONE SECTION) TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR SIR JOSEPH BYRNE, KCMG., KBE, CB AGAINST THE PROPOSAL CONTAINED IN SESSIONAL PAPER No. 5 OF 1930.

The Memorial of the National Congress of British West Africa (Sierra Leone Section) respectfully sheweth :—

1. That the National Congress of British West Africa is a permanent institution comprised of sections with their respective committees in each of the four British West African Colonies, with like duties and responsibilities, but meets periodically by turns in the capital of each Dependency. The Headquarters of the Congress is at Accra, the capital of the Gold Coast Colony.

2. That each Section of the Congress is empowered to bring before Government, as necessity arises, the grievances and disabilities of its community and submit recommendations for the necessary remedy, and is responsible to place before Government the Political aspirations of the people, and to see that good understanding prevails between the Ruling Power and those that are under it, and to act constitutionally.

3. That the Policy of the Congress is to maintain strictly and inviolate the connection of the British West Africa Dependencies with the British Empire and to maintain unreserved y all and every right of free citizenship of the Empire, and the fundamental principle that taxation goes with effective representation,

4. That this Section of the Congress has had under consideration Sessional Paper No. 5 of 1930, entitled "Administrative Sub-divisions of the Colony and of the Protectorate," which contains the Despatch No. 303 of the late Acting Governor M. A. Young, Esquire to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated 28th June, 1930, dealing firstly with the Provincial Divisions of the Protectorate and proposing the reduction of the Provinces from three to two, by amalgamating the Central and Southern Provinces to become a new Southern Province having its headquarters at Bo; and secondly proposing and recommending that the whole of the Sierra Leone Peninsula with the adjacent Islands be brought under the administrative control of one District Commissioner: that is to say, the Headquarters Judicial District and the Freetown Police District shall be amalgamated under the control of one District Commissioner, who will reside in Freetown and take over the duties of President of the City Council of Freetown and will also relieve the Commissioner of Police of all work relating to the appointment and control of Tribal Rulers in Freetown and of Headmen of villages, and will also take over responsibility in connection with all Crown Lands in the Colony. It contains also the telegram of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies dated 22nd July, 1930, approving all the proposals for the administration of the Colony and Protectorate, including alteration of salaries.

5. That this section of the Congress having considered the inconvenience to which the community will be subjected and the unworkableness of some of the proposals, if carried out, proposed by resolution at its meeting on the 20th of August last, to submit in due course its considered opinion for the consideration of His Excellency the Governor with the hope that His Excellency will look sympathetically into the matter with a view to reconsideration, review, and remedy of the situation, notwithstanding the already obtained approval of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State.

6. That, in accordance with the resolution *in re* previously forwarded, this Section of the Congress hereby respectfully submits after careful consideration, that it appears to it that, while the proposal firstly referred to in relation to the Protectorate was recommended after very careful consideration, the proposal secondly referred to, in relation to the Colony was not fully matured before it was tagged on to the first proposal.

7. That this Section of the Congress is respectfully of opinion that the arrangements for the amalgamation of the Central and Southern Provinces with headquarter at Bo are undesirable and will be inconvenient and detrimental to public interest and will in the long run re-act unfavourably on the interests of the inhabitants of Bonthe and adjacent places. for the following reasons:—Bonthe and York Island being very important trading centres, the quondan arrangement whereby Bonthe was the headquarter of the late Sherbro and Northern Sherbro Districts and places along the Bagru, Bum, and Kittam Rivers and Turner's Peninsula including Sulima and Mano-Sahja were operated from Bonthe, was a most convenient and capital one which could never be surpassed for the conveniences. and facilities it afforded to the Sherbro Country, as reference to the map of the Colony and Protectorate shows. By the present arrangement, if the District Commissioner at Bonthe, or a merchant, or a body of the mercantile houses at Bonthe, or York Island, or Sherbro-land, or a Chief or a body of persons in that locality desire to have personal interviews with the Provincial Commissioner, as head of the Province, they would have to travel either to Sumbuya or Pujehun by water and thence overland to Bo, or to Sembehun by water then overland to Moyamba thence by train to Bo, a burden which appears to be a great hardship and unreasonable, notwithstanding existing transport facilities in parts of the journey by motor car. And if the current report is correct that Manganese has been discovered at Gbambaya and Mano Bagru, Bonthe will become a greater centre of activity, and the wisdom of making Bonthe a separate and distinct headquarter for Sherbro-land and connecting it with the Colony as heretofore will become apparent, and that the present proposal for connecting Bonthe with Bo is unjustifiable and will be detrimental to the interests of the European Mercantile Firms in Sherbro by whose enterprise the economic development of those places has hitherto been possible. And though individuals will gain materially by the arrangements, public cause will seriously suffer.

8. That this Section of the Congress appreciates the information contained in the Despatch that the combination of the functions of the District Commissioner and the Travelling Commissioner has not proved satisfactory, and that it may not be necessary in future to repeat the experiment by any appointment to be made to the post of Travelling Commissioner in the Protectorate. It had been the view of the Congress when it was first proposed that such an arrangement would not succeed. In this connection the Congress feels it its duty to emphasize the desirability of separating Judicial from Executive functions and the importance of appointing none but duly qualified and experienced legal men to Judicial offices as Magistrates, and that the Provinces be divided into Magisterial Districts, and legal men be appointed Magistrates to go on circuit in a similar manner as the Circuit Judge does, so as to bring the benefits of their experience to the inhabitants of the Colony and Protectorate.

9. That in the opinion of this Section of Congress the District Commissioner as Administrator of the Colony appears to rank next to His Excellency the Governor of the Colony; and that though as a Judicial officer he will not exercise Magisterial jurisdiction in the Freetown Police District, he appears to be Senior in rank to the Police Magistrate and the Commissioner of Police, who will naturally assist him in one way or other to carry out his multifarious duties, take instructions from him and supply him with the necessary number of Police Constables he may require for duty.

10. That in the opinion of this Section of Congress the arrangement whereby the District Commissioner will reside in Freetown, away from the people to whom he will ever be a stranger, will not be to their welfare, nor tend to the improvement of the village, as there cannot be any effective control, oversight, and interest over the Peninsula villages with Tassoh and the Banana Islands where, besides administrative control, the inhabitants ever so much need personal contact with the Administrative Official for the economic development of the villages and the social improvement of the inhabitants.

11. That the villages having for a long time been generally neglected, the village communities have been suffering many and great inconveniences due to want of sufficient and proper supervision and lack of knowledge of the wants of the people and sympathy with them. The villages present a very striking contrast to what they used to be in former years. A visit round them and halting in places like Wellington, Hastings, Tombo, Sussex, Hamilton, Kent, etc., reveals a most striking change and deterioration to one who had known these places a few years ago. Leaving Kissy for Waterloo, a distance of about 17 miles, there is no Police Constable stationed in any of the intervening villages except at Russell, till Kent 20 miles away is reached, and none between Kent and York about twelve miles apart; leaving York there is no Police Constable stationed anywhere till one gets to Hamilton—the end of the District about fifteen miles from York. There being no Police Constable stationed in most of these villages to check or detect irregularities and crimes, several Headmen have been known to assume and exercise powers not bestowed on them by law and some of them are even infringing the law.

12. That in the opinion of this Section of the Congress, it has not reflected favourably to the credit of the services of those officers appointed from time to time as District Commissioners in charge of the Headquarters District, to say that there has not been sufficient work to occupy the full time of an experienced officer. An energetic officer interested in the people and with initiative will soon find more than enough to occupy his full time if he would always tour the villages in the District and interest himself in the places and inhabitants. That up to the time of Governor Sir Frederick Cardew or thereabout the officers appointed to take charge of the Colony Districts were called Managers and they personally used to make frequent periodical visits to every village, encourage agriculture, interest themselves in Rural Education, look now and again into the schools in the District, and through their activities and advices the economic development of the villages and the social life of the people were improved. That there was found in those early days so much to occupy the time of the Managers that there was one stationed at York afterwards removed to Kent to superintend and manage the Western or Sea District, and another at Waterloo to be in charge of the 2nd Eastern and Quiah Districts. That in the opinion of this section of the Congress, it is want of interest in the people that has made the District Commissioners not to be able to find sufficient work to engage their time.

TWENTIETH CENTURY WITCHCRAFT.

Weekly News 10-22-30

QUAINT SURVIVALS OF BYGONE FOLK BELIEF IN MODERN ENGLAND.

By S. JACKSON COLEMAN.

Barrister-at-Law; Lecturer on "Customs, Legends and Folklore" at the City Literary Institute, London.

Sierra Leone

A good deal of correspondence has recently taken place in the columns of a well-known London Newspaper regarding the beliefs that are still prevalent in England relating to witchcraft. It is plain, indeed, that throughout England the belief in sorcery is by no means dead and that there are living women who are believed by some of their neighbours to be witches. Furthermore, it would not be difficult to give dozens of examples to show how a belief in sorcery is shared not only by the illiterate but also by men and women of birth and education. After a visit to the Historical Medical Museum, in Wigmore-st., London, indeed one is almost tempted to believe that modern education is, after all, a rather thin veneer. For the exhibits at this little-known, but unique London museum, conclusively indicate that there are men and women, in the very heart of civilisation, whose minds are still in the cave-age of progress.

To most people, of course, it comes as a surprise to learn that many English people are practising various forms of witchcraft and that there are a few that absolutely pin their faith in charms, amulets and talismans and "magic potions" as affording them protection from ill-fortune, illness, death, the malevolence of witches and the evil eye. The fact that this collection has been gathered together by doctors, welfare workers, and others whose work takes them into the poorer homes of England affords conclusive evidence of the widespread character of these beliefs.

It cannot be disputed, therefore that a faith in witch doctors still exists in London as well as in many parts of the English countryside. This fact was brought under notice a short time ago by the discovery of a Londoner who every summer had been a victim of sunstroke. His landlady, to whom he confided a dread of the first hot days, immediately suggested a visit to a witch doctor and the purchase of a snake skin to wear in his hat. She wae quite convinced that this would prevent sunstroke; It would of course, probably be hard in these days to find the haunts of those so-called witch doctors. They nevertheless exist and make a more or less lucrative livelihood from the sale of charms and magic remedies. Indeed amongst the most common remedies still supplied the following may be enumerated:—A dried frog curing croup and whooping cough. Beech nuts for cramp and various pains of the limbs. Elderwood for warts. Oak apples for throat troubles. Stems of nightshade for cutting teeth. A knuckle-bone for curing rheumatism as well as the carrying of acorns and potatoes in the pocket.

Most elaborate precautions are still being taken

in certain parts of Great Britain to prevent visitations from witches and sorceresses. This fear of witches, of course, is more prevalent in the more remote parts of England, Scotland and Wales, and accounts for the glass balls which are sometimes found hanging from cottage doors. They are spherical balls of glass filled through a small hole with a tangled mass of brightly coloured threads. The idea is that a visiting witch will be so long delayed in disentangling the threads that dawn will break and send her hurrying home before she can set about her intended mischief. The large coloured stone pendants so fashionable to-day were in fact formerly a protection against witches or some form of disease. Originally, the witch-stones were pieces of natural stone with a hole driven through the centre. The explanation of the belief which brought about their use is not known. It may have been that it was believed the witch would have to try to pass through the hole in the stone before her evil spirit could take possession of the wearer's body, and that the hole would be too small for her to negotiate, though it is likely that the origin had a more mystical significance. In Ireland the peasants still tie similar holed stones to the horns of cows to prevent the pixies from stealing the milk. An old man, who died not long ago in Wandsworth, invariably kept a holed stone suspended from his bed to guard against nightmare.

Even in London there are girls who use love potions, mothers who hang holed stones at the head of children's beds in the belief that they have power to ward off nightmare and strong men who wear necklaces of amber beads beneath their clothing to promote good health. In one section of this Historical Medical Museum, in fact, is a large case devoted to the survival of witchcraft in London. There may be seen tooth-shaped stones which the credulous believe will prevent tooth-ache; pieces of cork such as are carried about by some people in the East End of London as a remedy for cramp; "dragon's blood" and tormentilla root, of which many a girl in the "East End" secretly compounds a portion wherewith she hopes to win back the love of a cooling sweetheart; and crystal balls into which girls gaze at night, seeking knowledge of their prospects in love and marriage to say nothing of future fortune.

Some superstitions are not, of course, confined to the poorer classes as has already been suggested. Fashionable chemists in London to-day sell for the purpose of warding off illness in general, and rheumatism in particular, small glass tubes containing mercury, hermetically sealed and covered with soft leather so as to be carried safely in the pocket.

Necklaces of blue, green, yellow and brown glass beads are commonly worn by children in all parts of England and Scotland to ward off colds and chills. They are sold by small shops in the main streets of the "East End" at a penny each and many mothers firmly believe that blue beads in particular will prevent their babes from getting bronchitis and that red ones will guard against sore throat. Children who wear them never take them off, even to wash, and as the children grow the strings are re-threaded. Often a string will be handed down from generation to generation, and some of them are credited with most marvellous protective powers. Strings of amber beads, for instance, are specific against sore throats there a ent magnetis n in the amber being considered capable of drawing out inflammation.

At Islington Market (the Rag Fair, as it is locally known) there was an old woman some years ago with whom it was possible to become friendly. "Lor' bless you, sir," she said. "Everyone wears blue beads. I do myself." And, when it was suggested that the beads were not in evidence, she explained that they had to be worn next to the skin. The delicate question of what happened to them when she had a bath elicited the reply that they were never taken off or she would have caught cold. In the event of the string breaking, she at once "fredded 'em again."

Another section of this remarkable museum contains little medals which are carried by sailors who believe that so long as they keep them they will neither be shipwrecked nor drowned. Glass bottles containing small models of sailing ships are also exhibited. They are treasured mainly in the homes of British seafarers for the mystery of how the ships could have passed into the bottles, the neck being so narrow. To sailors who made them, however, these bottles were treasured luck-bringers, to be given away only to someone whom the donor held in the highest regard. Hung over the mantlepiece, the ships are supposed to safeguard the sailors at sea.

Horseshoes on red velvet are still domestic ornaments in Scottish households, where they are sometimes protection against nightmares. For the latter purpose they are generally hung over beds. Horseshoes covered with red and green rags have been discovered in North East London as being hung over bedsteads to charm away nightmare. Horses are particularly susceptible to "overlooking" and this explains the origin of the brass ornaments which bedeck cart horses. In this respect the crescent and horseshoe seem a little in danger of being crowded out by shields, hearts, crowns flowers and monograms. Nevertheless, though perfectly true, it does seem strange that the horse—whose cast shoe becomes such a valuable charm—must itself be protected from the "Evil Eye" while the shoe which is so valuable to mankind is actually being worn underfoot!

Witchcraft, too, is responsible for another familiar English practice. That is the custom of fashioning in the form of acorns the cord knobs attached to window blinds. For the same reason, too, umbrellas often have silken tassels designed like acorns. Why? Simply because acorn amulets have for centuries been employed to avert lightning on account of an age-old belief that the oak was sacred to the Thunder-God. Hence they are used for the cords attached to window-blinds and the tassels of English umbrellas!

High Commissioner

For South Africa

Comment
1-12-30
Mauritius Basutoland

We publish hereunder information which has been issued for publication by the Imperial Secretary about the appointment of Sir Herbert Stanley, a former Imperial Secretary in South Africa and now Governor of Ceylon, as High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in the Union of South Africa and High Commissioner for South Africa. The former is a new post, the latter has hitherto been given to the Governor-General of South Africa.

The news will be received with great jubilation by the Natives of the territories. The change implies that the consumation of the incorporation of the territories with the Union is farther away than has been the belief hitherto. The Basuto have always abhorred the idea of incorporation as they regarded the policy of the Union as repugnant to the well-fare and advancement of the Natives. Thus the appointmen of the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa as High Commissioner has always been regarded in Basutoland as the paving of their way into the Union. This is probably one of the chief causes of their suspicions about the issue of proclamations and reforms proposed by the Government even though they were meant for their good.

The appointment of a man who is under the control of the Imperial Government, that may not bend to Union influence, will be a great relief to them and a stimulus to progress and advancement.

"With a view to the further development of the system of communication and consultation between His Majesty's Governments, the importance of which was emphasised at the Imperial Conference of 1926, and again at the recent Imperial Conference, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have decided to establish the post of High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in the Union of South Africa, an appointment comparable to that now held in Canada by Sir William Clark.

It has been decided, with His Majesty's approval, to combine this post with the already existing post of High Commissioner for South Africa which will be relinquished within the next few months by the Earl of Athlone. The High Commissioner for South Africa is responsible for the administration of the territories of Basutoland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland and for certain supervisory functions in relation to Native affairs in Southern Rhodesia.

Sir Herbert Stanley, G.C.M.G. (now Governor of Ceylon), has been selected, with his majesty's approval to fill the dual post. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom had hoped that it would be possible for Sir Herbert first to complete his term of office in Ceylon and thus be responsible for the administration of the colony while the new constitution, in the framing of which he has played so responsible and notable a part, was being brought into full operation. They felt, however, that the previous experience of Sir H. Stanley in South Africa, where he served from 1910 to 1924, rendered him very specially suitable as the first holder of the combined post in South Africa, and that his services would be even more valuable there than in his present appointment.

At his own request Sir Herbert has been authorised to remain in Ceylon until February, 1931. He will thus be enabled to continue, during a further period of some three months, to deal with the various problems arising from the financial situation in the island.

(Sir Herbert was Imperial Secretary to the High Commissioner for South Africa until 1924, when he was appointed Governor of Northern Rhodesia. He was made Governor of Ceylon in 1927)."

Race Problem - 1930

Africa.

FINGO TREATY CASE.

South African Native Opinion

Supreme Court Judgment.

9-5-30

Vol 46. No 2344

Continued.

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On this issue there is only one further matter to which I think I should refer. In his evidence in chief Sir George Cory stated that he thought it probable that the village of Wooldridge was "started through ignorance on Sir George Grey's part of what was promised to the Fingoes." But, on being cross-examined, Sir George admitted that when he made this statement he was not fully aware of the facts, and that he had not seen Robinson's plan, which established that before Wooldridge was laid out as a village with its commonage, the Surveyor-General of that date must have been in possession of the exact area and boundaries of Pato's Kop Location inasmuch as he would have known and seen Robinson's plan, and Sir George admitted that this plan shows that so far from any of the rights of the Fingoes to this location being infringed, the greatest care was taken to protect them. From further admissions made by Sir George on pages 141 and 142 of his evidence it is abundantly clear that the witness was labouring under a mis-apprehension of the facts of the case when he hazarded this opinion. I think that it is satisfactorily established by the evidence called on behalf of the plaintiffs that the land which forms the subject of the dispute in this case

NEVER FELL WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE TREATY

or, as alternatively claimed, the alleged contract of 1845.

Coming to the defence based on prescription, it is advisable at the outset to examine the pleadings to ascertain, if possible, what is the precise nature of their claim. The defendants in their plea admit that the title to the land claimed by the plaintiffs is in the Crown. It is also established that the title to the land in the Pato's Kop Location is also in the Crown. And it is common cause that, although notice of these proceedings was given by the defendants to the Union Government as representing the Crown, the Government has not intervened, and is not a party to this action. On this point see Williams v. Rhodes Trust Fund (1917, C.P.D p. 6). In their plea in paragraph 6, the defendants say that "they and their predecessors as members of the Amareledwane tribe have, since the year 1845, and at least for a period exceeding 30 years, had and enjoyed the full undisturbed exclusive and unrestricted adverse use and occupation of the said land for residential and agricultural purposes and for depasturing of stock and cutting wood, and that by virtue of such occupation for such period the said tribe has acquired a prescriptive right thereto and is now entitled to the continuous and perpetual possession of the said land for the purposes aforesaid"

And for a claim in reconvention the defendants, as in paragraph 3 of the claim, ask for an order...that the said land has been acquired by the said tribe by prescriptive use for residential and agricultural purposes and for the purposes of depasturing their stock and for the cutting of wood.

As already stated, the title to the land both in the village Wooldridge and in the Pato's Kop Location is vested in the Crown, and it is proved beyond dispute that the defendants who claim the ownership of the land ("continuous and perpetual possession") all pay hut tax to the Government. The defendant, July Mcwega, who is the headman of the location stated, at page 214 of the evidence in referring to all the defendants:

"They are all hut tax payers. As far as I can make out ever since they were there they have been hut tax payers and their fathers before them."

This evidence was corroborated by all the defendants.

Now the Cape Act No. 2 of 1869 is entitled "An Act for the more easy collection of Hut Tax," and the preamble is as follows:—

"Whereas difficulties have arisen from time to time in collecting from persons residing on the Crown land reserved for the purposes of native tribes within the colony, commonly known as native locations, occupation rents for huts or dwellings erected or occupied by natives on the Crown lands within such reserves or locations commonly known as hut tax."

The Act provides for a rent of 10s. per annum in respect of such hut erected, occupied, used or claimed, which rent is to be paid by any person occupying, using or claiming such hut during any portion of the year. The Act, after providing for proceedings in default of payment, enacts in section V that if no person can be found who shall claim the hut the same is to be destroyed. This Act was repealed by Act 37 of 1884, and in section 7 of that Act a native location on Crown land is defined as meaning any number of huts or dwellings occupied by any of the native races, such as...Fingoes, on land reserved for the purposes of native tribes within the colony. Section (5) of the Act enables the Governor to limit the number of huts within the locations and to fix on the sites of such huts. See also Act No. 6 of 1876 and Act No. 8 of 1878

It is clear from the provisions of this Act that it was never intended that any native should acquire the ownership and title to land or huts in these locations. Assuming that the Government, as representing the Crown, had been joined in this action, can it be seriously contended that the defendants as occupiers of these huts could claim rights of ownership by prescription once they had admitted that they paid hut tax? By paying the hut tax they must be taken to have acknowledged that the ownership of the land was in the Crown, and that they only

OCCUPIED THE LAND AS LICENSEES UNDER THE CROWN.

Some of the defendants allege that the sites were indicated to them by a location inspector. It is possible that this was done and that the officer was under the mistaken impression that the land upon which the huts were built was within the limits of the Pato's Kop Location. But even if this is so, it does not assist them in any claim founded on prescripton.

From our inspection of the locality, from the summit of Pato's Kop, the possibility of a mistake as to the exact boundaries of the location and the commonage of Wooldridge was apparent. The line is unfenced, the land is of no particular value except for grazing a few huts occupied by some of the defendants numbering approximately 20 or 30 had undoubtedly been erected upon the commonage side of the boundary line, some had encroached to a distance of approximately 200 yards upon the commonage. It may be said that this encroachment should have been discovered and objected to timeously, but the so-called village of Wooldridge consists of some dozen or even fewer houses and huts occupied by a few Europeans and a small number of natives. The revenue of the Board is largely derived from grazing fees, and one might easily pass through the village without knowing of its existence as such. What probably occurred was this: The natives residing in a crowded location, in ignorance of the boundaries of the location, erected huts on barren and unoccupied Crown land, thinking this land was within the limits of the location. They continued to pay hut tax as already stated, and now they find that in place of the land falling within the limits of the location, it is clearly shown to be within the limits of the commonage of Wooldridge. This being so, the claim by prescription on this ground alone must fail, and the plaintiffs are entitled to an order of ejectment against the first defendants.

Rambling Ruminations

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS.

AFRICA was the dominant note recently in what is said to be the most gorgeous and elaborate Independence Day celebration that Paris has had in modern times.

This year's 14th of July—the day on which the Bastille was captured from the king's forces in 1793—happens to be the centenary of the conquest of Algeria, and the famous North African cavalry was brought to Paris to take part in the parade.

Almost the entire parade was given over to the Africans. Early in the morning the president of France, M. Doumergue, held a review in which nearly all the naval and military units were represented, among them the cadets from the famous military college of St. Cyr, as well as the Polytechnique and others.

Amsterdam News

In all these military and naval units Negroes as officers, students, and privates were to be seen indiscriminately mixed with the whites. In the reviewing stand were also members of the darker race: The young Sultan of Morocco, who is darker in color than the average American mulatto; the Bey of Tunis, Africa; the brother of the Emperor of Japan; and M. Alcide Delmont, Negro member of the French Cabinet.

7-30-30

The white soldiers, most of whom are Frenchmen, were dressed in the gorgeous and dashing uniforms of 1830; the native Africans, however, wore their present-day picturesque robes, long, flowing white, with richly embroidered tunics.

Then came a white-robed Arab rider, almost black, on a gray Arabian horse that pranced nervously, bearing the standard, a crescent mounted on a golden ball from which hung a flowing tassel of white horse-hair. The crowd cheered wildly, the bearer carrying his standard high and giving no sign of emotion.

Behind him came row upon row of Negro warriors, in flowing robes of blue and white, bright red and gold, on spirited horses prancing to the music.

New York Age

But the most stirring sight was yet to come. It was the spectacle of forty of the leading Algerian chiefs—in color brown, black, or sunburnt white—patriarchal figures, dressed in silk turbans, richly decorated flowing robes, red boots, and jewelled decorations. All were mounted on white Arabian horses, each horse with the richest trappings imaginable, stepping as if conscious of its beauty.

At this novel spectacle, which looked more like some splendid picture, or some magnificent scene from the movies, an exclamation of admiration burst from the assembled millions along the line. Many in the hope of getting another glimpse of the chiefs dashed through side streets to encounter the parade on parts of the line ahead.

Even the jazz musicians, which have been having a hard time since the introduction of the talkies, had their day, although it is to be noticed that for the first time dozens of cafes had a huge loud speaker which furnished canned jazz from some broadcasting station.

* * *

American color prejudice is working its way up toward the North Pole.

Last month Iceland, an island off the coast of Norway, celebrated the 1,000th anniversary of its Althing, or Parliament. To the celebration came delegates and visitors from all parts of the civilized world, including the United States. To accommodate the throng, it was necessary to erect thousands of tents.

Among the visitors, according to the Berlingske Tidend, was a Negro, who went into the restaurant of the Hotel Borg in which there happened to be at the time some Americans, who at once objected. The proprietor asked the Negro to leave. The latter protested, however, and a journalist who was present took his side. He suggested that a vote be put to the guests of the hotel during the next two days to decide whether well-dressed and well-behaved Negroes should be permitted to use the restaurant. The result was 338 in favor of the Negroes and only 19 against. As to the nationality of those 19, nothing has been said, but they are hardly likely to be Europeans.

Last year a similar incident happened in Copenhagen. When Little Esther Jones of Chicago, her mother, and her manager, Sydney Garner, entered one of the leading restaurants there, Branda Tomton, the proprietor, who had lived in America, refused to serve the party. Several of the guests protested; every newspaper of the city condemned the would-be introducer of jim-crow, and one of them, The Daghblad, took a canvass of the leading hotels and restaurants, every one of which said they had no objection to serving a decent, well-dressed Negro. As to the manager, well, he became the laughing-stock of the town.

The King of Sweden had the little entertainer to dance for him, and a few months ago seeing her and her mother on the Exposition grounds of that city he came over, lifted his hat to them, and engaged them in conversation—thus illustrating the difference between those whose royalty is based on good breeding, and that of those who must depend on the very squalid distinction of a difference of color.

Recently, an American Negro had occasion to call on a minor official in an American consular office in Europe. This visitor, full of American patriotism, reported that he extended his hand to the official, but that the latter ignored it. The President of the United States, it is safe to say, would have been too big a man to do that.

PROGRESS AT ACHIMOTA.

THE latest report on Achimota College (Crown Agents,—2s.) must be regarded as describing the real opening work of the institution, for it was only in January, 1929, that the Girls' and Secondary Schools were opened. At the end of March of that year there were 45 children in the Kindergarten, 115 in the Lower Primary, 41 in the Upper Primary, 50 in the Secondary School, 147 in the Training College, and two university students, making 400 in all, of whom 49 were girls. The staff of the college at the same date consisted of 46 Europeans and four Africans, a ratio of African to European which, for many reasons, will seem most unsatisfactory to many sons of the soil. Resignations during the year numbered two, and although this is not a serious figure, it is regrettable, since in one instance it meant that a period spent in studying one of the vernaculars was lost as far as the college was concerned.

West Africa

General progress throughout the institution appears to have been excellent, and it is worth noting that the principal, the Rev. A. G. Fraser, records that he found his flock an "extraordinarily nice crowd," with monitors who appear to him to have more governing ability than any he has seen in other lands,—including his own. That is a fact which speaks well not only for the monitors, but for the whole tone of the school. Mr. Fraser recounts a number of interesting anecdotes of the students, and a particularly pleasing one is that in which African wit was used in pushing home the un-African doctrine of the dignity of labour. The boys were to carry their camp kit for a short distance, and one of them protested that he had never carried a load in his life. "Right!" said his senior. "Then you are fresh. Carry two!"

10-16-30

London, England

10 Downing St.

10-18-30 Letter

In the interests of continuity a nine-months tour for the staff has been introduced, and the report weighs the advantages and disadvantages, the former being decidedly the greater, as experience in Nigeria seems also to show. The chief disadvantage is the length of the first term, but this is divided by a fortnight's camping or trekking, which, besides affording a welcome break in the ordinary work, enables the staff to increase their knowledge of local conditions. During these breaks the lads carry out social service work in the villages on their route, much as they do in the neighbourhood of Achimota, making friends with the people, entertaining them with gramophone, lantern, or music, carrying out public health work, and showing by example how African village life generally is capable of improvement.

Hobbies are encouraged among the boys, but since they seem chiefly to take the form of weaving, tailoring, bookbinding, and printing, it seems likely that many of the lads will be disposed to regard them rather as possible alternatives for the gaining of their livelihood than as genuine hobbies. The report says nothing of the various forms of collecting that satisfy most young people's instinct to hoard, and at the same time open for them a door to curious and exact knowledge, but presumably natural objects, at any rate, are gathered during the camping period.

Increasing use is being made of the college library, and in addition to works read inside the building, no less than 1,366 volumes were loaned to some 384 teachers and others in the last four months of the year alone. This, with the refresher courses for teachers, helps to keep those who have left the college up to the mark. For the training of teachers inside the college, accommodation is provided for annual admissions of 30 for a four-years' course, but since there is plenty of room at the moment this quota was doubled for 1929. The college trains teachers for all schools except those of the Presbyterians and Wesleyans, who have their own centres, and 48 students with provisional certificates passed out at the end of 1928. The number does not seem a large one in proportion to the need, but if each of those 48 means an improvement in elementary training in a single small school, it will greatly lighten the burden at the secondary schools due to the present inadequate preparation of would-be students.

MIGRATION TO RHODESIA.

Steady Influx from the Union.

The returns issued by the Government Statistical Bureau show a steady continued stream of immigration to Southern Rhodesia during the first half of the year, chiefly from the Union.

African World

The total number of immigrants admitted into the Colony during the six months ended June was 1,889—an increase of 65 compared with the corresponding period of last year. This total consisted of 1,109 males and 780 females; minors of both sexes numbered 313.

8-30-30

The number of British Home-born immigrants was 605, or 42 less than last year. British South African-born newcomers numbered 794—an increase of 128 over last year's figures. South African Dutch-speaking totalled 266, an increase of 80, and European aliens 95, a decrease of 67. Other British subjects numbering 75 show a decrease of 14. Asiatics numbered 40 and coloured persons 11.

London, England

Of the total number, 1,518 declared their country of last permanent residence to have been African States. Of the remainder, 250 came direct from the United Kingdom and the balance from other European States, Asia, American and Australia.

A notable feature of the present year's immigration is the increased use of the Beit Bridge as a port of entry since the opening of the bridge over the Limpopo River.

According to the occupational grouping, agriculture accounted for 114 of the immigrants. There were 238 skilled or partly-skilled immigrants going to "other trades," 97 to the building trades, 56 to the railways, and 37 to the mines, while 282 were classified as shop assistants and clerks, 163 as professional, and 106 (including 80 females) under the domestic service group. Of those following the classified occupations, 241 males and 28 females were seeking employment at the time of arrival; the balance had assured employment.

Race Problem — 1930

Africa

THE NEW PERSPECTIVE.

Weekly News
2-22-30.

In further discussing the question as to the claims of the Africans whether of East or West Africa to have their constitutions modelled on the British pattern, it is necessary to examine some of the exponents of experts and self-appointed experts. In the January issue of ELDER'S REVIEW, we notice an article by Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER on Self-Government for West Africa. As far as we are able to find out, Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER has had 'no personal connection or acquaintance with West Africa. He was Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in India, and if we accept his record from the Indian's standpoint, he failed to understand the psychology of the Indians. The Amritsar riots, the quelling of which was the subject of much adverse comments, do not justify his rôle as an authority. How it came about that he regards himself as qualified to express an opinion on the subject that he has written on is still to be explained. He says *inter alia* :

Freetown Sierra Leone

"In the past, we have assumed too readily, that the form of democratic institutions based on a Legislature representing an even-widening electorate with full control of the executive which on the whole has worked well among people of British race and traditions, must be equally suitable to races whose religious and social institutions, traditions and mentality, are absolutely different from our own."

The above quotation shows lamentable ignorance of the basic principles of native institutions. There is nothing irreconcilable between the British system of government and the pure African; neither is there anything incompatible the one with the other. The only difference is that the British system is better developed, and has blossomed forth in perfection. Both recognise democracy as the groundwork of good government; both regard autocracy with disfavour. In fact a closer examination will show that democracy is more deeply rooted in the African system than what we may call its counterpart—the British system.

To describe as "mistaken policy" the efforts of statesmen to set a standard of civilisation is to deny to the natives of British West Africa the right to progress. We may contrast the remarks of this self-appointed expert with those of a real expert—Mr. STANLEY BALDWIN, Ex-Prime Minister of England, who in his rectorial speech in Glasgow said *inter alia*:—

"And on us lies a responsibility greater than has been laid on any other country, for we have not only to learn to govern ourselves, but to show many races alien from us in language, in custom, and in tradition, old in their own culture, how to apply our methods of self-government to their own peoples. And more, to us are looking with expectation the indigenous inhabitants of Africa confident in our power to give them peace and justice and to help them to raise themselves in the scale of civilisation."

The spirit of true statesmanship and the virtues of British rule are displayed in these words of Mr. BALDWIN. For the methods of self-government evolved by the British Nation are the highest forms of Democratic Government that is extant, and the true spirit should be the transmitting to others the system which has been proved by age and experience to be suitable to men in certain stage of civilisation.

The Africans, in the new perspective which should pervade the Empire, look for peace, and above all, justice. They ask that no considerations of race or colour should interfere with the granting to them of their rights as British subjects, or should interfere with their liberties. They further look to Britain for help to raise them in the scale of civilisation, that when they should have been sufficiently advanced they would receive the benefits of civilisation, unimpaired by any camouflage, such as is being ingeniously devised by many at the present time.

On the purely social or domestic side, there may be something in the suggestion that native habits and customs should not be interfered with, but here again one is faced with questions like the incompatibility of Christianity with polygamy and similar questions. The real problems of the future appear to us, not to be the political aspect, but the social.

Questions of the real place and value of segregation; the real position of the African in the field of commerce, are matters which need very careful consideration. As regards the place of the African in trade and commerce, we propose to express our appreciation of the policy of the United Africa Company in replacing some of their European staff with Africans. In our opinion such a policy is sound imperially and economically. It is sound imperially, because it recognises the principle that the object of Colonisation is to raise the Africans and, when they are competent, no position would be denied them. It is sound economically because it would tend to reduce the over-head charges of the firms, without impairing efficiency of the staff and increase profits.

There are in our opinion many Africans of ability and integrity who could be relied upon to fill these positions with credit, and perhaps, it is not too much to express the wish, that such a policy may be universally adopted by the European Mercantile Firms in Africa.

THE NEW PERSPECTIVE.

Weekly News
2-15-30
II.

In defining the political and domestic affairs of the Africans in Africa, the important question as we stated in our last contribution, is the tendency of the future relations with Britain. Nothing should be done to make the African less capable to hold his own in his relations with Britain; any action which would have that result will be inimical to his interest. There has been said and written recently a great deal about educating the African on proper lines. This has been interpreted to mean, such education which would either eliminate the English language, or limit its study to a minimum. Vernacular education has been suggested as the panacea of all the educational and social ills of the African. The European tendency of the African has been condemned; and in some quarters it is regarded as unpardonable for the Africans to wear European dress or even to speak the English language. The latest utterance on education is by a Mr. R. C. F. MAUGHAM, as published in the *Times* of the 6th January. The motive for Mr. MAUGHAM'S article as published by himself detracts altogether from whatever valne it may have. For it seems that his opinion that English should never have been introduced, is due to the fact that "the leaders of the political parties in the kingdom of Buganda in Uganda, East Africa, are pressing for the substitution of an elective body in the place of the present native parliament." Why such a request should make Mr. MAUGHAM think that it was a mistake to have taught the Africans of Uganda the English language, is beyond our imagination. Perhaps the reason is that such a request from a people, left to govern themselves in their own way, is a strong argument against "indirect rule." which is being forced upon the people of West Africa. The study of the history of the world shows that nations have not always kept to their customs and systems of government if they are convinced that innovations from without would improve their system. How much the present British Constitution has borrowed from others, and how it has grown from pure autocracy, through feudalism to complete democracy is well-known to many. The native systems of Africa have excellent qualities, but are by no means perfect; contact with the British nation and others have exposed many defects of their system. It seems but right, that such external influences should have their due effect, and just as Japan revolutionised her systems to accord with modern methods of government, even so Uganda and other places in Africa, require not the perpetual swaddling clothes of their antiquated systems of Government, but those modelled on what modern civilisation has evolved. Japan has a place in the nations of the world, and to-day is one of the five most powerful nations of the world. The photograph of her statesmen show them in European dress and costume. She is tolerated on account of her power and influence. No word of condemnation is uttered against the dress or costume of her statesmen because she can make herself felt; but poor and weak "African" must always be the play-ground and comic scene of many self-appointed authorities.

If Mr. MAUGHAM blundered in his first contribution to the Press, he further erred in his letter to *West Africa* of the 22nd January as published in the issue of the 25th ultimo. In his further letter, he stated that in his contribution of the 13th ultimo, he referred only to East, Central and South-Central Africa, and not to the Gold Coast and other West African Colonies. He wrote inter alia.

"The system of education pursued in the divisions with which I deal, if my information is correct, is in no way comparable to that which has been so successfully adopted in the Gold Coast, and in which the Achimota College is leading the way."

Freetown Sierra Leone

One would have expected that Mr. MAUGHAM'S contribution is the result of personal acquaintance with the subject, and when he qualifies his statement by the words "If my information is correct," we cannot but express our surprise that he should ever attempt to write and form conclusions on such an important matter on information which is likely to be incorrect. There is however patent contradiction between the former and the present contributions, For the system of English tuition which Mr. MAUGHAM condemned in the first article is the same system which he eulogises as obtaining in the Gold Coast.

The only reconciliation that can be effected between the two is, that in his opinion, the mistake having been made in West Africa of giving the African such an education that he can discern good and evil, in the opinion of his rulers, it must not be duplicated in East Africa. But the following quotation in his letter of the 22nd January defeats any such reconciliation :—

"If the dangers to which Sir HESKETH BELL and I drew attention are realised in time, there is no apparent reason why, a century from now, the natives of the British Dependencies on the other side of the Continent should not also be approaching in educational attainment the standard of eminence which is already so striking a characteristic of their brethren in that already prosperous Colony in which the scene of my sketch is laid."

Controlling Native Influx.

Native Opinion 2-11-30

The second reading of Mr. E. G. Jansen's proposed amendments to the Natives (Urban Areas) Act in the Assembly last week evoked a discussion of paramount importance on the Native question. Indeed the arguments more than touched on the fringe of the Native problem as a whole. The Minister of Native Affairs sought to obtain increased powers for municipalities in stemming the tide of Native influx into towns, and also suggested a pass system for Native females. Power to compel local authorities to grant trading licences to Natives in their locations is another object of the amendment to the act. Some of the reasons given by the government members for more stringent control of Natives in towns were astonishing for ignorance and inconsistency with facts. The Prime Minister denied the unchallengable truth that Natives flocked to towns as a result of the hardships created by the Native's Land Act of 1913. The ejectment from farms have rendered thousands of Natives homeless and the only areas left to which they could drift were the town locations. Economic pressure, aggravated by government taxes out of proportion to earning capacity are great factors in increasing the drift to towns. The reasons suggested or implied of immoral desires by Native womenfolk are unworthy of members of parliament and a slur to a well-behaved section of the black race. Mr. Patrick Duncan was extraordinarily convincing and fair-minded in tackling the problem by the roots, and covered much valuable ground when he culminated with the suggestion of a Select Committee on the amendments where the views of the Natives themselves will be heard. The Prime Minister and the government side are clearly averse to consulting Native opinion on the main issues, and it would seem that there exists a reasonable fear on Gen. Hertzog's part that there are certain aspects of his policy which cannot stand Native criticism. Otherwise we fail to see what harm can be done if Natives were allowed to give evidence before this Select Committee. Probably the same attitude obtains in regard to the Native Affairs Conference (Act 1920) which has not been convened for the last three years. Mr. Van Niekerk of the Naitve Affairs Commission stated before a Select Committee that in his opinion it was not in the interests of the Natives that they should be consulted on legislation affecting them; and we opine that this is the avowed policy of the Nationalist Party. Colonel Stallard and Mr. Deane of the S.A.P. harped strenuously on the theoretical side of the Native Problem in the towns, but their remedies would never materialise in practice, to say nothing of the bare injustice perpetrated towards Natives. The Prime Minister is personally aware of the congested state of Native reserves in the Cape, and we have an instance where, in the King William's Town district he, as Native Affairs Minister refused a certain Native (whose name is known) permission to leave the town and settle in the said reserves by reason of congestion. It is remarkable how often politicians change their colours within a short lapse of time. It would have been honourable for the Prime Minister not to refute Mr. Duncan's statement of land hunger in Native reserves in face of the aforesaid example, and perhaps now that he has been reminded of this, he will make *amende honorable.*

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2-11-30

We Meet Gen. Smuts

"He was Frank to State That His Meeting and Mind-rubbing with Such a Group of Afro-Americans Had Been a Liberal Education to Him."

By KELLY MILLER.

General Jan Christian Smuts is touring America as an unofficial British statesman. Like Colonel House, under Woodrow Wilson, he functions as ambassador at large without any particular assignment. Like all of the World War statesmen, he has suffered political defeat at home. His is perhaps the most fertile mind in the world functioning in public affairs today. As a Boer General it required twenty times his own number of English soldiers to subdue him. Being subdued, he became the greatest statesman in the British Empire. He suggested the federation of the British Colonies into a sort of spiritual union. The League of Nations and mandate system over the weaker breeds of men are the children of his fertile brain.

Segregation His Policy

His traditional policy in dealing with the natives of South Africa has been described as ruthlessness personified. Recently he delivered his now famous Oxford lecture dealing with the future of the African native on his own heath.

The sum and substance of his policy is that the natives must be rigorously segregated and encouraged under the white man's tutelage, to develop his peculiar gifts and qualities, which are essentially different from the aims and ideals of the lordly European.

How this can be done without exploiting the poor native into hopeless impotence, General Smuts does not engage to disclose. The one redeeming feature of this new gospel according to Smuts is that it does make some sort of sinister recognition of the human nature of the African aborigines, instead of regarding them as merely beasts of burden to add power, dominion and glory to the white lords of the earth.

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One might be disposed to wonder why this erstwhile ruthless and reckless statesman in so far as the black world is concerned, has so suddenly condescended to give such solicitude to the So. African who, until now, has never risen to the level of his august statesmanlike regard? The answer is easy to read by those who can discern the signs of the times.

The British empire is in serious straits which threaten its continuance. India is in the throes of a pacific revolution under the moral leadership of Gandhi. Egypt has broken away. The South African native is restless. Battleships no longer rule the waves. British commerce is threatened with disintegration. The great experiment in Russia makes the working world uneasy. The salvation of the British empire depends upon making peace with the darker and weaker breeds of men ,as well as with the strong and mighty white overlords of the earth.

And so General Smuts, the keenest and most alert mind of them all, goes about the world seeking to discover whether there is any means under heaven whereby the British empire might be saved.

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And so the great general and statesman deigns to discuss the race question in the United States. His first attempt in New York was too raw to suit the sensibilities of his Afro-American hearers. Even the moderate tempered Dr. Moton expressed regrets at his yoking of the Negro with the ass. Dr. DuBois challenged him to a joint debate. The Negro press stigmatized him throughout Afro-Americandom.

Leaving New York, the General comes to Howard University, the capstone of Negro education, to hold a conference. A carefully selected group of the Negro intelligentsia as well as a number of distinguished white friends and well wishers were invited to the conference. The Phelps-Stokes Foundation was the host. The conference covered two hours and a half. Eight colored men and women had previously been assigned five-minute addresses. At the end of each address the General interposed sagacious and skillful queries which evinced keen local knowledge as well as a world-wide background point of view.

After the whole field had been canvassed, the statesman general responded in a thirty minute summary which convinced all that they were listening to a master mind. There was none of the offensive comparisons complained of at the New York gathering. He showed a courtesy, a gentleness of temper, a sincere desire to seek a way out of the racial labyrinth where all are still groping in darkness.

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Race Problem – 1930

Africa

THE KADALIE STRIKE.

Native Opinion
2-4-30

Our experience of the aboriginal semi-educated and illiterate Native of South Africa is that when once he becomes hopelessly illusioned in reponse to the dictates of soap-box heroes it is unwise to attempt any intervention with a view to saving the dupes from disaster. It was under these circumstances that we refrained from uttering a word of warning at what might have been the pycholo-gical moment in the industrial strife of East London a week ago. The danger in frustrating a huge crowd of Natives from carrying out a scheme which in their imagination was designed to obtain their economic salvation and fair-recognition in commercial circles lay in the fact that if the strike called had proved abortive, we were liable to be made the scapegoats for having assisted or encouraged the employers in their adamant attitude. Another reason for abstinence from making any observations on the strike was fear of being misunderstood by our misguided people who have not had the benefit of knowing from history the futility of strikes as an industrial weapon in countries where labour was infinitely better organised than South Africa. It fell to the lot of Clements Kadalie to introduce the strike weapon among people totally ignorant of the laws that had to be respected when a strike was called. The kudos-seeking leader knew well that he was introducing a novel method of industrial warfare among Natives, and this alone was sufficient to hold his followers spell-bound in the throes of the strike fever, regardless of the inevitable consequence he was well aware of–that a strike by one-third of the Native population of a town, and without funds was doomed to positive failure. If Kadalie and his Independent I.C.U. really meant "business" with the strike, they could not afford to ignore consultation with all existing Native organisations in East London and neighbouring towns. If concerted action among these bodies was primarily obtained before embarking on a strike campaign there would have been a strong probability of a successful strike that would cripple the whole of East London and possibly the Border. As a matter of fact the energies of our people might profitably be concentrated in this direction if future economic emancipation is their goal. However we still hope that the employers of labour in East London and other industrial centres will note the hand-writing on the wall and that they will obviate the necessity of such a drastic movement by the Natives by condescending to sympathetic consideration of the Natives' representations for increased wages that have been made times without number. Reliance on the police force to counteract lawlessness during industrial upheavals is by far not the wisest policy. Natives are liable to profit by the mistakes made in the past, and strikes in future may be so well conducted and well provided that breaches of the law are avoided, and the large drafts of police and special constables only prove a worthless waste of government money. Kadalie is a spent force, now that he has plunged the followers of his last strong-hold in chaos. His strike Committee, consisting as it does of all the officials at the head of Independent I.C.U affairs in Johannesburg are charged with serious crimes that did not require to be committed in carrying out a legitimate strike. The incapacitation of the leaders of this movement by arrest leaves their rank and file lost in the desert, and it is a matter for conjecture whether the I.I.C.U. can continue a month longer without that leadership. No one knows what the outcome of the prosecutions will be, but the fact remains that the erstwhile followers of Kadalie and Co. are provided with enough food for thought when Kadalie's advice to them from the court steps was :—"You must go back to work immediately and earn money to subscribe for our defence, and to feed us as we can no longer feed you." In words of cold comfort was Kadalie's farewell message couched, and the disregard of his order by the rank and file the following day was a sign that the "great" leader had lost cast. In our opinion the arrest of the strike committee men was a Providential direction to save the leaders' necks from the crowd when no rise of wages could be obtained and when the sufferings of lost wages and jobs began to assert themselves in the strikers' homes.

The Riotous Assemblies Bill.

Native Opinion 25.4.30.

Parliament a fortnight ago had little difficulty in agreeing to the second reading of Mr. Pirow's bill to amend the Riotous Assemblies Act. The appeal to anti-black prejudice he made to the two parties met with a ready response. Mr. Pirow wisely anticipated that once he quoted a few passages of speeches by so-called Native agitators of the Kadalie, Champion and Thaele school he would immediately disarm all party opposition to his bill. Labour too readily apostatized on listening to the vitriolic diatribes of so-called Native agitators repeated from the lips of the Minister of Justice; and the almost defunct party turned their backs to the world strife against the capitalist forces that are determined to overthrow the working man throughout the world irrespective of race or colour. The miserable mess of pottage was offered to Labour tha the clauses of the amendmen relating to restriction of free spech would not apply to white trade unionism in South Africa As to why these clauses should single out Native organisation of trade unionism our labour members had not the courage to ask. No wonder the Bishop of Bloemfontein renounced his "home" labour politics immediately he learnt of the selfishness of white labour in this dominion. Mr. Pirow played cleverly on the susceptibilities of the members of the Opposition. Any man armed with a variety of unpalatable epithets hurled at a certain race by orators of another race could not possibly fail to arouse the sympathy and support of those who happen to be the victims. Parliament consists of the white race only, and the unfortunate black element has no direct representative there-at to elaborate a corresponding tissue of most uncomplimentary passages which form the subject of villainous attacks by white men on the black people as a race—hence the easy passage of the bill. The sedition clause in the Native Administration Act was passed with the object of curbing the activities of agitators among white and black; but with the exception of Bunting (who was alleged to have incited Natives) the operation of that clause singled out black speakers and left white agitators of white audiences immune. The Immorality Act in our experience has woefully lapsed in a similar manner. Its application against white men found in intimacy with black women is a sham. The sedition clause has been weighed by the law courts and found wanting. Now another attempt at tightening the restrictions of free speech by Natives is being made. All we can say is that we shall wait and see whether this is the panacea for curing Native ills and disabilities We trow not, however.

It is significant that in November last we predicted in these columns that an era of serious Native unrest had arrived, and with

in a few months since we have had the rising of Chief Sekonela in the Transvaal, the Cameron riot, the East Loudon strike, the prosecutions in the law courts by Cskeand Native landowners against Government; the Wellington public outburst against Government for illtreating Natives; the Fingo Treaty case from Peddie repudiating Government's alleged action in illegally cancelling Fingo rights. The use of force in some cases has temporarily settled the disputes; but is the country aware that the more force shown, the larger the number of outbreaks? It would appear that the rulers are on a wrong policy of settling Native unrest, and unless a different course is pursued by the Minister of Justice and Parliament yet more unrest will reveal itself. We are in a position to know that the outlying districts in the Native territories are in a state of restrained unrest owing to the persistent state of turmoil in the industrial centres. These reports, coupled with a firm determination by Parliament to suppress certain sections of Natives with class legislation, convince the backveld Native that war has virtually been declared by the supreme legislative body against themselves. Past warnings have had no effect, and the next and only thing we can do is to sit tight and watch developments.

MR. MADELEY CHAMPIONS NATIVE RIGHTS.

Surprise Critic of Premier's Policy.

CAPE TOWN, February 24.

Mr. Walter Madeley, a Labour member who held a portfolio in the first Hertzog Ministry, sprang a surprise at the joint sitting of both Houses of Parliament to-day. General Hertzog had moved as an unopposed motion that the second reading of the Native Representation in Parliament Bill be discharged and the subject matter referred to a Select Committee in accordance with the arrangements made with the Opposition.

Mr. Madeley, however, moved an amendment that it be an instruction to the Committee to draft legislation calculated to bring about a separation, territorial, social, and industrial, of the native and European races by the provision of suitable land sufficient for the development of the natives of the Union on natural lines, primarily under European tutelage and encouragement, and having their own representative assemblies advisory to the Union Parliament.

3-1-30

Legislation on Wrong Lines.

"My last twenty years' experience," he said, "has taught me that all native legislation is framed with one main object—namely, to use the native merely as a hewer of wood and drawer of water, and this means establishing him as an obstacle to white civilisation. Therefore I view with alarm this understanding between the parties, who, I feel, are not so much concerned with the improvement of the native as with evolving a network of legislation which makes it imperative for the native to work for the white man in a state of semi-serfdom."

Mr. Madeley expressed utter astonishment at the Prime Minister's statement that the land already at the disposition of the natives was equal to all their needs. He entirely differed, and he held that, unless complete territorial segregation was effected, the South African nation of the future would consist of hybrids.

The amendment was negatived without a division.—"Daily Telegraph."

HEALTH CONDITIONS IN WEST AFRICA.

Death Rate Greatly Reduced.

2-22-30

The remarkable fall in the death and invaliding rate among Government officials in the British West African colonies since the beginning of the century was discussed by Professor D. B. Blacklock, of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, when delivering the first of the eighteenth annual series of Chadwick public lectures.

The figures he gave showed that for the period 1881 to 1897 the Gold Coast officials had a death-rate of over 75 per 1,000 per annum, and Nigerian officials one of over 53 per 1,000.

"The success of the application of sanitation as a result of medical research," he said, "is to be seen in the 1928 figures. For that year the death-rate for officials over the whole of the West African colonies, including the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria, was only 6.7 per 1,000.

"These remarkable results reflect the greatest credit on the medical and sanitary administration of these colonies. But they were obtained only by the co-operation of the white residents. The European in West African coastal regions can only keep free from disease by meticulous care of himself—by wearing sun helmets in the day and mosquito boots at night, sleeping under stuffy mosquito nets, taking doses of quinine, and boiling his drinking water."

Professor Blacklock added that there was a tendency among people going out to West Africa to-day not to be so careful as they were a few years ago. "It will be a matter for congratulation when the Governments of such places as West Africa take an official interest in providing proper recreation for the white officials and business men," he said. "The tedium of life in some up-country places is ill-supported by many individuals who are accustomed to recreation of various kinds at home."

With regard to the health of the native population, Professor Blacklock urged that the provision of good motor roads would bring to thousands of natives much needed medical and surgical aid.

THE WOMEN TEACHERS' TRAINING COLLEGE WILBERFORCE.

Weekly News

The formal opening of the Building of the above College took place at 4.15 p.m., on Thursday the 30th January in the presence of a representative gathering composed of Government Officials, Heads of the Principal Religious Bodies and Mercantile Houses in the Colony, Parents and Guardians and other prominent Citizens. Previous to the commencement of the opening function, early Visitors availed themselves of the opportunity, as indicated in the Invitation Card, to inspect the Building, the domestic Science Kitchen, and specimens of the Students work on view.

After the Inspection, the Visitors having repaired to and occupied the Seats on the Campus or place prepared for the function on the Grounds between the College and the Quarters of the European Teaching Staff, the process of going through the short but appropriate programme commenced with a short prayer offered by His Lordship the Bishop invoking God's blessing on the College Staff and Students and all connected with the College.

Rev. H. H. Newham, General Superintendent, Wesleyan Missions introduced to the audience the Chairman for the occasion, the Hon. M. A. Young, Colonial Secretary and Governor's Deputy who thereupon took the Chair and called upon the Principal, Miss Kell, to read the Report. This Report the first of its kind was through the courtesy of the Principal published in our last issue.

2-15-30

It is historical, informative and comprehensive it will repay perusal and should serve to stimulate and enlist the interest and co-operation of parents and guardians and other members of the community in the College.

2-15-30

At the conclusion of the reading of the Report which elicited the applause of the audience, the Chairman announced the next item. Speech by the Honourable the Director of Education. The Director expressed his joy and satisfaction at the completion of the college buildings, and gave a brief review of the progress of the scheme from its inception he enumerate the details of the co-operation between the Church Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Missionary Society and the Government, stressed the importance of actual work of training and equipping the students for their life work, emphasised the great need of educating the child on right lines, made a strong appeal to all, parents and guardians especially, to discard conservatism and prejudice in favour of old methods and to make it a point to have personal knowledge by ocular demonstration of the new methods and observe the effect upon the child, he pleaded for their faith and confidence in their educational guides and appealed forcefully to all for sympathetic co-operation and assistance for the first set of students who were going out this year that their hands may be upheld so as to be able to have the best results of their work and fulfil the end of their training and justify the confidence reposed in them. The Director closed his admirable and impressive speech with an assurance of confident hope in the success of the Students. Thanks to the courtesy of the Director, the full text of this Speech is published elsewhere in this issue.

Next followed the Students, own item:—The Poetastors of Ispahan. We cannot do better than give the synopsis of this play which gave much fun and amusement to the audience.

SYNOPSIS OF PLOT.—Ibu-Hasim, a wealthy jeweller of Ispahan, has proclaimed that he will give his liberally-endowed daughter Silvermoon in marriage to the man who can produce the best four lines of verse in her honour, together with ten pieces of silver.

The scene opens in the shop of the Poet Hallaj, the public letter-writer. Thither come Nejrihal, a pastry cook Ala'dine a perfume seller Suliman a barber, and Guleesh, a miserly silk-mercer-rivals for the hand of Silvermoon—prepared at any cost to be poets for the sake of dowry. None suspect a fellow-suitor in Hallaj as all know his poverty, but he inspired by his love for Silvermoon uses his wits to obtain the neccessary silver from the other competitors and at the same time by a small alteration in the words, makes their verses ridiculous.

Thus, when the Public contest takes place the true Poet who loves the Lady and not her wealth obtains the victory over the poetasters.

The students led by Hallaj acted well their respective parts and on the whole gave a good rendering of the Play. We were pleased to observe that Hallaj made restitution and compensation for his ill-gotten gains from his Clients, the retention of which might have marred the happiness of his marriage with Silvermoon.

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We congratulate the two Missionary Societies the Government, the Principal and Staff and Students and wish for the College great and permanent success.

We trust now that the College Buildings with the advantages of these advantages will be taken up by pupils or as having available to the school Domestic Science Kitchen is completed, a new leave the college this year will be taken to that the College buildings and the Wesleyan Girls' so as to enable them to derive much profit from the front rank of Artisans who can do a good piece of children and wards either as day pupils or as and file of properly supervised. There is no doubt boarders but preferably as boarders to the appeal work if boarders but amongst the rank secured—parents and guardians will send their High School and skilled and trained European Teachers of High School with Bus Service which serves to reduce and his request for moral support be given to road with the distance from Town to the premises, them, show that after all there are men here not only in for service in the Wesleyan Girls' High School are ideally situated. We trust also that the pupils or as of the builders but amongst the rank secured—parents and guardians will send their High School and skilled and trained European Teachers of High School with Bus Service which serves to reduce and his request for moral support be given to road with the distance from Town to the premises, them, show that after all there are men here not only in for service in the Wesleyan Girls'

in a few months since we have had the rising of Chief Sekonela in the Transvaal, the Cornelvon riot, the East London strike, the prosecutions in the law courts by Cske Native landowners against Govern ment; the Wellington public outburst against Government for illtreating Natives; the Fingo Treaty case from Peddie repudiating Government's alleged action in illegally cancelling Fingo rights. The use of force in some cases has temporarily settled the disputes; but is the country aware that the more force shown, the larger the number of outbreaks? It would appear that the rulers are on a wrong policy of settling Native unrest, and unless a different course is pursued by the Minister of Justice and Parliament yet more unrest will reveal itself. We are in a position to know that the outlying districts in the Native territories are in a state of restrained unrest owing to the persistent state of turmoil in the industrial centres. These reports, coupled with a firm determination by Parliament to suppress certain sections of Natives with class legislation, convince the backveld Native that war has virtually been declared by the supreme legislative body against themselves. Past warnings have had no effect, and the next and only thing we can do is to sit tight and watch developments.

MR. MADELEY CHAMPIONS NATIVE RIGHTS.

Surprise Critic of Premier's Policy.

CAPE TOWN, February 24.

Mr. Walter Madeley, a Labour member who held a portfolio in the first Hertzog Ministry, sprang a surprise at the joint sitting of both Houses of Parliament to-day.

General Hertzog had moved as an unopposed motion that the second reading of the Native Representation in Parliament Bill be discharged and the subject matter referred to a Select Committee in accordance with the arrangements made with the Opposition.

Mr. Madeley, however, moved an amendment that it be an instruction to the Committee to draft legislation calculated to bring about a separation, territorial, social, and industrial, of the native and European races by the provision of suitable land sufficient for the development of the natives of the Union on natural lines, primarily under European tutelage and encouragement, and having their own representative assemblies advisory to the Union Parliament.

3-1-30

Legislation on Wrong Lines.

"My last twenty years' experience," he said, "has taught me that all native legislation is framed with one main object—namely, to use the native merely as a hewer of wood and drawer of water, and this means establishing him as a menace to white civilisation. Therefore I view with alarm this understanding between the parties, who, I feel, are not so much concerned with the improvement of the native is with evolving a network of legislation which makes it imperative for the native to work for the white man in a state of semi-serfdom."

Mr. Madeley expressed utter astonishment at the Prime Minister's statement that the land already at the disposition of the natives was equal to all their needs. He entirely differed, and he held that, unless complete territorial segregation was effected, the South African nation of the future would consist of hybrids.

The amendment was negatived without a division.—"Daily Telegraph."

HEALTH CONDITIONS IN WEST AFRICA.

Death Rate Greatly Reduced.

2-12-30

The remarkable fall in the death and invaliding rate among Government officials in the British West African colonies since the beginning of the century was discussed by Professor D. B. Blacklock, of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, when delivering the first of the eighteenth annual series of Chadwick Public Lectures.

The figures he gave showed that for the period 1881 to 1897 the Gold Coast officials had a death-rate of over 75 per 1,000 per annum, and Nigerian officials one of over 53 per 1,000.

"The success of the application of sanitation as a result of medical research," he said, "is to be seen in the 1928 figures. For that year the death-rate for officials over the whole of the West African colonies, including the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria, was only 6.7 per 1,000.

"These remarkable results reflect the greatest credit on the medical and sanitary administration of these colonies. But they were obtained only by the co-operation of the white residents. The European in West African coastal regions can only keep free from disease by meticulous care of himself—by wearing sun helmets in the day and mosquito boots at night, sleeping under stuffy mosquito nets, taking doses of quinine, and boiling his drinking water."

Professor Blacklock added that there was a tendency among people going out to West Africa to-day not to be so careful as they were a few years ago. "It will be a matter for congratulation when the Governments of such places as West Africa take an official interest in providing proper recreation for the white officials and business men," he said. "The tedium of life in some up-country places is ill-supported by many individuals who are accustomed to recreation of various kinds at home."

With regard to the health of the native population, Professor Blacklock urged that the provision of good motor roads would bring to thousands of natives much needed medical and surgical aid.

THE WOMEN TEACHERS' TRAINING COLLEGE WILBERFORCE.

Weekly News

The formal opening of the Building of the above College took place at 4.15 p.m., on Thursday the 30th January in the presence of a representative gathering composed of Government Officials, Heads of the Principal Religious Bodies and Mercantile Houses in the Colony, Parents and Guardians and other prominent Citizens. Previous to the commencement of the opening function, early Visitors availed themselves of the opportunity, as indicated in the Invitation Card, to inspect the Building, the domestic Science Kitchen, and specimens of the Students work on view.

After the Inspection, the Visitors having repaired to and occupied the Seats on the Campus or place prepared for the function on the Grounds between the College and the Quarters of the European Teaching Staff, the process of going through the short but appropriate programme commenced with a short prayer offered by His Lordship the Bishop invoking God's blessing on the College Staff and Students and all connected with the College.

Rev. H. H. Newham, General Superintendent Wesleyan Missions introduced to the audience the Chairman for the occasion, the Hon. M. A. Young, Colonial Secretary and Governor's Deputy who thereupon took the Chair and called upon the Principal, Miss Kell, to read the Report. This Report the first of its kind was through the courtesy of the Principal published in our last issue.

3-15-30

It is historical, informative and comprehensive and will repay perusal and should serve to stimulate and enlist the interest and co-operation of parents and guardians and other members of the community in the College.

2-15-30

At the conclusion of the reading of the Report which elicited the applause of the audience, the Chairman announced the next item. Speech by the Honourable the Director of Education. The Director expressed his joy and satisfaction at the completion of the college buildings, and gave a brief review of the progress of the scheme from its inception he enumerate the details of the co-operation between the Church Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Missionary Society and the Goverement, stressed the importance of actual work of training and equipping the students for their life work, emphasised the great need of educating the child on right lines, made a strong appeal to all, parents and guardians especially, to discard conservatism and prejudice in favour of old methods and to make it a point to have personal knowledge by ocular demonstration of the new methods and observe the effect upon the child, he pleaded for their faith and confidence in their educational guides and appealed forcefully to all for sympathetic co-operation and assistance for the first set of students who were going out this year that their hands may be upheld so as to be able to have the best results of their work and fulfil the end of their training and justify the confidence reposed in them. The Director closed his admirable and impressive speech with an assurance of confident hope in the success of the Students. Thanks to the courtesy of the Director, the full text of this Speech is published elsewhere in this issue.

Next followed the Students, Sierra Leone own item:—The Poetastors of Ispahan. We cannot do better than give the synopsis of this play which gave much fun and amusement to the audience.

SYNOPSIS OF PLOT.—Ibu-Hasim, a wealthy jeweller of Ispahan, has proclaimed that he will give his liberally-endowed daughter Silvermoon in marriage to the man who can produce the best four lines of verse in her honour, together with ten pieces of silver.

The scene opens in the shop of the Poet Hallaj, the public letter-writer. Thither come Nejribal, a pastry cook Ala'dine a perfume seller Suliman a barber, and Guleesh, a miserly silkmercer-rivals for the hand of Silvermoon—prepared at any cost to be poets for the sake of dowry. None suspect a fellow-suitor in Hallaj as all know his poverty, but he inspired by his love for Silvermoon uses his wits to obtain the neccessary silver from the other competitors and at the same time by a small alteration in the words, makes their verses ridiculous.

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Race Problem - 1930

Africa

Demand for Cape Land Titles.

Prof. D. D. Jabavu at Sophiatown.

From the "Star."

South African Native

"We want to make our full contribution towards this becoming a great and prosperous country in which the black man will enjoy the unchallengable right of having at least a place whereon to lay his head."

12-30

In these terms Professor D. D. T. Jabavu concluded, amid cheers, an address to a mass meeting of Natives yesterday afternoon in the Crescent Hall, Sophiatown.

Grievances and disabilities resulting from the Native Administration Act, with particular reference to the Cape land question, were dealt with by Professor Jabavu, who declared that if the Cape Province Natives failed in their legal opposition to the demand made upon them for the production of their title to the lands they occupied it would simply mean that the Bantu population of the Union would, sooner or later, be confronted with precisely the same position. What right, he asked, had the Government to title deeds of land for which the Native had paid, without any assistance whatever from the State? The fact was that the policy of the Government, as reflected in the measure, was one of dictation as to ownership and succession or inheritance. ("Shame.")

"I don't believe in speaking angerly or raising fire and brimestone about the Government, but we can fight them through the law courts. The white people have come in a very clever way and made a law for the better government and control of the Bantu people. They thought they had not enough control over us, so they sought more by means of taking our land from us—cutting out our very roots from the soil."

Referring to industrial organisation among the Natives, Professor Jabavu expressed the hope that the work of Mr Ballinger, European adviser to the I.C.U. would succeed.

"I wish all success to Mr Ballinger's work," he said, "and although the I.C.U. is in difficulties I hope the time is coming when it will be reorganised and become a great body that will help forward our people. Some people think because I am not a member of the I.C.U. that I am an enemy of it. I am not, for I assure you I am friendly towards all movements which are out to help our people."

THE TRIBAL SYSTEM.

Pointing out that under the Native Administration Act the Governor-General was the supreme chief, Professor Jabavu stated that in actual practice the supreme chief was an official of the Native Affairs Department in Pretoria.

"What does an official of that department know about our Bantu law? What do the Government know about our tribal system? Can they teach us who we are? Why should the Government have the power to shift tribes from place to place? I don't think the Government know much about who our tribes are. We ourselves do know, and, therefore, I say it is a wrong principle that the Government should take it upon themselves to move our tribes from place to place. According to this legislation, no black man can have, so to speak, a firm grip of the land, for that is the Government's policy. Those of us who have already our grip by means of our title must not be made to relax our hold."

"A VERY BAD THING."

Having indicated how a native, by imprisonment or failure to pay his taxes, could forfeit his land under the Act, Professor Jabavu said the Government by depressing the value of land below £75 could automatically disfranchise the native owner. The Government having on a straight forward vote failed to deprive the native of the franchise in the Cape had been busily thinking how it could achieve its object, hence the policy of changing the native title. The black man was not now even allowed the right to have his case tried in the ordinary courts to whose maintenance he contributed in taxation.

Commenting on the provisions of the Act relating to marriage, Professor Jabavu said there was obviously something bad in that law because it meant that after the missionaries and Government had advised the people to abandon their old customs and had taught them civilisation the Government now wanted them to revert to the old system.

Government by proclamation, also provided by the Act, had been introduced for the first time in the Cape. It was certainly a very bad thing, or as his brother had said of it, "a devilish system under a heavenly name."

"Can you call this British legislation or justice?" asked Professor Jabavu, referring to the restriction imposed on native assemblies. "It is really difficult to believe—it is incredible that a Government of the British Empire could have passed such a law which, clause by clause, destroys our liberty"

ORGANISE AND AGITATE.

Exhorting them to organise and agitate constitutionally for the repeal of this repressive legislation, and not to be influenced by the reckless and misleading advice advanced by other people as a remedy, Professor Jabavu went on to say that the Government's native land policy was in accordance with the principle of a white South Africa.

"The Government," he said, "see we are growing in numbers, that our children will want land, that there is not enough available because the whites want it. To-day the white man holds 88 per cent. of the land, and the Government to secure more for the whites must make the black landless. They want to create a reservoir for the poor whites. No native can get land in the Free State, and not even a yard—or an acre, as they call it—in Natal. They want the whites only to inherit the country and to keep all the sweets and milk for them. The Government are making preparations to ensure that the white man only will be on the soil and the black man merely live on it. Remember we are fighting not merely for ourselves but for our children. In terms of the Act no girl—no woman—is allowed to own land, for her right, morally and legally, is negatived by it. ("shame.") The Government have created such a situation that we can not rest down in the Cape, and I want you all to understand that if we lose our cause in the courts then the entire Bantu population of this country will be afflicted by the measure." (Applause.)

MR. BALLINGER'S ADVICE.

Mr. W. G. Ballinger, I.C.U. of Africa adviser, who also addressed the meeting, said the burning of Mr Pirow's effigy a few Sundays ago in Johannesburg was an extraordinary incident, but, at the same time, it marked a point at which Ministers of the Cabinet must take notice that the African people were awake and beginning, and continuing, to demand the right of all workers the world over—a decent standard of living (Hear, Hear.) He assured them that those who were helping the natives to organise industrially would continue to work to secure for them a minimum wage of £7 10s. a month, which was 100 per cent. more than the majority of native workers were receiving at present.

"Nothing prevents the improvement of African native workers' conditions, only your own disunity," concluded Mr. Ballinger amid applause.

Rev. B S. Dlepu and Mr. H. S. Msimang also addressed the meeting.

(News by T. A. Keeley, 41, President Street Johannesburg.)

GENERAL SMUTS' PEACE MISSION TO THE UNITED STATES.

FRANK DECLARATIONS OF THE COLOUR PROBLEM.

General Smuts, who proceeded to America as an apostle of universal peace, was accorded a magnificent reception, being appreciated at his real worth, namely, that of a world figure.

The greatest prominence was given in the American Press to the General's many illuminating utterances, and everywhere there were scenes of enthusiasm. At Philadelphia he was fêted and dined, and in the course of a stirring address at the Metropolitan Opera House he invited the United States to sit down at the family table of the nations, where a spirit of friendly arbitration has supplanted force.

In unmistakable terms General Smuts indicated to his audience—members of the Philadelphia forum, gathered to hear the statesman on the eve of his departure from the United States—he did not appear before them as a proponent of American entry into the League of Nations, but as a prophet of a new world of peace and understanding among nations. The General announced he never had looked upon the League of Nations or upon its covenant as final, but as first steps on a road "which perhaps it will take the human race generations to cover."

He advised fault-finders with the League of Nations not to be blind to the fact that through the instrumentality of the League mankind's future course had been directed away from warfare toward agreement.

It is possible for the United States to maintain its traditional policy of keeping clear of foreign entanglements, General Smuts said, and at the same time discard its aloofness from world affairs, join in efforts to arbitrate and conciliate international differences and recognise the unity of the human family.

"Such steps can be taken whether you are in the League or not," he continued. "It is simply a matter of gathering for discussion whenever trouble begins. If the system of the round table is not confined to the League, but is extended over the whole world, I think we shall have taken the longest step possible to guarantee international peace."

Not a Pacifist.

"I'm not a pacifist at all," the General said with vigour. "I've spent many years on battlefields, amid bloodshed and strife. I haven't at all the pacifist's outlook, and that is because I feel there are things greater than peace.

"Above all else I should put certain ideals of human conduct, of justice, and of fair play. I'd rather fight for these things than sit down in peace."

With those words his audience saw him in a different light—as the man who at the turn of the century led the Boers in their struggle against British arms in South Africa, and who, in the World War, commanded a British army in the East African campaigns against German colonial forces.

"As a young man," said General Smuts, "I had to fight the British Empire. You had to do the same thing. You fought against the Empire of George III.; so, in effect, did I. Now the Empire of George III. has gone the way of all flesh, thank goodness. I am glad my people helped bring it down. We fought against the imperialism and spirit of conquest of the old-style British Empire. We were beaten and swallowed up in that Empire. But I discovered later the British love of the ideals we fought for.

"Five years after the close of the Boer War I went to London to see the Government of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. I found it and the British people responsive to the idea of freedom for the Transvaal, and we were given it.

"For such action there was no precedent in history. But it was an act of trust, of wisdom, of political insight. The Boer War proved to me one does not advance by force, but that if one's cause is right and justice is on one's side, one is victorious. To-day the British Commonwealth of Nations under George V. is entirely different from the Empire of George III. To-day the Empire is much stronger, for it is founded on equality and freedom. It is more closely knit than when it was founded on British sovereignty and militarism.

"This league of free and equal nations is a structure such as the world has never seen, and eternal peace between the nations in this commonwealth is guaranteed by a spirit of human co-operation and friendship."

General Smuts explained his theory that the great lesson of the World War was the impossibility of one nation's isolation from the rest of the world—that all nations existed as parts of a great human family.

General Smuts, in his opening remarks, expressed his sorrow at the death of Edward W. Bok, whom he described as "one of my great friends."

"It was partly at his invitation that I came to the United States," said the General. "When he met we always conversed in Dutch. He spoke our mother tongue fluently. I sympathise with you in the passing of one of your greatest citizens."

A NEGRO CHALLENGE.

A misunderstanding led to General Smuts being challenged to a public debate by Dr. Du Bois, the well-known editor of the "Crisis."

In the course of his speech on racial problems in Africa, before the Civic Forum, New York, General Smuts referred to the African as the "most patient of all animals, next to the ass."

Dr. Robert R. Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, who was on the stage with the speaker, arose to protest. He asked the South African statesman to explain himself in order that the negroes in the audience would not leave "with a bad taste in our mouths."

"I felt," said Dr. Moton, "that South Africa was safer under your Premiership than under that of your successor. However, I am not here to bring up politics. But I do wish that General Smuts would explain why he has compared the negro with the jackass—I mean the ass. I am quite sure, of course, that no insult was meant, but, on the other hand, we negroes would leave this hall with a bad taste in our mouths if no explanation were forthcoming."

General Smuts hastened to correct the impression that might have been given. "Far from wanting to insult the natives of Africa or any negroes," he declared, "I was expressing my admiration for the natives."

It was the fine singing of spirituals by a negro quartet before the lecture that had prompted him to refer to the cheerfulness of the negroes. He had spoken of the slave gangs of old trudging across a continent singing their songs.

"And to-day," he had added, after applauding the singers, "I heard once more the voice of Africa."

Africa's Awakening.

General Smuts, after reviewing the history of "sleeping Africa," came to the more recent events, which he characterised as "Africa's awakening," and declared that efforts to impose the civilisation of the white race upon Africa's aboriginal population could result only in bolshevising the native and making him a menace to the rest of the world.

The General contrasted the African system with the European, warning of former failures and pointing out that hundreds of thousands of South African negroes have become unhappy, wanderers, having lost contact with their tribes and their native discipline.

"There is a great deal of good in the African culture and system," said General Smuts. "For one thing, the African is a Socialist. All land is owned in common, as are most of the cattle, and each tribe is run by a council of elders and a chief. If you try to break down this system, it is very easy to do so, but it is impossible to substitute a European or any other system in its stead. By doing so you bolshevise the most docile being on the face of the earth, the African negro, and you make him a menace to the rest of the world.

"Why should we standardise humanity? That may be a fine thing in the United States. You want to make a great nation, and you are succeeding; but you cannot do that with the human race. In Africa you must build on the African foundation. It has been created in hundreds and thousands of years, and I have a very high respect for any system of time as I have for all natural facts. Let there be differences in types as long as they are ethically sound."

A number of other protests were made against the General's remarks anent the patience of the African. When the General heard of Dr. Du Bois's challenge to a public debate he said he would ignore it. Life was too short.

In The Supreme Court Of South Africa.

(CAPE OF GOOD HOPE PROVINCIAL DIVISION.

Cape Town, Wednesday 19th February 1930.

—c—

Before the Honourable Mr. Justice Watermeyer.

In the matter of the Petition of:—

KAPTEIN QANDA JUTA.

Upon the motion of Mr. Centlivres, K.C. of Counsel for Petitioner and upon reading his Petition lodged under the Titles Registration and Derelict Lands Act, No 18 of 1881 (Cape) praying for an order authorising the Registrar of Deeds to enregister in the Deeds Office, at Cape Town, in the name of Petitioner:—

One one hundred and seventy fifth (1/175) share in certain piece of quitrent land, situate in the Division of Elloit, being the farm Donuachadban, now called Brak Leegte, in extent, 1051 Morgen and 70 Square Roods, presently registered in the names of Joseph Bikitsha, Baum Masiko and Alexander Masiko by Deeds of Transfer Nos. 8850 and 8851 dated 17th December 1900 and No. 1491 dated 10th March 1910 respectively—the shares of the said Joseph Bikitsha and Baum Masiko being derelict but not so that of the said Alexander Masiko—the said property having originally, namely, in the year 1896, by agreement been purchased by Petitioner, along with 69 others (including the said transferees or their predecessors-in-title) who took possession thereof and paid for certain portions thereof but transfer where of was only registered in the names of the aforesaid transferees or their predecessors-in-title the said Petitioner, in terms of the aforesaid agreement, having become possessed of and entitled to the 1/175th share aforesaid, out of the shares presently registered in the names of Joseph Bikitsha and Baum Masiko.

Having also read the other papers filed including the report of the Registrar of Deeds,

IT IS ORDERED

that a Rule Nisi issue calling on all persons having or pretending to have any right or title to the land in question to appear in this Court on Friday the 28th day of March 1930 to shew cause, if any, why the property should not be registered as prayed.

This Rule to be published once in the "Imvo" and "Tembuland Newspapers"

By order of the Court
W C LUND,
Assistant Registrar

MICHAU, MULLER & VORSTER
Petitioner's Attorneys,
5, Bureau Street,
Cape Town.

Race Problem - 1930
Africa

THE STUDY OF AKAN MINSTRELSY.

In an address at the quarterly meeting of the Accra Teachers' Association, Dr. J. B. Danquah made a strong appeal to his hearers to study and, when possible, record the songs of the Amemafo, or minstrels, as rendered before the rulers at the various great festivals. Akan minstrelsy, he claimed, still held the spontaneity and fervour that Europe lost when it evolved an all-too-conscious "art of poetry" and subordinated everything to rigid conventions. Like its fore-runner in Europe, however, Akan poetry still included works that demanded the exercise of careful selection. The place of the minstrel in Akan life is not altogether a simple one, for while he has at times a severely formal part to play in the recital of set speeches, he has other times to afford light relief in public gatherings, and to him too, falls the duty of moulding the temper of an assembly to suit the business of the day. To these tasks, apparently, he formerly added that of executioner, a combination which, Dr. Danquah held, was an illustration of the philosophy of the Akan people and of their belief that death was, after all, but the reverse side of life. It seems probable, however, that there is another reason for this contrast of duties, for the *amemafo* have many privileges, and among them an immunity from assault that in the past might have been very necessary for one who carried out the extreme sentence of the law.

9-13-30

To illustrate the value of Akan minstrelsy, Dr. Danquah went through a small collection of songs extolling the might of one Atta, but, in the characteristic manner, breaking occasionally into raillery at his weaknesses or his misfortunes. The first and most noticeable feature of the verses is, of course, the absence of rime or metre as developed in Europe, or even of attempts at alliteration, but Dr. Danquah agreed, with Milton, that true poetry is not dependent on similarity of sound endings to give it musical value, and in Akan poetry, in particular, the underlying feature seemed to be the alternation of high and low tones, rather than of regular stress, as in English. This is the more likely when it is remembered that a dependence on "male" and "female" tones makes the poetry adaptable to the drums which play such an important part in both broadcasting it and preserving it.

The inherent value of the poetry quoted by Dr. Danquah is, of course, largely lost in the more or less literal line-by-line translation into English, but it is noticeable as revealing an African code of morality that is as enlightened as that of any other human society. The king, for instance, as is perhaps unavoidable where the common beliefs exalt the worship of ancestors above all other, is held to be superior to all tabus, and in the laudatory "You are not a friend of the priest: when you meet with priests, you can force their gong-gongs from them" one sees an indication of a people, priest-ridden and afraid, possibly, but clinging to ideals of an existence that might be more free. The other attributes of the ruler in the same laudatory verse are interesting: he is not unforgiving, not officious, and not easily turned from those he has decided to assist,—a series of negations that produce almost the exact opposite of the doctrine of "firmness" (so often a mixture of officiousness and lack of forgiveness) that many non-Africans regard as the only policy understood by the African.

Of the verses quoted by Dr. Danquah, none convey much historical information, save for occasional references to famous grand-uncles of the hero, but there are many songs, particularly those sung on the occasions to which Dr. Danquah especially drew the attention of his hearers, that deserve to be placed on permanent record for their historical value, while yet others, by a study of the subjects used for poetic illustration, throw some light on the conditions of the period in which they were composed.

CRADLE OF MODERN MAN.

West African World

Mr. Leakey on Finds in Kenya.

9-13-30

Correspondences between the earliest cultures of Kenya and Europe, and between the long interglacial period in Europe and the main interpluvial period in equatorial Africa, were discussed by Mr. L. S. B. Leakey, leader of the East African Archæological Expedition of 1926-7-8-9, in a public lecture at the London Technical College on Monday afternoon. While emphasising that the problem still unsolved, he submitted that the facts suggested that Kenya was nearer the place of origin than Europe.

The development of the Stone Age cultures in Kenya, he said, was intimately bound up with the climatic changes, and a remarkable fact was that, with certain very important exceptions, the culture sequence in Kenya was identical with that in Europe. The earliest well-defined European culture was that known as chellean, and although Kenya was several thousand miles away from Europe the tools of this period were so similar to those of this culture in Europe that they could only be distinguished by their difference in material. An identical culture was also the earliest in South Africa. Little was known about the human type responsible for making this culture, and in Africa no human remains were known which could be assigned to this period. As in Europe, the Mousterian culture followed, but as no remains of the men who made this culture in Africa had been found it could not be ascertained whether it was made by a Neanderthal type of man or not.

From the beginning of the second main pluvial period onwards there was clear evidence that in Kenya, unlike Europe, the Mousterian and Aurignacian cultures existed side by side, each developing along its own lines. The Kenya Mousterians appeared to be as primitive as their European cousins, but the Aurignacians, on the other hand, had a well-developed culture, and from their skeletons it was known that they were definitely ancestors of modern man.

It was in connection with this contemporaneity of the Aurignacian and Mousterian cultures in Kenya that the question of the exact correlation of the glacial periods of Europe and of the pluvial periods of equatorial Africa became so important. With the evidence as it stood at present it seemed that in Europe the Ice Age fluctuations consisted of two ice advances separated from each other by a comparatively short, warm, interglacial, then a very long interglacial, period, followed by two more glacial advances. Theoretically, it looked as though the long interglacial which separated the two pairs of glacial advances should be correlated with the long interpluvial which separated the two big main pluvial periods in Africa, and if this were the correct correlation the Aurignacian culture started very much earlier in Kenya than in Europe.

Nor was this unlikely if the position was looked at from another angle. The first Aurignacian folk arrived in South Europe from Africa and already had well-developed culture. This suggested that Kenya was nearer the place of origin of modern man than was Europe. The problem of the locality of the cradle of man of modern type was, however, still unsolved.

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GREY HOSPITAL

Grey Hospital Committee
8-26-30

Elsewhere in this impression appears a letter contributed by the Secretary to the Grey Hospital Board, King William's Town. This communication is as a result of complaints that have come to the notice of the Board of alleged under feeding of Native in-patients. The Board wisely took steps to inquire into the circumstances. Dr. Doran was requested to investigate, with the result published in the Secretary's report herein contained. It is gratifying to note that the Board is particularly interested in the welfare of Native in-patients, as complaints of this nature have come to our notice for a long time past. Since the employment of Native nurses for work in the Native wards, matters seem to have vastly improved, so far as our people are concerned. Further development on the lines of employing a larger staff of Native nurses to mind Native patients would be a wise policy for the Board to adopt, as far as practicable. The system works successfully at the Victoria Hospital, Lovedale where a staff of over twenty Native nurses is employed. It is this attraction more than anything else that draws Native patients away from this district to the Lovedale hospital. We may further point out that extensions to the local Native maternity wards are a pressing necessity. Only a fortnight ago a respectable Native woman of Cross Roads, Peddie district came in to avail herself of the maternity facilities said to be provided in the local hospital. To her dismay she was refused admission and told that there was no room for her. This woman travelled twenty-five miles in a taxi (the road motor bus being unsuitable as a conveyance for people in her state), only to be turned away, and to hire another taxi for the return journey. The danger of a sudden confinement in the peregrination, it must be observed, was a very real one.

Correspondence

8—26—30.

Native opinion

The Editor "Imvo"

South Africa

Sir,—Owing to complaints having been received at the Grey Hospital (Kingwilliamstown) from Native patients that they were underfed, an enquiry was taken in hand by Dr Doran, and he reported at the last meeting of the Board, that he had fully investigated the matter and found that the patients were given a full diet as laid down in the regulations and that in addition they were having jam twice a day, and soup midday and in the evening, and that he considered the rations were quite good.

He reported that the complaints probably arose from patients who were feverish, and on account of this had been put on a milk diet by the doctor's orders.

I was requested by the Board to ask you if you will kindly publish this explanation in the next issue of your paper. Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours faithfully,

F. W. STOCK,
Secretary.

Native Rights

(Imvo Johannesburg)

8-26-30

(By "Criterion")

Native Opinion

Kingwilliamstown South Africa.

It is most gratifying to find that after a lengthy discussion of Native Affairs in the Wesleyan Conference, in which European and Native members joined, the conference resolved that any attempt to deal with the whole question on the lines of expediency rather than that of justice would be fraught with the gravest danger to the country, but the Native people of the church were urged to maintain loyalty to the government and use their personal influence to foster peace and goodwill. The conference declared its uncompromising opposition to any attempt to deprive the Native people of the rights at present possessed by them, or to deny them equality of opportunity.

While it has been declared that the Native people are in such an advanced stage of civilisation, as not to expect assistance from their European friends but to work out their own salvation, they are denied the opportunity to do so or to agitate for themselves. "It is not by personal, direct action on the mind of the slave," says W E Channing, "that we can do him good. Our concern is with the Free. With the Free we are to plead his cause. And this is peculiarly our duty because we have ourselves to resist his own efforts for his emancipation. We suffer him to do nothing for himself The most then should be done for him. Our physical power is pledged against him in case of revolt. Then our moral power should be exerted for his relief. His weakness which we increase, gives him a claim to the only aid we can afford, to our moral sympathy, to the free and faithful exposition of his wrong. As men, as christians, as citizens, we have duties to the slave, as well as to every other member of the community. On this point we have no liberty. The eternal law binds us to take the side of the injured; and this law is peculiarly obligatory when we forbid him to lift an arm of defence.

Let it not be said we can can do nothing for the slave. We can do much. We have a power mightier than armies—the power of truth of principle, of virtue, of right, of religion, of love. We have a power, which is growing with every advance of civilisation, before which the slave-trade has fallen, which is mitigating the sternest despotism, which is spreading education through all ranks of society, which is bearing christianity to the ends of the earth, which carries in itself the pledge of destruction to every institution which debases humanity. Who can measure the power of christian philanthropy, of enlightened goodness, pouring itself forwith in prayers and persuations, from the press and pulpit, from the lips and hearts of devoted men, and more and more binding together the wise and good in the cause of their race? All other powers may fail. This must triumph. It is leagued with God's omnipotence. It is God Himself acting in the hearts of his children. It has an ally in every conscience, in every human breast, in the wrong-doer, himself. This spirit has but begun its work on earth. It is breathing itself more and more through literature, education, institutions, and opinion. Slavery cannot stand before it. Great moral principles, pure and generous sentiments, cannot be confined to this or that spot. They cannot be shut out by territorial lines or local legislation. They are divine inspirations, and partake of the omnipotence of their Author. The deliberate, solemn conviction of good men throughout the world that slavery is a grievous wrong to human nature, will make itself felt To increase this moral power is every man's duty. To embody and express this great truth is in every man's power, and thus every man can do something to break the chain of the slave."

General Garfield's rhetorical eloquence was the foundation stone of American republican justice. He supported the constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery everywhere within the limits of the United States and in the course of his remarks in parliament said:—"Mr Speaker, we shall never know why slavery dies so hard in this Republic and in this hall till we know why sin is long lived, and Satan is immortal. With marvellous tenacity of existence, it has outlived the expectations of its friends and the hopes of its enemies. It has been declared here and elsewhere to be in the several stages of mortality—wounded, moribund, dead The question was raised by my colleague yesterday whether it was indeed dead, or only in a troubled sleep. I know of no better illustration of its condition than is found in Sallust's admirable history of the great conspirator, Catalina, who, when his final battle was fought and lost, his army broken and scattered, was found far in advance of his own troops, lying among the dead enemies of Rome, yet breathing a little, but exhibiting in his countenance all the ferocity of spirit which had characterised his life. So, Sir, this body of slavery lies before us among the dead enemies of the Republic, mortally wounded, impotent in its foolish wickedness, but with its own ferocity of look bearing the unmistakable marks of its infernal origin."

Race Problem - 1930

Africa

The Emperor of Ethiopia's Coach

Manchester Guardian Weekly 9-19-30 Vol 23. No 12

Elaborate preparations are being made for the coronation of the new Emperor of Ethiopia (Abyssinia, as we usually call it), which takes place next October; and the Ethiopian Ministers in Europe are busy ordering uniforms and getting together suitable ceremonial apparatus. The Government of Ethiopia particularly wants a state coach, for Ras Tafari will follow the good Imperial tradition of going to his coronation in a gold coach with a team of fine horses. But state coaches are not to be picked up anywhere, and Ethiopia is too far away for one just to be borrowed. The emissaries of the Government of Ethiopia, however, have discovered a German Imperial chariot which formerly belonged to the Emperor William, and this they have purchased, and it is to be sent immediately to Ras Tafari. Some enterprising business house may well find in this a means of making handsome profits; for in the several European countries which have lately deposed their monarchs there must be quite a lot of the trappings of royalty lying about which could be picked up cheap and resold for a good price to some aspiring Eastern potentate. The Municipality of Vienna does still, it is true, derive revenue from the melancholy relics of Francis Joseph by arranging them in his palaces and charging the good republicans of the city a small fee for permission to look at them. But surely it would be worth while to capitalise this income by selling the relics to remote kingdoms in Asia and Africa where they would doubtless be appreciated. There is a certain irony in the Emperor of Ethiopia's going to his coronation in the coach of that brother Emperor who once made a great noise in the world; and we may find in it, if we care to, a fine instance of the instability of human greatness. "May not imagination trace the noble "dust of Alexander, till he find it "stopping a bung-hole?"—and the state coach of Imperial Germany carrying the Emperor of Ethiopia to church?

WHITE AND BLACK IN SOUTH AFRICA

Manchester Guardian Weekly 9-19-30 Vol 23. No 12

Minister's Attack on British Policy

Reuter telegrams from Pretoria say that outspoken criticism of the Imperial Government's policy in regard to the natives in East Africa, as outlined in the recent White Paper, was uttered by Mr. P. G. W. Grobler, the Minister for Public Lands and leader of the Transvaal Nationalist party, at the annual congress of his party on Wednesday.

Mr. Grobler said that the native policy laid down for one part of Africa must necessarily affect all other parts. "I do not wish to interfere with the affairs of our neighbours," he said, "but where a native policy is foreshadowed which is in direct conflict with the conception of the Union—namely, the sovereignty of the white man—we also are affected, and it is therefore our duty to express our opinion clearly and unhesitatingly. The European population of the Union, the oldest and most influential European State in Africa, has developed a certain system of government, and we have the right to expect that this system will meet with the necessary amount of respect from others."

"A Danger to Our Position"

Mr. Grobler then dealt with European settlement in Africa, which everywhere supported the principle of equality between black and white. The Paris Conference in 1890, he said, gave the native rights, privileges, and political institutions which were most unsuited to the mind and the needs of the native. "These things," declared Mr. Grobler, "have rapidly taken root, and must soon become a danger to our position. Unless we prepare ourselves against such a state of affairs the white man and his civilisation will be unable to escape from calamitous results. We can only act defensively, but we also postively refuse passively to acquiesce in the mistaken step of forty years ago being repeated by a declaration that within any British territory on our Continent the interests of the natives will have preference over those of Europeans."

After quoting from the White Paper referred to, Mr. Grobler said that South Africa, as a Dominion of the British Commonwealth of nations, had a right to express a definite opinion of these affairs in all countries under British administration. In Africa, he declared, they had developed a formula in connection with relations between white and black after age-long experience. "We refuse," he said, "to consider equality of Europeans and natives as a solution of the native question. We are convinced that we shall find salvation in the segregation of black and white.

"We will not allow amateurs' work in a matter of such vital importance to us all. We deny that any European nation, England included, has the right to act anywhere in Africa in conflict with our ideals."

An Exchange telegram reports the concluding passage of Mr. Grobler's speech as follows:—

"We refuse to consider equality or the enforcing of Western European administration on the natives as a solution of the native question. We reserve the right to protect within our own country the future of white posterity so far as is humanly possible. We are convinced that in segregation in all directions we shall find salvation for both races, and are going to do it. We deny that any European nation, England included, has the right to act anywhere in Africa in conflict with our ideals, and we are determined not to be submerged."

DUTCH UNEASINESS

A Central News message from Johannesburg, after dealing with Mr. Grobler's speech, observes that the danger of repercussions in South Africa following British native policy in the northern colonies and to a minor degree Belgium's native policy in the Congo is causing some uneasiness among certain sections of the Union's Dutch leaders.

[The White Paper referred to by Mr. Grobler reiterated the British Government's earlier announcement that Kenya is primarily an African territory and that the interests of African natives must be paramount. It has aroused much criticism in Kenya.]

Stray Stock

Native Opinion

Rightly or wrongly there is a general impression amongst the Natives that their stock once strayed into a farm is lost for good as there is very little chance of recovering same. Searching for lost stock in a European's farm is unthinkable. A week or two back this suspicion was proved to the shift to be correct, for a white farmer at the Hogsback was charged before the magistrate with theft in that he harboured on his farm a number of Native cattle. His plea was that Native stock in times of drought found grazing on his farm on paying a small grazing fee, and that possibly these were the remnants of such stock. This farm he said was open to Natives to look for stray stock. The magistrate in discharging accused said the very fact that he did not sell any of these cattle and that his farm was open for searching, exonerates accused from the charge of theft. If we remember rightly there is an act of Parliament which lays down that stray stock should be impounded. A Native in the same court was mulcted to the tune of £10 for harbouring in his kraal stray stock. It would seem that the application of the law by some courts is chameleon-like, and susceptible to variation according to the colour of the accused.

The South African Outlook for September will be devoted to the memory of Dr. James Henderson.

Former pupils and others are asked to send tributes and personal reminiscencies to The Editor, South African Outlook Lovedale, C.P. These will be used as far as possible.

The Memorial Number will probably consist of 32 pages, on special paper, with photograph and other illustrations. It will be sent free to all regular subscribers, but others must order in advance from the Manager, Lovedale Press, Lovedale, C.P. Price 1s., by post 1s. 3d.

Governor-General's Powers.

8-19-30

Native Opinion

The judgment recently entered in the Appellate Division in the Ndobe titles test case contains a decision that will safeguard Native land rights that have been assailed by the Government times without number. A case in point is the appeal of Mrazuli Mtirara from a conviction in the Umtata magistrate's court in November last. Acting Justice Landsdown clearly declared the proclamation by the Governor-General ultra vires from all points of view. This is one case out of many similar ones that are never contested. To show how mischievous rule by proclamation may become, the Umtata district was thereafter excluded from the provisions of the proclamation declared ultra vires; but not the rest of the magisterial districts in the Transkeian Territories. How a proclamation may be ultra vires in one district of the Transkei and intra vires in another under similar conditions is a mystery. But such is the method adopted by the Governor General's department in Native Affairs. The Appellate Division has laid emphatic stress on the exercise of the powers granted by Parliament to the Governor-General. In the first place it is laid down in concise terms that there are limits which may not be exceeded by Parliament in delegating powers. Secondly, the Governor-General must respect the rights of Natives in land tenure. This pronouncement alone will save the Natives thousands of pounds in litigation that would otherwise have to be engaged in whenever the Governor-General was in a mood to impose pin-pricky and unjust regulations. Many Natives had not the wherewithal to take action against the Government, in which case the illegal proclamation carried the day. The position after this judgment is that it is for the Governor-General to observe that his proclamation is intra vires and not for the Natives to prove its illegality. The Appellate Division in disposing of the text of Section 25 (1) of the Native Administration Act laid down that

8-19-30

"It must be confessed that the powers conferred by this section are powers of a most far-reaching character. But as Parliament is bound to observe the provisions of the South Africa Act, the section is not to be taken to confer unrestricted powers of legislation upon the Governor-General. Any proclamation issued under it would have to respect the limits imposed upon the power of Parliament by Section 35, on pain of being declared ultra vires."

The section in question reads

King's Printer

"From and after the commencement of this Act, any law then in force or subsequently coming into force within the areas included in the Schedule to the Natives Land Act, 1913 (Act No. 27 of 1913), or any amendment thereof, or such areas as may by resolution of both Houses of Parliament be designated as Native areas for the purpose of this section, may be repealed or amended, and new laws applicable to the said areas may be made, amended and repealed by the Governor-General by proclamation in the Gazette.

Result of the Ndobe Appeal.

Imp. Govt. Publication

8-19-30

Native Opinion

The "Cape Argus" of the 22nd July inter alia gives the following salient opinion on the Appellate Division judgment in the above case delivered towards the end of June last:"—The appeal, however, has not been without avail. The Chief Justice took occasion to point out that "the substituted deed of grant must respect the provisions of Section 35 of the South Africa Act, and so must the terms and conditions to be proclaimed by the Governor General," thereby making it clear that if due respect is not paid, the Court will declare such action ultra vires. He went further and held that the issue of a proclamation applying the Glen Grey Act (under which occupation confers no voting rights) to these substituted cities would be in conflict with Section 35. And in regard to the far-reaching powers of legislative proclamation conferred upon the Government by Section 25 (1) of the Act of 1927, he made it perfectly clear that as Parliament is bound to observe the provisions of the South Africa Act the section is not to be taken to confer unrestricted powers of legislation upon the Governor-General. "Any proclamation issued under it would have to respect the limits imposed by Parliament by Section 35, on pain of being declared ultra vires." All these points were in doubt. They are in doubt no longer.

"Unfortunately, the constitutional difficulties attending the two-thirds majority provisions of the Act of Union are increased rather than diminished by the judgment. It leaves untouched the contradiction between Sections 35 (2) and 152. The former lays down in absolute terms that no registered voter shall be removed by any law from the register by reason only of any disqualification based on race or colour, whereas the latter provides that Section 35, inter alia, may be altered by the two-thirds majority at a joint sitting. Fortunately for its peace of mind, the Court was not called upon in this case to reconcile the two sections. On the other hand, the judgment does apparently lay down that not only may a law be invalid through failure to comply in a proper case with Section 35, but it may be invalid for following the procedure laid down in that section where it is not required. In other words, the belief that a Bill which is obviously on the border line can be established beyond cavil by passing it through a joint sitting is knocked on the head. The Supreme Court will consider whether Section 35 was applicable, and if it was not, will declare the measure ultra vires. Here is a new and startling pitfall in the law. Almost worse, however, from this point of view is the situation arising from Section 58, which authorises each House to prescribe its own rules for the conduct of business Counsel for the Crown had the hardihood to contend that if Parliament passed and acted upon rules inconsistent with Section 35 the Court was not competent to inquire into its procedure. If the argument held good, obviously all the "joint sitting" sections could be ousted by the simple method of passing new rules of procedure, and the Chief Justice dismissed it very briefly. But he pointed out that if an Act contains a clause offending against Section 35 the Court must assume it to be ultra vires in the absence of proof that the procedure laid down in the section had been followed—a doctrine which (inevitable though it may be) implies an examination into the proceedings of Parliament and contains the seeds of a serious collision between Parliament and the judiciary."

The Transkei "Lion"

—o—

For some weeks back there has been appearing in the daily press stories of a "lion" that has been killing sheep in the Transkeian Terretories especially at Mannbie and at Eutlambe. The same happened in the Native reserves of King W. Town but here instead of a lion it was said to be an Ingqawa, a species of the leopard family. But it was ultimately discovered that this supposed Ingqawa was nothing else but the hungry dogs that hunt for stray stock at night time.

At the present time Natives in the Mount Coke (K. W. T.) area have lost scores of sheep and goats, and it is very risky for sheep to be out of their kraals at night. Might the "lion" of Mannbie not be these rapacious dogs?

Race Problem - 1930
Africa

THE KAFFIR LAWYER.

JOHANNESBURG.

On the windows of a corrugated-iron building in the slum district of a South African city the legend, "Stanley D. Maroko, Solicitor, Notary, and Conveyancer," is painted in slightly crooked lettering. Far away from the skyscrapers where the white lawyers carry on their practice, the little office has as its neighbour the studio of a native photographer and a shop where a Bantu cobbler makes rubber sandals out of old motor tyres.

Looking at the glass case that displays black-faced wedding groups in European clothes several of Mr. Stanley D. Maroko's clients stand waiting in the sunshine of the dusty street. A half-caste woman in a black dress and with a red cloth wrapped over her woolly curls holds the hand of her small son, who wears nothing but a pair of ragged trousers. Next to her is a dignified, elderly Swazi, draped in the blanket customary in the kraals, while a pair of his wives, round whose naked arms and legs are several dozen rings of ornamental copper, squat cross-legged on the kerb.

Through the windows of the office comes the sound of the solicitor's black typist tapping at her machine. None of the clients say much, for they are too busy admiring the kid-gloved and top-hatted natives on the photographs.

"My son," presently mutters the old warrior, "works for a moruti (missionary). He has a bigger picture than any of these, and he stands in the middle of it. He brought it to my hut when he came from the kereke (church) to see me."

Before the wives can shout their corroboration the paint-blistered door of the building opens and Mr. Stanley D. Maroko lets out a respectable-looking young Bantu mine clerk, dressed in blue serge and with a large bandage round his arm.

"You will get no money if you go to court," says the Zulu practitioner, smoothing his neat grey suit. "You must not call your friend a wizard. Go in safety." Then he beckons in the Swazi.

Respectfully saluting the young Bantu girl in the tennis frock who sits at the typewriter in the stuffy room, the tribesman enters, followed by his wives. The stenographer wears a hat over her kinks although she is indoors. For a moment the savage watches her in silent amazement copying from her notebook into the machine. "Muti! (magic). The wise counsellor's young she-calf works with muti," he compliments the maiden.

Maroko takes a chair at his desk, but the Swazi, like his wives, prefers to sit on the floor.

"The big hippopotamus must give me advice," he declares. "My words must be heard by the Abalungu (European) judge."

"What are your words?" demands the solicitor, starting to write a memorandum.

"Isipedi owes me three cows on the dowry of the eldest daughter of my left-hand wife. You must tell the Kumshna (native commissioner)."

"That will cost you five pounds of money." Stanley holds up the fingers of one hand to indicate the number.

"I have gold here which the Mainta (Jew) gave me for my maize." From a snakeskin pouch carried by one spouse in her beaded girdle he takes a fistful of sovereigns.

The lawyer picks out five of them, and scribbles a receipt. "This paper," he explains, "shows that you have paid me."

"You are honest," answers the native, "and your she-calf looks fat and beautiful like a moon." Such flattery is too frequently uttered in Maroko's office to excite either him or his typist. Briskly he starts taking details required for a summons in the Native Commissioner's Court.

Having written down a number of the old man's statements, Mr. Maroko explains: "You will have to make an oath that what is in this paper is true."

"An oath? What is that?"

"You must swear by the Umkulunkulu, by the Bigger than Big, that you have told only what has happened."

"It is so! It is so!" cries the client as he turns to his wives, who nod their sleek heads in unison.

"To-morrow I will have made the paper. Then you will put your cross on it."

But the Swazi shakes his head. "Am I a witch-doctor that I can draw marks?" he demands. "How can I use your writing-stick?"

Stanley D. Maroko is reassuring. "If you hold one end of the pen the law will let me make the cross for you. Come to-morrow when the sun is there"; he points over the roof of a slum church.

"Yes, my father," exclaims the eager native and marches from the office ahead of his wives.

In the street a white lawyer is waiting. Out of respect for his colour the half-caste woman lets him go in first although he arrived after her.

Amusedly the European inspects the black typist and Maroko's framed admission certificate granted by the Supreme Court. The Zulu says "Good-day" rather awkwardly, for he seldom meets a white colleague.

"About that writ of execution," starts the latter. "You'd better withdraw if you don't want to land your client in costs." He, too, feels embarrassed, for he does not know how to address a black man with an education.

"Will you please sit down?" Maroko is afraid that the European may take offence at such an invitation from a coloured person. But the white solicitor willingly takes a chair and Stanley feels glad.

Across the desk the two slowly talk about the case. The native does not want to show that he thinks his skin a disability. The white man adopts a self-assured but conciliatory manner of speaking. While they converse the lawyers curiously study each other. Miss Mtiso has stopped typing.

After ten minutes a settlement of the legal action has been arranged, and the European takes the hat he absent-mindedly doffed during the interview.

"Good-bye, Maroko," says the white solicitor at the door.

"Good-bye, Mr. Spencer." They would never shake hands, but they take a friendly leave as the Bantu calls to the coloured woman, "Come inside, Mrs. September."

E. R.

Mother Tongue Instruction.

Comet

The question of the mother tongue instruction in schools is no doubt an attractive phrase For those people who can boast of a long civilisation it is undoubtedly a wise system to be adopted in schools but for the Natives of South Africa it is very unwise for their mother tongue to be adopted as a medium of instruction. In the lower classes we cannot do without it. It must be used as far as possible in introducing new subjects in the higher classes. From standard II and upwards the teachers ought to be encouraged to use English chiefly as the medium of instruction and the mother tongue used only as an aid to a clearer understanding. We do not pretend to speak with authority on this subjects as we are not experts in matters of education but we approach this broader question from the parents point of view and we shall be pleased if our educationists could give the views expressed here their serious consideration. They can easily understand us by placing themselves in our position and looking at the matter from our point of view and not from the high position at which they are placed especially is this necessary as they are not natives and cannot understand our difficulties as we understand them.

3-12-30

Education is foreign to the Natives of South Africa, and that being the case the Native languages are saddly defficient in expressing even the most common technical terms that are found in all educational subjects. Let us take "Arithmetic." There are so many terms in this subject that have no words to match in the Native languages and could not even be paraphrased e.g. unit, abstract number, concrete number digits, sum, amount, all the signs half, quarter third, mental, table etc. etc. Such words as dictation spelling, Grammar, compositon es say, cannot be translated into Sesuto and have to be used as they are. Nearly in every subject we have the same difficulty to be encountered,

Maseru Basutoland

Mr. Bennie ex-Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Cape Province has clearly stated our case in the words we are quoting below He has a vast experience of the

Advisory Boards Congress.

native opinion

(By Thos. G. Nqandela.)

3-25-30

No one can adequately describe to those who were not present the remarkable character of the recent sessions of the Advisory Boards Congress assembled at Bloemfontein during the month of December. But before touching on the aspect and volume of work accomplished it will perhaps be of wide interest to your readers to know a brief account of the undation of what has become known as the Advisory Boards Congress of South Africa. During the year 1928 an article in the vernacular, from the able pen of Mr. Bennet Mcwana of Alwal North, appeared in the "Umtetei wa Bantu" pointing out among other things the immediate desirability of the Location Advisory Boards of the Union coming together for the closer study of Native conditions in the urban areas. Mr. Mcwana's article had a warm reception from many thinking Natives of the Union with the ultimate result that Mr A. M. Jabavu, Editor of the "Imvo," was appealed to, to convene an inaugural conference in December of the same year at Queenstown The success of the conference was, to a large extent, due to the moral and financial support given by the Municipality of Queenstown through its Mayor Mr. Alex Sim who was the first to bless its inauguration. In the Cape Province the following municipalities responded to the appeal of Mr Jabavu: East London, Port Elizabeth Cape Town, Aliwal North, Dordrecht De Aar, Molteno, Burgersdorp, Cathcart, Cradock, Tarkastad and Ditenhage. Of the other Provinces only Johannesburg succeeded in sending delegates. The foundation of the Congress having been laid down Mr R. H. Godlo, president and Mr Howard Ben Mazwi, Secretary set to work at once to organise our recent First Annual Congress at Bloemfontein. I trust that I am expressing the feeling of the delegates when I say the success which enveloped the work of the Congress is due to these two officials who neither spared time or money to make failure impossible.

THE BLOEMFONTEIN CONGRESS.

Amplifying arrangements carried out by the Bloemfontein Location Advisory Board in conjunction with the Native Affairs Committee and the Supt of Locations were so unique and dignified in character that we all felt our responsibility to the national life of the country to which we were all bound The official courtesy as well as the common elastic ties of friendship evinced by the public of Bloemfontein left an indelible impression in the minds of all the delegates. When the sessions of the Congress began on the 19th Mr R H Godlo of East London presided with great ability over a gathering of over 60 delegates from almost all centres of the Union barring the Natal Provinces. On the platform the president of the Congress was supported by the Bishop of Bloemfontein, Dr Carey, the Chief Magistrate Mr V E P Bradshaw, the Chief Inspector of Native Education O.F.S. Mr Kuschke, Chairman of the Native Affairs Committee, Dr Steyn, and the Manager of the Native Affairs Administration Mr Cooper. The choice of such a body of public men to address the Congress conclusively demonstrated that the Location Advisory Boards Congress was regarded as a fourth Parliament of the State in the administration of Native affairs. For some time past the study of Native administration has been concentrated and confined to the boarders of purely Native settlements, and detribalised Natives were automatically regarded as an intergral part of the urban system of government until the enactment of the Urban Areas Act which clearly defined their administrative position and placed them in the same category as any tax payer of the country It was chiefly for these reasons that the Native Urban Areas Act was hailed by the urbanised Natives as a bill of rights of the 700,000 detribalised Bantu population of the Union.

Native Affairs Commission.

Native Affairs
3-12-30

The Act 23 of 1920 (Native Affairs Act) brought into being what is known as the Native Affairs Commission. The object of the then Legislature was to obtain in a direct way the views of Natives prior to passing legislation affecting them. This Commission was to consist of not more than five members; but since its inception its personnel never numbered more than three. It was never stipulated that Natives were not eligible for appointment to the Commission; but the silent colour bar has operated effectively against non-Europeans in this respect unto this day. Appointments to membership of the Commission were originally made from men chosen by reason of their long experience in social and administrative work among Natives, and men who had thus learnt to consider the Native viewpoint in inter-racial problems without political bias. With Commissioners of the stamp of Drs. Roberts and Loram, Natives had felt that their cause had been entrusted in safe hands, with appreciable results. During the last three years however, Government had shown an apparent disregard for the labours of this Native Affairs Commission among Natives. The fact that the annual government conference under the 1920 Act had not been summoned for three years was in itself an indication that the spirit in which this act was passed was diametrically opposed to the policy of the present Cabinet. Thus it transpires that the existence of the Commission is now more for carrying into effect political party aims than the true representation of Native aspirations. During the discussion in Parliament in the second reading of the Natives' (Urban Areas) Act Amendment Bill, the Minister of Native Affairs in answer to enquiries made by Mr. Payn (Tembuland) bluntly refused to table the report of the Native Affairs Commission, which report contained the recommendations of the Commission on the amendments. Mr. Jansen said the report was intended for his information and he was not prepared at that stage to lay it on the table. Anyone endowed with a modicum of commonsense knows that it would be useless to table the Commission's report after the adoption by Parliament of the second reading. It would have enhanced the prestige of the Minister in the eyes of justice to furnish the members of the House with the recommendations of the Commission for information on Native sentiment rather than hide the information to gain the ends of his political supporters at the expense of his proteges. So far has the ethical complex of the Native Affairs Commission degenerated to the dictates of partisanship.

COTTON IN RHODESIA.

Company's Drastic Reduction of Capital.

An echo of the disastrous outcome of the cotton boom in Southern Rhodesia was heard in the High Court, which confirmed resolutions to reduce the capital of the Central Cotton Ginneries (Southern Rhodesia), Ltd., from £200,000, divided into 200,000 shares of £1 each to £5,000 in 100,000 shares of 1s. each, and authorising £195,000 to be written off the goodwill account in the company's books. The whole of the capital has been fully paid up.

Cotton growing is now only pursued in a sporadic way in the Colony, though for some years past exhaustive tests have been proceeding on the Government experimental station at Gatooma with a view to producing a jassid-resisting seed, and reports concerning these experiments have latterly been hopeful.—"Cape Times."

BUSHMEN AT FISH HOEK.

Strange Paintings in a Cave.

The existence of typical Bushman paintings in the Cape Peninsula has hitherto been considered a remote possibility. Yet in a cave at Fish Hoek there have now been discovered paintings belonging to what archæologists term "the last Bushman period" or "the Wilton industry."

In an interview with a representative of the "Cape Times" Mr. B. Peers, of Fish Hoek, who for the last four years has been conducting extensive investigations in the large rock shelter or cave, "Skildegat," in the valley, explained the unique importance of the paintings. "It is not generally known," he said, "that Fish Hoek and its adjacent valley were once thickly populated by aboriginal folk for centuries prior to the coming of the first white people. There are many sites in the valley containing a vast assortment of cultural remains, and the most important of these once occupied sites is the large rock shelter known as 'Skildegat,' where primitive man must have lived centuries ago."—"Cape Times."

HISTORY IN THE MAKING.

General Hertzog has done the big thing. That is the outstanding fact of the agreement which has been entered into at Cape Town between him and General Smuts that the native Bills shall be sent to a Select Committee of both Houses before the second reading in order that a policy on which all parties are most nearly agreed can be hammered out there. And General Smuts has achieved a personal triumph which goes a long way to erase the memory of his somewhat unfortunate intervention in the Immigration Quota Bill. The honours are equally divided between South Africa's two most significant figures, who at long last have thus come together and given us the hope of an agreed Native policy and an end to party strife on a question of most vital importance to the future of this country. But let it not be forgotten, says the Johannesburg "Star," whatever enthusiasms or loyalties the future holds in store for each one of us, that the Prime Minister's action is one of the most generous of his career, that, as a Parliamentary correspondent pointed out in his inner history of the compromise yesterday, General Hertzog has made a most significant sacrifice of party advantage in the course he has taken—a fact that cannot be forgotten.

Race Problem – 1930

Africa

SPEECH

Delivered by the Honourable the Director of Education, on the occasion of the opening of the Women Teachers' Training College, Wilberforce, on the 30th January, 1930.

Weekly News

This is a great day for all interested in Education: for the Girls, their Parents, their Staff, the Education Department, and the Colony. At last we have in fitting surroundings a Women Teachers' Training College. It has come into being, as with the Men Teachers' Training College at Fourah Bay College, by means of a coalition of Wesleyan and Church Missionary Societies with Government. It represents a wise co-ordination of purpose and collaboration of forces. Since the inception of the project in 1927 much time, thought and money have been expended; much inconvenience has been patiently endured by Staff and Pupils, and many difficulties have been overcome. By splendid persistence and unremitting effort your Superintendent has won through. In those days when unhappily he will have left us, the College may well stand as a monument to his memory. One other may be mentioned as having done yeoman service in the cause. By her enthusiasm and fixity of purpose, guided by her real knowledge of the need and its solution, Miss Coope, whose absence through sickness we so deplore to-day, has indeed contributed to this well-conceived cause. May I on behalf of Education throughout the Colony thank all who have so nobly borne their share in achieving this consummation we rejoice at to-day.

Let me state briefly the details of the setting up of this College whose opening we now officially celebrate. 2-15-30

As detailed in the Prospectus, which was brought out last year, by agreement between the Wesleyan and Church Missionary Societies and Government, provision has been made for a residential course for not more than twenty young women at a time to be trained as Teachers. The Wesleyan Society has contributed generously. It has put at our disposal its spacious grounds in this delightful and healthy locality. It has erected out of its own funds the beautiful two-storied home for the European Ladies of the Staff. With the help of loans from Government it has converted its old home into a roomy and comfortable Hostel for the Student Teachers, and has added on a Domestic Science Kitchen.

Government has been grateful for this collaboration. Such an undertaking must surely lie nearer the hearts of the people than would a purely Government Institution. Government has gladly undertaken to bear some of the recurring costs of annual expenditure, such as for three of the European Ladies; for scholarships for the Student Teachers, which provide free board, lodging, tuition, text-books and stationery; for necessary furniture and equipment: by opening up a road to the College, and by bringing water to the site. some day to be completed, we hope, by linking up the College with the Town Electric Lighting Scheme.

Freetown

Admission to the Course and College is gained by Competitive Examination, five Scholarships being offered each year with an extra five every third year.

I mention these facts that you may realise firstly, how your Missions, whether at Fourah Bay College or here, have taken up their responsibilities, and secondly, how Government has recognised its obligation to finance this educational partnership. It is important, too, that you should visualise how far reaching this partnership may be. By means of Government assistance towards transport, these devoted ladies of the staff have been able out of the goodness of their hearts to find time and a way to visit the students in their homes, to attend educational meetinge of parents and others, to help to organise and instruct at Vacation [illegible] for Teachers, and to make their part contribution to the improvement of e schools, both Urban and Rural, throughut the Colony. We are extremely grateful o them, and we know you will come to see the value of all this and to appreciate their good work.

Now what are we trying to do? Your Principal has given a clear outline of the Course. For three years a student continues her general education in those subjects conventionally prescribed for an educated woman, supplemented by that fuller, more practical preparation for life, known and valued so much to-day throughtout the world as Domestic Science, Economy or Arts, or Home-Craft or Home Economics. Speaking as a husband whose wife had a fine training in such arts, and as a father whose three daughters all had some or other phases of them, I can testify from actual experience to the great value of such features in a girl's education. Then in her vocational training, a student is helped throughout the whole course with increasing emphasis towards its close to gain that technical knowledge and insight which go to make the woman a fit and worthy person to be entrusted with the all-important function of sympathetic, intelligent guidance of the first educational footsteps of the young.

The value of any education, of any educational scheme, depends much more than some of us realise on the efficiency and wisdom of the handling of the child in those earliest, tenderest years. Unless, and until, the teaching in Infant Schools is intelligently and sympathetically given, good results in the education of the older children are likely to be few. The importance of right thinking and right practice in the training of the very young cannot be overestimated, I appeal to all who are able to form judgment in such matters to approach them with an open mind, to look closely into any new methods being used, to get to understand thoroughly both the methods, and the aim and the meaning of them First, see and understand for yourselves. Do not pay heed to idle rumours, nor give credence to critics who have never seen for themselves what is being done.

You who can evaluate, help us to bring conviction and confidence to those who find it hard to grasp it all. Let each one of you come to know exactly what is being done, and why it is being done so, and then having seen and believed, become a whole-hearted advocate of the better way. Do, in the name of all that is progressive and good, help us to lead people to think progressively. Help them to give up those old conservative thoughts, such as "What was good enough for me is good enough for my children"; "we did not learn so": "where is the old A, B, C," or perhaps because a poor child has arrived at school too tired to sit upright, and a wise teacher tells it to lie down for a few minutes till kindly nature has restored it to vigour, "a child is not sent to school to sleep, or to play, but to work" I only wish I could find a school where a teacher had been so wise, but, alas, I have yet to see it. Do believe we know what we are about; do trust us, and let us give your children as much as we can of those better methods which the leaders in education throughout the civilised world have found to be good.

You have an exceptional Staff here, ladies of real qualification and experience, of whom any school or College would be proud. Give them your whole-hearted support, your sympathetic collaboration. Uphold them in all that they are trying to do. Without the goodwill and backing of the parents, both with other people and with their children in the homes, even the best teachers can do little.

And when these young students go out to their responsible work as Teachers, as the first group will this year-stand by them, and let them feel your sympathy and support, protect them when the ignorant begin to find f[illegible] encourage them to hold fast to that they have learnt, and to pers[illegible] strengthen them to stand upright wi[illegible] dead weight of old-fashioned methods around them threatens to drag them down. Give them a chance to show forth the value of their training, and time to lay the foundation of that success which we can confidently hope will crown their endeavours.

SUPREME CHIEF DANGER.

PROFESSOR BROOKES ON NATIVE GOVERNMENT.

Cape Times

EXTENSIVE POWER CRITICISED.

1-16-30

PRINCIPLE "CONTRARY" TO COMMON LAW.

Capetown South Africa

VIOLATION OF BANTU SYSTEM.

Professor Brookes' concluding lecture on "Official Powers and Common Law Rights in Native Administration," delivered at the Vacation Course in Bantu Studies at the University yesterday morning, was concerned chiefly with the power of the Supreme Chief, created by the Native Administration Act of 1927, and the dangers of that Act.

The Act, he pointed out, had laid down that the Governor-General shall be the Supreme Chief of all the natives of Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State, with all the powers, rights and immunities previously vested in him in Natal. Moreover, Professor Brookes said, these powers were made almost indefinitely elastic by a very significant clause which gave the Supreme Chief the right to add to these powers merely by proclamation in the Gazette. There was, of course, the check of Parliamentary veto, which he had

analysed previously and which he considered imperfect, but normally any additional powers could be added to these.

UNLIMITED POWER.

"I want you to realise," he said "that the proclamation need not ever have the approval of the Native Affairs Commission. Its application is excluded only from the Cape Province, but in the other three Provinces the extent of power by proclamation has really no limit to it.

"It is not the powers of the supreme chief as they existed in 'native law,' but as they existed at the commencement of the Act in the Province of Natal, with such as may from time to time be added.

"Now anything can be brought under this head. All rights can disappear. The valuable element of publicity is gone, and not even the Native Affairs Commission can check undesirable proclamations."

At one time, the powers of the supreme chief in Natal, he said, included the power to turn natives out on forced labour, to move individual natives from place to place, to depose native chiefs, and to punish disrespect to the supreme chief or his representative.

EXCEPTIONAL RULERS.

"It was," Professor Brookes declared "in its own time probably a good system. For Shepstone, for instance, it was the only thing that could be done in a country where he was handicapped by a lack of funds and officials. It should be considered, though, that his conception of a supreme chief was derived from exceptional rulers like Dingaan and Tchaka. Despots like Dingaan are not at all normal in Bantu government. Government of that kind, indeed, is a form entirely contrary to Bantu custom."

In support of his argument, Professor Brookes quoted the following protest of a convention of paramount chiefs held at Bloemfontein two years ago—a protest which, he considered, was remarkably penetrating and just:

"That Tchaka's Government was a form of government contrary to the Bantu system, is our firm conviction. The policy of Shepstone differs from that of the present Government in that it recognised native progress. The natives, as soon as they acquired civilised habits of living were to be exempted under the direct rule of the supreme chief.

"In Natal they were exempted from native law and custom. But under the Administration Act of 1927, native progress is not sufficiently recognised. Both the civilised and uncivilised natives, the professional and the ordinary native living in his primitive state, are subject to the autocratic rule of the supreme chief."

"IRRESPONSIBLE DESPOTISM."

This point, Professor Brookes stated, was of the greatest importance.

"The licensed and irresponsible despotism of a supreme chief is contrary to every principle, rule and instinct of our Common Law.

"It is also, as this protest testified, contrary to Bantu law. To apply it at all is unjust and unsound. To apply it in the name of Bantu law, as was suggested, would be hypocritical and adding insult to injury.

He again quoted from the protest: "If it is the policy of the Government that the Bantu people of the Union should be governed by means of their own laws and customs, we feel it our duty as guardians of our people, to point out that this should be in accordance with native law and not with the wishes of the white race. It is our firm conviction that the policy underlying the Native Administration Act is a violation of the Bantu system of government."

Here, Professor Brookes said, he thought, was another big failing in the Native Administration Act. It would have done far better if it had drawn a line between the Europeanised native and the un-Europeanised, instead of between the Cape Province and the other three Provinces. He had been glad to listen to Dr. Loram's lecture on the new native, but he had wondered why an old law should be applied to a new native.

BUREAUCRATIC DANGERS.

Professor Brookes dwelt further on the bureaucratic tendencies of the Native Administration Act and the dangers of increasing the powers and functions of the Native Affairs Department.

The only effective check on a bureaucracy, he said, was either a democratic Parliamentary Government, which the natives had not got, or the control of the bureaucracy by the Law Courts, which the Native Administration Act and other statutes were, as he thought, quite wrongly trying to remove.

"It seems to me," he said, "that in a modern democratic state, it is vitally necessary to have a kind of fruitful liaison between the professional administrator and the public voice. The principle of full discussion is extremely valuable I believe, therefore, we must look on native administration, for our salvation to this fruitful liaison. Although I feel myself that much can be said for the principle of droit administratif, we cannot have the Rule of Law and all that it means to us for the white South African and yet go on making serious inroads into the rights of the black South African.

"We must remember, too, that in fighting the danger of unchecked powers of officials in native administration, we are also fighting the white man's cause. There is a tendency in South Africa generally to strengthen official powers as compared to England.

"The crucial part of the struggle is native administration. It is in that field that the battle of public freedom will be fought in South Africa."

Professor Brookes then began his lectures on administration of welfare services among natives, and the progress that had been made in this connection in South the last few years.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

A Great Experiment.

The great experiment in African education known as Prince of Wales' College, Achimota, has now come to its testing time. At the beginning of the year the Principal, the Rev. A. G. Fraser, announced that a fine set of students, after four years training, had left Achimota as teachers. These are the first-fruits of the College, and their work will be keenly watched to see whether the College gives promise of fulfilling the hopes of its founders and of the people of West Africa who regard Achimota as a beacon lighting the way to advance. These young men are adumbrations and signs of things to come. Achimota is not yet a great school turning out its regular quota of finished scholars. Not great buildings make a great school, but a great tradition, slowly built up and passed from generation to generation of pupils, honoured by each generation in its turn and loyally passed on to its successors. The responsibility of founding the tradition, of endowing the body of the College with a soul, is largely on the present staff, the nurses who watched over its birth and are guiding its infancy. In nothing is Achimota more fortunate than in its principal, whose appointment to that post is Sir Gordon Guggisberg's best service to the Colony. One sea of assurance that the people will reap real benefit from the vast sums lavished on its foundation and maintenance. The spirit in which Mr. Fraser is working is shown by his address on "The Prospect Before the Educated African" delivered at the fourth Educational Conference at Achimota on January 16 last. There is nothing of the doctrinaire about Mr. Fraser; he appreciates the fact that he and his staff are conducting a great experiment. Educators of Africans are to-day in the same position as the pioneers of exploration of the interior of the continent were sixty or seventy years ago. African mentality is a vast unknown and uncharted continent, where exploration is just beginning. Just as the economic development of the continent became feasible only after the pioneers had revealed its main features, and surveys had filled in details of various regions, so will the intellectual development of the African become feasible only after many workers have laboured to learn the intellectual capacity and needs of the various races. How far we are from knowing anything definite or final about African education is shown by the following extract from Mr. Fraser's address:—

"A very senior Colonial official once said to me, 'I suppose you are now certain that you know the right line to take in African education?' I said, 'I am perfectly certain that I have no certainty of the kind.' He then said, 'I suppose other people think that you know it?' I said, 'I have never heard of anyone who did.' He said, 'In twenty years will people say that you are right?' I said, 'No, in twenty years I think they will look on me as a fool.' He said, 'I suppose you hope to be justified in a hundred years then?' I said, 'No, in a hundred years they will call me an unmitigated fool!'"

The Problem.

The African educator's problem is that he is dealing with societies in a state of flux that he has to build a bridge between old cultures that are crumbling and a new culture, as yet unformed, whose ultimate form it is impossible to forecast. And his task is made more difficult by the fact that his teaching is the most effective tool of disintegration. For centuries West Africa has been in contact with Europeans without being much affected socially; the impact of European rule, trade, and religion have made little change in the fundamentals of life. Education of the new type is directly sapping and undermining these fundamentals. The pupils at such a school as Achimota are taken from their homes, removed from the influence of tradition and membership of a group; they are separated from their people and segregated in a foreign environment, a new mental atmosphere. Their outlook on life is changed from that of their people by new knowledge, a new philosophy of cause and effect in conflict with the faith of their ancestors. How can they reknit the broken threads, and resume the life from which they have been estranged during their pupilage? How is "the synthesis to be found between the old and the new?" Africans realise that they themselves must find the synthesis, and their educators realise that they must be fitted to lead their people in the quest of this synthesis. In Mr. Fraser's words:—

"We do not know, and we have not yet the experience to know the best lines of education in circumstances like those existing in this continent of Africa. We can but experiment and humbly do our best to blaze a trail for those who, with greater experience and more knowledge will come after us. . . . . Little they may think of our efforts from their position of greater knowledge and experience, but none the less our efforts will be behind their success."

The Rare Certainties.

Of only two things does Mr. Fraser declare himself assured. "The education we give must, as far as in us lies, be to-day as efficient as that of England," and the African has the capacity to compete with other races. He said, "When I came here first I did so unwillingly as I had imbibed the idea that West African boys had little capacity for school work. I have had reason to change my mind." He encourages West African boys to measure themselves with other races by demanding to be tried by the tests designed by those races for themselves, and bears testimony to the fine quality of his pupils. "They are disciplined, courteous, and usually hard-working. . . . . The prefects here are, I think, the best I have known. They are reliable; they have initiative, humour, and good temper. They know how to govern, and not only have they got a strong sense of responsibility, but they can carry through their rule without priggishness, and in friendship with those they rule." This serves to show that Africans are like the members of other races—put them into responsible positions and they will rise to the height of their responsibility.

W. F. H

Race Problem - 1930

Africa.

THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO

By O. T. George,

The timely reproduction by the Sierra Leone Weekly News of Principal Fraser's address, culled from the *The Gold Coast Leader* of February 15, gives me the opportunity of reviewing the great question of Negro education now engaging the serious attention of the various West African Governments, and interested educationalists.

The key of Principal Fraser's notes, is in entire harmony with the writer's view, of the correct plan of Negro education.

As late as 1911, the writer wrote from Naraguta, Northern Nigeria, through the medium of the Sierra Leone Weekly News to the following effect:—

"It is almost superfluous to emphasize upon the efficacy of the vernacular as a civilising force; upon the efficacy of understanding principles and theories, through a God-giving and natural representation of thought."

"A suitable illustration to the contrary is afforded, in reviewing the political, religious, social, and educational conditions of Europe, prior to the fifteenth century. But no sooner the Reformation stirred on indirectly by the Renaissance occurred; no sooner the Bible and other standard works got translated to their various vernaculars; no sooner civilisation was placed upon national basis, than along with these reforms, it became more widely appreciated, more widely diffused, and more widely understood."

In 1926, a Committee of gentlemen at Onitsha, Nigeria, at the request of the Government, through the Honourable I. O. Mba, appointed a legal gentleman and the writer, to submit papers to it for discussion, with reference to the Nigerian Government's educational scheme in favour of the inclusion of vernacular education.

The writer maintained in his paper his previous view of 1911, that vernacular education, was the only medium of interpreting the soul of the race, or of any other race. in terms of harmony with its physical and metaphysical requirements and quoted history in support of this view. He also stressed the necessity of making the teaching of both English and the vernacular collateral, and of standardising vernacular education, up to the University limit.

There are some new points which we may now consider. (a). The grouping of dialects of tribes akin to one another, under a common language, such as has been done by the Church Missionary Society, in the Ibo.speaking countries, by the adoption and use of the Qua Ibo language, as the common language of literature of every Ibo tribe.

(b). The use of one language of literature, leading to one language of expression, by alienated tribes of national affinities.

To illustrate clearly this second point, we may mention, that the Onitshas, Abas, Asabas, Illahs, and few other tribes on the banks of the river Niger, are alienated Yorubas who are apparently Ibos, through the result of immigration from Yorubaland, during the inter-tribal and tribal wars of old, and the power of environments. There is however a marked conservatism in their manners and deportment, foreign to the real Ibos, which suggests, failure in endeavouring to assimilate Ibo culture and that a restoration to their ancient and more natural modes of existence, through the powerful associations of the original Yoruba language, would prove of the greatest advantage to them,

The same applies under (a). to the Joloffs, Sosus, and Madingos, who, as offshoots of the Fula genus, could conveniently and advantageously adopt the Fula language, in speech and literature. The Joloff language in its present form, is already three-fourths Fula. The same applies to the Timnes and the Sherbros; (not the Mendis), the Sherbros being of the same national stock as the Timnes. The Timne being the larger group, should absorb the Sherbro group, by the use of the Timne language and literature; and so on.

Success can only depend upon the English and vernaculars being taught collaterally; the former, as an efficient instrument, for the qualified standardisation of the latter. Greek and Latin should be included.

I remember years ago when at Lagos, listening to the oratory of the late Rev. M. L. Stone in Yoruba. He was considered the ablest pulpit orator the Yoruba nation had produced; yet, Mr. Stone was a man of very limited educational attainments in English. Now, what would have happened, if the late clergyman was a well qualified scholar, from a British or American University? West Africa would have had in him, an equal to the great American preacher, Dr. Talmage. This applies, in other departments of art and science.

The only seeming difficulty in the application of this plan of education is in its relation to the creole element at Sierra Leone and elsewhere, whose language and literature are English. But this can be easily overcome, by national or tribal distribution. That is to say, that members of the Yoruba nation at Sierra Leone for instance, should attend the same schools; while those of the Ibo nation and so on, should attend the same school. In every case, the English should be used as an effective medium, for the qualified standardisation of the vernaculars, up to University limit. This was the method adopted by Japan quite recently, in mastering the great secrets, of modern Western civilisation.

But I know, there will be opposition to some of these views, from extremists among our own people. And that even some cool-headed African scholars and leaders, would demur to lose their pet notion of a "Coloured Englishman," or of "Coloured European culture." Yet, it is the plain truth, that there is no precedent in history, where such alienated or borrowed culture, ever stood the test of continuity, or ever evolved a distinctive civilisation of its own, demanding the respect and admiration of contemporary nations. The Hellenic Jews are a fine example. They blossomed for sometime, but soon faded into oblivion.

Personally, as a natural prince of Africa (Nigeria) with abundant pride and hope in some African institutions, and a future African culture, on the lines of education above indicated, though a Sierra Leonean paternally, I can see nothing for the Negro, in the outside glamour of European civilsation. I can see through the vested interests of European Church and State in Africa; though, to some extent, I must admit some altruism in the activities, past and present, of some European Missionaries and explorers in Africa. But we say that the African himself is the best instrument for the building up of his civilisation on his own lines; using through scientific training in his vernaculars, a suitable selection from the wealth of materials that European and other cultures have acquired before him. And, with this view, Principal Fraser seems to be in perfect agreement.

Though, as I have said, I do not admire the outside glamour of European civilisation; though I do not admire the European dress, drink, dance, code of etiquette and some European music; though I do not consider these forms of culture anything extraordinary, and deserving of the particular emulation of the Negro, yet, I do admire Italian music, so much akin to good African music; and I do admire English literature on account of its wealth of anthology, adapted from the literature and civilisations of the most cultured nations that preceded it, and commanding a soul vibration which I can attune to my soul aspirations, and express better, through the medium of a language, endemic to my being. "Know thyself" says Pope; and in saying this, he has simply borrowed or amplified from previous thinkers. But speaking racially, how can we know ourselves, but by assessing our intrinsic worth by our own standards, thus demanding the respect and admiration of contemporary races?

If we underrate African education partly through African languages, if we underrate African culture on African lines, and refuse merely to assimilate the good in the Caucasian systems, and neglect the use of the Caucasian languages as a means to an end—merely as efficient instruments for the ultimate standardisation of our education and civilisation, we would not only fail to inspire the admiration of contemporary races, but would invite their contempt, and put ourselves on a parity with the ludicrous Sphinx, so aptly portrayed by Horace, in his famous laughable picture, and suitably described by him in the following lines:—

> "Suppose by some wild freak or fancy led,
> A painter were to join a human head
> With neck of horse; cull here and there a limb;
> And daub on feathers various as his whim;
> So that a woman, lovely as a wish,
> Went tailing off into a loathsome fish:
> Could you, although the Artist's self were there,
> From laughter, loud and long, my friends forbear?

Unless we conform with the above programme of Negro education and civilisation, the *loud and long laughter* over Horace's Sphinx will be our due; which implies, the expressive and continuous contempt of contemporary races.

Cameroons,
21st March, 1930.

"AFRICAN FOLK TALES" AND "THE SOYA BEAN."

By W. L. E.

Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., well-known Publishers of school books, are making a helpful contribution to African literature by a series of collections of African Folk Tales, The rich vein they are exploiting has already yielded three volumes (Books 1, 2 and 3, at 10d., 1/- and 1/2 net respectively,) obtainable at 39 Paternoster Row, London, E.C. 4, and from the Church Missionary Society's Bookshop, Lagos, Nigeria. Book 3, under review, runs into some 86 pages of clear bold type, bound in coloured limp cloth and fully illustrated by Mr. H. Bullows, whose art has caught the spirit of the more than twenty tales told in the attractive language of simplicity so suited to fairy stories and to the great world of childhood in which such love has always had and will always have a great vogue. Wee Folk are proverbially inquisitive, but as their inquisitiveness is also proverbially easy to satisfy, they will no doubt be content with such plausible explanations as "Why the Tortoise has a short neck," "Why the Bat is not seen in the Day-Time," "Why the head of the Tortoise is like that of the Lizard," "Why the Hawk kills chickens" and "Why the cock scratches the Ground." Mr. Hawk's partiality for chickens is due to a vendetta which he is waging against the offspring of a rival cock in whose favour he was "once on a time" jilted by his quondam henwife. After pretty Miss Hennie had become Mrs. Hawk, "a young cock found out where she was living, and decided to try and make her return to her own country. He therefore went at dawn, flapped his wings once or twice and crowed in his best voice to the young hen. When she heard the sweet voice of the cock, she went out to him, and they walked home together. The young cock walked in front, crowing all the way. After a time the hawk who was flying high up in the sky, saw what had happened and was very angry. He made up his mind to have justice from the King." The upshot was that the King commanded the hen's parents to return the dowry that Mr. Hawk had paid for their daughter. But as Hennie's parents were very poor and could not pay the money, the King gave Mr. Hawk permission to kill and eat the guilty cock's children whenever and wherever he found them "From that time until now whenever a hawk sees a chicken he swoops down and carries it off as his dowry."

The cock's habit of scratching the ground is attributed to a scurvy trick that Mr. Tortoise, the rascally hero of most of the tales, ones played him. The animals decided to put all their money together and entrusted it—some four hundred pieces to Mr. Tortoise. The wily treasurer soon stole a hundred pieces, a loss which made the animals very angry. The balance of the money was now confided to the care of Mr. Cock-a-doodle, who, for greater security, "went to a quiet part of the bush and dug a hole in the ground and hid the money in the hole." Unfortunately for the new treasurer, his dishonest predecessor had followed him secretly behind and seen from his hiding place, where the money was buried. On the cock's departure the old rogue crept out of his covert and took two hundred pieces leaving only one hundred in the hole." When the animals discovered the loss they were just wild with Mr. Cock and threatened to kill him. "But he begged them not to kill him and promised to search for the money, and when they had agreed, he began to scratch the earth to look for the money. And from that day to this, he continued to scratch, but the money has never been found."

"The man who understood the speech of Animals" has a distinctly Sierra Leonean flavour, although a publisher's note informs us that the material of the stories was collected in Southern Nigeria. A hunter had done a spirit a good turn, and the spirit, wishing to reward him, gave him a magic leaf which, when placed in the ear, would enable its possessor to understand the language of animals. But the hunter was warned never to

tell the secret to anyone. Now, the hunter had a wife, who was blind in one eye. One day she was grinding nuts in a mortar and, as she ground the nuts, the chickens picked up those that fell out. The woman drove the chickens away, but the cock called them together and told them to go back and pick up the nuts on the side where the woman was blind, and to carry them off to the well. The hunter was using his magic leaf and overheard all that the cock had said, and he laughed loud and long. His wife thought that he was laughing at her blindness and cried bitterly, but he comforted her and told her that he had been laughing at something quite different, she begged him to tell her the joke; but, remembering the warning that the spirit had given him, he dared not tell her. But the wife would not be satisfied and threatened to leave him if he did not tell her, and at last he told her what he had overheard. He had scarcely uttered the words when he fell down and died." The following about the cunning old tortoise is surely good enough to bear reprint in ful—The Tortoise called "You All."

One day the father-in-law of the tortoise went to him and begged the tortoise to help him on his farm. The tortoise agreed and went into the village and chose some of his friends to go with him to the farm. On the way he told them to stop for a moment and then said to them:—"Friends, we are now going to my father-in-law's farm; it is better that everyone of you should tell me his name, so that when the work is over and food is brought, we may know for whom it is intended." Each of them told his name to the Tortoise, and the Tortoise told them his own name was "you all"—They went to the farm and worked very well and after a time food was brought to them. At this moment the tortoise got up quickly and said to his father-in-law, "Father, for whom is the food you have brought?" "It is for you all," said her, Then the Tortoise turned to his friends and said to them. "Friends, the food is brought, and I hope you heard what my father-in-law said." **The tortoise then carried the food aside and ate it all up, and the people went home hungry."**

"African Folk Tales" would make excellent matter for teaching Reproduction in Primary Schools.

ome to found co-operative institutions, and ecall the failures which attended those efforts. These however are no criteria that every uch venture will meet with the same results. he causes of the failure of these past entures should be studied, and carefully voided. It is from the lessons and xperiences gained from failures that we re able to erect successful monuments. Before closing we should commend the fforts of those who are establishing the West End School for primary education, nd the Institute for Mechanics. The notive of both is grand, and they deserve ur support. Both have achieved some neasure of success in that a number of ersons have come together for a common audable end. The wish of everyone should e that they may succeed. For in their uccess, will many realise the possibilities f co-operation, and understand the real alue and needs of the moment.

OPEN LETTER TO

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, PARAMOUNT CHIEF AND THE NATIONAL COUNCIL (Parliament.)

(By PRO BONO PUBLICO.)

Your high dignitaries,

In addressing you this letter it is to show forth that your peoples of this Territory are wholly or partly in disagreement with the administration of justice by your several officials both Assistant Commissioners and Chiefs throughout the length and breadth of Basutoland. The writer has been gathering data from all parts of the territory from reliable sources both European and Basuto alike and has come to the conclusion that matters should now be presented to high authorities for investigation and to have the whole system righted afresh.

Since the sitting of the last National Council, the said Council unanimously, in spite of strong minority report—declared the proposed NEW NATIVE COURT REGULATIONS by the Resident Commissioner, to be ultra vires; but today the common people are suffering injustice at the hands of the Chiefs' courts more than before, and more regrettably at the hands of certain Assistant Commissioners. Why this state of affairs? One knowing the procedure of Chiefs and Commissioners Courts in Basutoland cannot wonder at this anomaly To mention one particular troublesome district, that of LERIBE, in common, we hear that a Basuto calling to interview the Assistant Commissioner is often subjected to rigorous examinations by the Interpreter to know the nature of his interview and very often stands a good chance of being told off before seeing the Commissioner.

But surely all said and done you cannot blame the poor Interpreter as we must presume he is under instructions.

THE USURY ACT IN BASUTOLAND.

We have been reading in the Sesuto columns of "MOCHOCHONONO," about what the Government is doing in cases of Native debts with the firm NOLAN Ltd., the Editor has, I think, rightly given his views that it is about time the Government supported the actions of this firm by running Native debtors into Assistant Commissioners courts.

Personally I think the Editor is correct and has the sympathy of progressive Basuto However, in this respect, the Basuto should be allowed to be assisted by their intelligent friends in defending certain complicated figures often presented to the courts by some unscrupulous firms who recharge accounts even when paid for.

THE LERIBE RESERVE.

We hear that the Assistant Commissioner there is part and parcel with the headman of the Reserve, in that Native cases adjudicated by the headman are first discussed with the A.C. before coming into headman's court and should an appeal be lodged it is then taken to get permission whether it should be passed to the district Chief's court as provided by regulations ruling all Basutoland Camps. But here people, we hear, are often threatened with ejectment from the Reserve if they do not comply with the A.C. or Police Officer's orders through the headman. But this is only a bluff by the headman who is trading on the names of his superiors. Beware! Beware!!

The Camp is composed of as many Butcher shops as there are people in the place to put it allegorically. The Government have become contractors to the great firm of NOLAN Ltd to erect a butcher shop with prison labour and the building is about to be finished to give us cheap meat let us hope. Why this anomaly? The present Government Secretary when A.C. at Leribe we hear had in writing from headquarters Maseru that all work to be contracted in Basutoland, contractors must use Basuto craftsmen in preference to outsiders.

The writer is authentically told that it was at the instance of certain complaints presented and that the Basutoland Progressive Association teems with letters from the Government promising to see that all available work of the Government will be performed by Basuto artisans as far as possible; and no prison labour is mentioned. What about a big building the Government are just completing at Leribe with prison labour closing out all Basuto competent labour

NATIVE CHIEFS IN LERIBE.

Further, according to data collected and on comparison the writer has rightly or wrongly come to the conclusion that the Leribe district is the worss administered in the whole country by the multitudinous number of bad young chiefs running the district at their will without respecting peoples rights. Oh the times! Oh the morals!! It is high time the Government took a serious view of a lot of these irresponsibles who are becoming a law unto themselves They neither obey nor respect the lawful orders of the Paramount Chief given throuph the recognised district head chief or through the accredited Government officials. Surely the sons of the late Chief Jonathan are Lelabouring under a very serious misguided authority of their chieftainship, and this is obvious to the Government as these young chiefs openly abuse the authority vested in the head district chief, never mind the latter's failings the law is there to correct him, but the law ought to be jealous of his position to be respected. The present A. C. we hear is vested with the administration of the late Chief Jonathan's *millions*, so to put it in Basutoland lingo. And more than natural, as an executor he is wholly in sympathy with the sons of Jonathan who are bread and butter at present.

The only solution one would suggest over this troublesome state of affairs existing at present would be for the Government to relieve the Assistant Commissioner of the onerous administration of the district and appoint another officer

affairs of the district; and when time of settling this disputed WILL arrives, which we hope will be sooner than later then the present executor can be reinstated in his official administrative work of this beloved district.

Race Problem—1930
Africa

South Africa Teems With Mysteries for Visitors

Defender
1/31/30
Chicago

Miss Zonia Baber, noted Chicago educator and student, was among the large crowd that attended the meetings of the British association at Cape Town, South Africa, the past summer. While there, she divided her time between attending sessions of the association and learning some facts about that country. Her story has been prepared for The Chicago Defender in six sections, of which this is the last.

NATIVE PROBLEM

By ZONIA BABER

"PERHAPS there is no more difficult problem to be found today than that which confronts the Union government, viz.: How to keep the subcontinent, admirably fitted by climate and resources to become a great white nation, from lapsing gradually to a native race, virile, fertile and with considerable intellectual power, which is already four times as numerous as the white element, and is increasing at a higher rate."—The South African Year Book and Guide.

The relative proportion of the native and European population in South Africa is the basis of all thinking or lack of thinking, in that "subcontinent".

The best statistics available gave the number of natives as 5,000,000 and the European as 1,700,000, which makes the relation about three natives to one European. But in conversation and in public addresses the relation was given anywhere from 4 to 1 to 8 to 1.

Fear of the native seems the basis of all injustice in the country. After the presentation by request at a meeting in Johannesburg of some of the activities in Chicago for the betterment of race relations in which the statement that we have twice or three times as many Negroes as there are in South Africa (depending on the real number of natives), the implication was met by the immediate reply, "But your Negroes speak one language, are civilized and educated, while our natives speak many different tongues, are uneducated and uncivilized; you are ten whites to one Negro, while our position is reversed."

To the suggestion that education would overcome all the handicaps, except numbers, and that might also be aided by education of the right kind, fear again replied, "If the natives are educated they will try to govern us and that we will never stand."

A letter recently received from Sol Plaatje, Kimberly, gives a very hopeless picture of the "native question." He says: "It is becoming increasingly difficult for overseas visitors to get more than a passing glimpse of native life in this country, and next to impossible to appreciate the true inwardness of our social conditions during the present decade. Twenty years ago, in the systematic degeneration now extant there were here and there signs of individual progress educationally, if not economically. But since the change of government five years ago stagnation has set in. Everywhere that hearty laughter which proverbially sustained the South African in distress is fast disappearing. Where formerly there was merriment, we now only see wry faces. But nothing broke our economic backbone so effectively as the wholesale dismissal of black laborers five years ago when the present government got into power. The pay was doubled and the hands increased—gangs of white laborers displacing the natives. Yet those natives, some of them too old to try something else, were at the same time forced by the new government to pay a poll tax paid by no other section of the community.

"The mulatto population is a little better off. They have high school facilities in many centers, though in the rural districts they have to share the effort of our missionaries in the primary native schools which are very inadequate. The mulattoes moreover enjoy the new old age pension benefits started by the present government for the white citizens of the Union from which only the Bantu people are excluded. This benefit has further entrenched the new government in our lily-white electorate, and there seems no likelihood of a sympathetic government ever returning to power.

"It is true that natives were never allowed to vote in Transvaal and elsewhere outside the Cape Province. It is also true that until the present decade they were never debarred from making money as they are now by acts of parliament. Missionary efforts without overseas support have a hard struggle trying to raise their church collections as formerly. Our people are so impoverished they can hardly buy religious books as every shilling is required to keep body and soul together.

"Ten years ago our brotherhood did wonderful work, fostering progress and bringing succor to the sick and needy. All that has gone to pieces for, where formerly they raised $150 to $250 at a winter or summer rally, now they can hardly raise $30. Yet when the Union budget is bulging with surpluses there are reductions in income tax. There is no talk of abatement in native tax. Little herd boys earning 10 shillings monthly, from 18 years of age, have to pay poll tax of $5 per year or go to gaol. It is remarkable that some of our folks are still able to smile under such a burden."

There is a small group of devoted white people in South Africa working for justice for the native. J. D. Reinallt Jones and Mrs. Jones of Johannesburg are important members of this noble group. Mr. Jones has resigned his position in the university and will use his time in the effort to better race relations. He expects to go to the United States in December next under the auspices of Carnegie and Stokes foundation to study the situation there.

They formed a joint council of Europeans and natives in Johannesburg from which has radiated an influence as Mr. Jones said that there are now such councils in 20 different cities and towns within the Union. He said he got the idea from the United States.

Rev. and Mrs. Ray E. Phillips from Minnesota, social service missionaries for the Congregation church, are doing a marvelous work with and for the native in and about Johannesburg.

The Club of University Women of Pretoria expressed a desire to learn something of the native point of view and Mr. Phillips invited the women to come to the Bantu Men's Social center to meet five educated natives on the afternoon of Aug. 5.

It was a very thrilling meeting. The following are a few excerpts from the speeches: "We were promised freedom, justice, equality—the black man received neither. We gave our best for the Europeans in the World war and what did we receive for our sacrifices? Only humiliation. The European broke his promise to me. We asked for education. There are colleges for the white man, only one for the black man, and there are no schools to prepare the black man for college. There are no elementary schools for but one-fourth of the black children. We are governed by ignorant whites in a land where white is right and black is wrong. We only ask for fair play. We are trying to uplift our people and live on the side of law, but we only meet discouragement in anti-native laws. The black man has no place to breathe here in the Transvaal. With bad laws and bad crops there is no hope for the black man."

Dr. Xuma: "Any African who asks for a place for his people is called an agitator. The trouble with this country is the social pathology of the native black folk. Before we came near the white people we lived in kraals with plenty of light, sunshine, land and cattle. But the native land act has so restricted the amount of land for the use of the native that he can no longer produce enough food for his family so he must go to the city to work for the white man that he may buy food. As the wage of the man is too small to provide for all, the wife must go out to labor also leaving the children without proper care. The logical result, gangs are formed by the boys which become the terror of the city. Men in the compounds on the Rand are not allowed to bring their families which results in great immorality. Men contract syphilis and carry it back to their families.

"After living in the city he is no longer adapted to kraal life, so he returns to the city. Schools, more schools, are our needs."

R. V. S. Thema of the interracial joint council says: "Yes, we were happy in our way in the kraals before the coming of the white man. Some say we should go back to the kraals. The kraal is gone, we have come in contact with civilization and we can't go back. We need your help, the help of those who have had more experience in this way of life. The black man may develop along this line in civilization, but he can never go back to the kraal. Before I began to work on the joint council I feared and disliked the white man. But when we worked together I began to see his point of view which was not what I had believed before, as I had thought that his only idea was to exploit the black man. Now I see there is not a native problem nor a white man problem. It is one—a South African problem. The white man is afraid of the black man. He does not want him to come into his civilization, he does not wish him to do skilled labor except as he sees it helps him for the moment. Before I met and worked with Europeans I wanted him to go back home, but now I see we must work together. We are one people in economics and in politics and we must work out our cause together. If the natives were driven across the Zambesi, who would bring you your morning coffee and dig your mines, till your fields and gather your crops? You would send and ask us to return. If the European went away we would quarrel as to who should have what, and would send for the white man with his larger experience with civilization to return and help us solve our difficulties. You brought me here, I am part and parcel of your city life. I am as you are South African. We have the same problem—how to live together? The transition from tribal to civilization is not easy as the communal system prevails in the tribal economy. Each has a right to share of what there is. None are wealthy as that is impossible, just as charity for poverty is unknown, for poverty does not exist as poverty is relative. Under such conditions the native in the kraal lives nearer the Christian ideal than the white man under the profit system of civilization."

Rev. Claypool, 80 years of age, says: "Now you are to hear the appeal of an old preacher. I am grateful that you university women have come to us to understand our position. It is to the women of the European group that we look for justice. I appeal to you to carry home to your men—fathers, husbands, brothers, friends—our appeal for education. You may call it native education. I call it English education. I lived at a time when your people and my people went to school together. Now those in charge of public affairs see differently. We want freedom and we must get freedom from you. It gives me great pleasure that you have come to us. 'Watchman, what of the night?' The reply came, 'The dawn is coming.' May God help you to give us equal rights."

Then tea was brought in and the discussion continued through the social hour.

All the natives interviewed complained of the low wage, lack of educational opportunities and the "pass" nuisance. Every native must carry a pass and show it to any person who requests it. If found without a pass he may be thrown into jail. If he leaves his home after 9 o'clock he must have a special pass from his employer.

Senator A. N. Roberts, member of the native affairs commission, said: "I am one who has worked for fifty years among the natives. I think one cannot approach this question unless one took into great consideration the history of the native people and their relation with the white people. I think it will help to clarify the position if one showed clearly how the native of South Africa has passed through three distinct stages. The first stage which came about fifty years ago, saw the end of native wars in the Cape, Natal, Zululand, etc., in fact, in all parts of South Africa. The native was then considered a menace from a military point of view and not from an industrial aspect. The second stage was when the native settled down to adopt progressive methods.

"It was at this stage that the European people demanded his services for the building of railways, docks, buildings, etc. That stage occupied forty years during which he came out, he worked and worked well. The railways, roads, etc., are the products of his hand.

"The third stage took place ten years ago when there was a distinct change. He awakened to the consciousness of his own power. He awakened to the consciousness of his own government, and as a result local government was given to him, for example, local government in the Transkeian territories. Along with that there came the desire, a right desire, that the native people should fight for their own interests. That is what has produced the Industrial and Commercial Workers union. If this institution had been guided well

it would have meant well for the native. The natives as a result were being paid the same wages as they received fifty years ago, with the result that there was little scope for the advancement of the native as far as education was concerned. Therefore, the native went to the towns to seek employment at higher wages so as to enable him to educate his children."

Senator Roberts then quoted some striking figures to show the wages now being earned by the natives in the Union: "The number of natives employed by Europeans is 1,200,000 and after careful investigations I found that this employment brought to the natives about $80,000,000 in wages in one year. That means he obtains approximately $80 a year, and that is an overestimate. That again is not a satisfactory state of affairs."

He maintained that natives should be allowed to have more freedom to travel from place to place without passes, as he thought that much good would eventuate from this privilege.

In the section-education of the British association during the discussion of education and the native races, Dr. E. G. Brookes, Mitwatersrand university, Johannesburg, said: "The differentiation between native and European education in South Africa arises from political and economic, not from pedagogical causes. The attitude of the state towards native education is one of toleration rather than of active support—native education is neither free nor compulsory. Most segregationists favor the use of the vernacular as a medium of instruction, while those who advocate equal rights for civilized men tend to favor English. Somewhat surprisingly most native leaders favor English as a medium.

"The spirit and general aims of native education must not be different from that of the spirit and education throughout the world. There is no special or separate philosophy of African education."

D. D. T. Jabavu, speaking on "The Professional Education of South African Natives," said in part: "The following questions naturally arise in connection with the professional education of the Bantu: Is there a need for such men? Do the Bantu races possess the capacity to reach the exacting standard demanded by these professions? What are the opportunities available for such an education and for the practice thereof?

"In answer we may state that: (1) The country is in sore need of such men because the native people can best be served by their own sons and daughters, all other things being equal. (2) The actual success achieved during the last decade has gone to prove beyond all shadow of a doubt that given a favorable chance the Bantu, notwithstanding their brief tradition in civilization and their present lack of a cultured social background, have an inherent intellectual ability that enables them to reach a stage of equality when pitted against the brains of those races that lead in modern civilization. In recent public examinations they have achieved first grades at the junior certificate, at the matriculation and in the majors of the B.A. degree, as well as record passes in medicine. (3) Opportunities are offered by the South African Native college at Fort Hare, Alice, Cape Province, for all the training required in the line of teaching and the ministry and university degrees of B.A. and M.A. But in law there is no choice except private study. In medicine it has been discovered by the Loram committee appointed by the government to 'inquire into the training of natives in medicine and public health' that the medical needs of the South African natives will not be satisfied until we have something like nine hundred native qualified doctors. The natives at present, compelled by existing circumstances, are still obliged to go to Edinburgh or elsewhere overseas at a prohibitive expense to secure their training in medicine."

The native schools visited, missionary and state, if any seen can be called state, were being taught by teachers pitifully unprepared. The house and equipment, if the meager material may be called by so dignified a term, were provided by missionaries. No teacher had been farther in the school course than the sixth grade. The task of educating unlettered millions is enormous.

Rev. R. E. Phillips said: "I should rather be here than any other place in the world. The problems are greater and the need is greater than any place I know." Were there thousands even hundreds with his spirit the impossible would be accomplished.

Prof. H. M. MacMillan, author of "The Cape Color Question," speaks wisely when he says: "The white South African democracy cannot defy the lessons of history indefinitely and contrary to the spirit of its own constitution persist in ignoring the attempts of slowly forming native opinion to find expression. For the natives in these difficult days those of them who have struggled so far along the road of progress may find comfort in the words of Wordsworth's famous sonnet addressed to the black Haitian leader, Toussaint L'Ouverture: 'Live and take comfort. Thou hast left behind powers that will work for thee . . . thou hast great allies . . . exultations, agonies . . . and man's unconquerable mind.'"

Nigeria.

OUR LAGOS LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent.)

Lagos, December 20.

Government House.

His Excellency the Governor, who had not been so well since his return from his recent tour, is now convalescent, and has been able to fulfil many of his engagements. He (in company with Lady Thomson, who is president of the League) attended the very successful exhibition of the Ladies' League held recently in Lagos, and later the cricket match between the Lagos European Cricket Club and H.M.S. "Calcutta," the awe-inspiring and much-inspected man o' war which has been visiting Lagos. His Excellency was also present at the sports organised by the Colony Police, at which the accompanying snapshot was taken, showing not only His Excellency in a pleasing and attractive mood but others well known in European circles of Lagos.

Kaduna Lodge.

All those who have seen it will agree that the new Government House at Kaduna (called Kaduna Lodge) is a wonderful piece of architecture (if only for its subterraneous chambers), and would do credit as a building to a more civilised part of the world. The history of how a "House" for the Head of the Executive came to be built in the North will make interesting reading, but this is not the place for it. Suffice it to say, and to hope, that the completion of the Lodge and the necessary formality of the Governor staying there for at least three months in the year will reconcile the first intention of Sir Frederick Lugard of removing the capital to the North, and the justified complaint of the Northerners that they "do not see the Governor enough." Lady Thomson has gone up to superintend the furnishing of the Lodge, and all who may be fortunate enough to find themselves therein are sure to report a tasteful scheme of decoration.

Lagos Assizes.

It must be a long time since an assize has lasted so long. Commencing from the first week in November, the assize has dragged on until yesterday, when what was termed the last "Government case," that of Corporal of Police Joacquim, charged with others with burglary, etc., was closed. The policeman was discharged, but another, Police-Sergeant Adesina, charged with stealing and falsifying accounts (police pay and pensions, etc.) was not so fortunate—he got two years. An ex-police sergeant-major, called Famu, who in the course of a dramatic love affair attempted to shoot his lover and then himself was convicted of attempting to commit murder and suicide was sentenced to two years. What is going on now is the "Chits" case—in which, as reported before, the "Lagos Daily News" Editor (Mr. H. Macaulay), his son (Frank Macaulay), and the co-proprietor of the paper (Dr. Caulcrick) are concerned. Mr. Irving and Mr. O. Alakija are for the prosecution. When the Court adjourned yesterday there was talk of a compromise.

The Legislative Council.

The next meeting of the Legislative Council will take place on Thursday, January 30 1930. Apart from a Native Chiefs Deposa Ordinance, to which reference was made in my last letter, the other business of th Council foreshadows an interesting session, during which the new Police Ordinance will be discussed, and the reorganisation of the Research Departmen of the Medical Office, as proposed by the new Director of Medical and Sanitary Services and which will form a Sessional Paper, wil come under consideration.

Rates and Riots.

The serious riots in the Owerri and Calabar Provinces, which commenced on December 7, are now reported to have been quieted. Owing to certain alarmist news published in the local papers, the Governor has considerately called a meeting of local editors to warn them of the grave consequences that might result. The Government has already published in the local Press two accounts of the riots in both provinces. The first communiqué states in closing that "the causes of the various disturbances are at present obscure, but appear to be connected with false reports as to a proposed change in the system of taxation and to the universal fall in the prices of produce." Those who arrived in Lagos yesterday from the south confirmed the fact that the riots had much to do with taxation, but with its *modus operandi* rather than against the imposition of some form of tax itself. The chiefs are still made to collect taxes, and many of the men being out of employment the taxes are perforce collected from the women by the men for the men. The result is obvious. Women all over the districts rose up to protest against the system of utterly impoverishing them. Banks and other mercantile houses were broken into and their books and other materials damaged. Native Courts, which have become, in popular opinion, fattening houses for chiefs, were broken into and excesses committed. Further, it must be wrong to expect illiterate women, especially when infuriated, to understand and appreciate why they pay more for what they purchase from European stores while at the same time only the lowest price is paid for produce.

The Government is to appoint a Commission of Inquiry into the causes of the unfortunate incidents, during which, owing to the great tact and leniency of those in charge of the military and other patrols there was very little loss of life.

Plague Mortality.

Telegrams from Lagos report three fresh cases of plague, and two deaths, during the week ended December 21, and five fresh cases with five deaths, during the week ended December 28.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

Opening of Fourth Session.

Mr. Samuel Richard Wood, general secretary of the National Congress of British West Africa, cables to THE AFRICAN WORLD:—

"LAGOS, January 3.

"I am directed to notify you of the opening of the fourth session of the National Congress of British West Africa at Lagos and to tender the greetings of the Congress.

"WOOD, General Secretary."

GRIM RELICS FROM BENIN.

High Prices for Bronzes.

A grim assortment of relics from Benin, West Africa, realised £5,700 at Foster's auction rooms, Pall Mall, S.W., last week. They belonged to the late Mr. G. W. Neville, who was a member of the expedition that annexed the barbaric Benin country to the British Crown thirty-three years ago.

Women buyers picked up the grim objects and examined them fearfully. A carved wooden devil-mask covered with human skin was handed round gingerly, and it went for £16 16s.

The war drum of Benin City brought a bid of £5 5s., and other offers were made to the accompaniment of sepulchral taps on its leopard's skin top till it sold for £64.

A couple of necklaces made of human teeth went for £1, and two sacrificial axes realised only £1 15s.

Benin Bronzes made 300 or 400 years ago brought keen competition. A pair of massive figures of leopards reached £787.

Among the purchases by Mr. Permain were: A cast of a negroid head with three tribal marks over each eye, 470 guineas; another negroid cast, 220 guineas; a plaque with three figures of princes in relief, 300 guineas; and a pair of carved ivory tusks from Ju-Ju houses, 240 guineas. A pair of casts of human heads, belonging to Colonel R. J. F. Taylor, a member of the Benin Punitive Expedition, fetched 580 guineas (Moffatt).

Race Problem — 1930

Africa

A PIONEER D.C.

"JU-JU AND JUSTICE IN NIGERIA."

[PUBLISHED TO-DAY.]

"Ju-Ju and Justice in Nigeria." Told by Frank Hives and written down by Gascoigne Lumley. 252 pages, 18 illustrations, sketch map and index. (The Bodley Head Ltd., Vigo Street, W.1. 12s. 6d. net.)

For a reason which we may be sure Mr. Hives and Mr. Lumley hail with anything but rejoicing, this book is *the* book of the hour in connection with Nigeria; for almost the whole of it tells of life in that area of the vast Dependency where the recent astonishing outbreak by African women took place, with its serious loss of life and property. There is, by the way, a remark in the second paragraph on page 39 which bears interestingly if undesignedly on these events.

But it is not wholly or even mainly on this account that it seems certain to win a large circle of appreciative readers, and to go on winning such circles. It is because it is a lively, unpretentious narrative of political officering in days when South-Eastern Nigeria was the scene of real pioneering, astonishingly close to us (within the present century) though those days are. Mr. Hives as a "political" was certainly a pioneer. To what extent Mr. Lumley was a pioneer also, at odd times during his responsible work for the Marine Department, we are not told, though it is probable that he also could make contributions to the growing literature of the early history of Nigeria as a country of the Empire. Meanwhile Mr. Hives and his loyal friend and unobtrusive editor deserve warm congratulations upon their joint achievement. They have given us a real slice of life.

Slice of life in the crudest sense of the expression; for some of Mr. Hives's early Nigerian experiences were passed in country off the upper reaches of the Cross River, where cannibalism was not unknown. It would be interesting to have Mr. Hives's view as to the cause, whether it was religious hunger or the more physical sort. Certainly when one notes the miserable, degraded appearance of many of the people beyond Port Harcourt one learns without great surprise that cases of cannibalism occur among them. Mr. Hives in the most positive, detailed way bears witness to the existence of the horrid aberration. It is quite possible that African readers of the volume, in parts of Africa, especially West Africa, where there is no human stratum so low down in the scale as this one described by Mr. Hives, may at first scout his statements, with incredulity and even with indignation. Such critics should bear in mind that just as Africans' European well-wishers—none of them more insistently than WEST AFRICA—contend that it is wholly unjust to West Africans to lump them indiscriminately together, whereas the races are all different and all at different stages of progress, so must African readers of English recognise and accept the fact that it is no more a general reflection upon Africans to say that some Africans are cannibals than it would be a general reflection upon Englishmen to say that some Englishmen are swindlers of the poor and others violators of children, and thus morally far, far worse than cannibals.

Mr. Hives's recollections are some of them grim, as for example the account of the overthrow of the Amalu ju-ju and the sketches of the haunted rest-house and the operation of the so-called snake curse. Others are grimly humorous. Of this order, particularly, is his story of the case in which two women appeared in his court and claimed parentage of a boy, who wished for, and probably belonged to, neither of them. Mr. Hives quoted a famous Old Testament judgment as a possible precedent to follow; but to his dismay all in court, police, public, and most of all the would-be "mothers," took him up in dead earnest, and it took him all his time to save the boy from being divided by means of the ever-handy matchet. The "Afor-Alum" chapter deals with a grisly instance of the way in which in the back-blocks of Nigeria young women were forced into prostitution by an appalling scoundrel who was apparently a half-breed.

The book abounds in passages and chapters which will thrill the reader, and not the home-keeping reader only. Many people in parts of Africa away from the West Coast will feel as strongly as he the fascination of the simple, moving narrative, in which so little is made of Mr. Hives's own peril, dire as this must have been more than once. Though gloriously unjust and illogical in the episode he details on pages 45 and 46 he is practically everywhere else a cheery philosopher whose methods of imposing the *pax britannica* cannot have left resentment.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Hallelujah!

Once again London has been gripped by a "nigger show." After the vivacity and joyous abandon of "Blackbirds" came the sombre emotionalism of "Porgy." The crescendo of poignancy is maintained by the splendid achievement of Mr. King Vidor in the talking film "Hallelujah," which is filling the Empire, Leicester Square, with wrapt and enraptured audiences. From the beautiful opening scene of cotton fields and cotton-picking in Tennessee to the last moment of the drama eye and ear are full-filled by skilful blending of scenic effects, grouping of crowds swayed by the fervour of their emotions, and massed singing of sweet voices of strange timbre in exotic rhythms, while a pulsating stream of changing passions holds the attention through every moment. In all the accounts and reviews of this film emphasis is laid on the fact that all the performers are negroes, and that the atmosphere is negro, but "Hallelujah" is not merely a great *negro* play, it is a great *human* drama. Its story and all its episodes are built up from the fundamentals of human nature, the inter-play of basic passions—love, hate, greed, revenge, and the mystic longings of the human soul reaching out to the highest that it knows in eager appeal and absolute self-surrender. The actors, being negroes, impress on the drama a negro stamp, just as the greatest dramatists have set the impress of their nationality, their tongue, and their time upon their plays; these are passing and local fashions through which the truths of human nature are brought home to the great mass of ordinary people, giving them glimpses of the eternal fires which burn close beneath the surface of our drab, everyday existence.

The Plot.

In the programme we are told that "Vidor set out to make, not the conventional 'all-singing, all-dancing' picture . . . but, what was much more difficult, a drama to show the tragedy and comedy, the lightness and darkness of the negro heart and mind." The drama opens with a beautiful scene of pickers busy in a cotton field, white with bursting bolls of ripe cotton. We are then shown a negro family, aged father and mother and their children, rejoicing at a good harvest, and see the two eldest sons, Zeke and Spunk, despatched to the city to sell the crop. Having sold it, Zeke goes to a low, gambling den, where a mulatto girl named Chick uses her charms to decoy him into throwing dice with her bully, "Hot Shot," who quickly strips Zeke of the proceeds of the cotton. On realising that he has lost his old parents' money, Zeke draws his gun and shoots up the place, incidentally killing his brother, Spunk. It is difficult to understand why, but the authorities appear to take no notice of the incident; perhaps, as the victim was a brother of the murderer, it was considered to be a family matter interference with which by outsiders would be indecorous. At all events, in the next scene Zeke is free, and in telling the story to his family he bursts into a rhapsody which deeply moves his hearers and reveals to himself his gift of oratory. In the revulsion of his feelings he "finds religion" and blossoms forth as a prophet, touring the country in a train on the sides of which are emblazoned the words, "The Prophet Ezekiel Cometh." Leaving the train, dressed in flowing robes, he mounts an ass and rides into the city, accompanied by a crowd of negroes dancing and shouting in religious frenzy. He works his already excited hearers to greater heights of ecstasy, and then carries out a baptismal ceremony by immersion in a river, during which there are more frenzied outbursts by the converts. Among them is Chick, who, in the delirium of her conversion, presents herself for baptism and throws her arms round Zeke's neck in an uncontrollable outbreak of erotic passion, responsive to which Zeke carries her into a tent and yields himself to the sensual delight of kissing her mouth and neck and shoulders till he is interrupted by the entry of his mother. "Months after" he is living in a town with Chick, who soon tires of her "big boy," and runs off with Hot Shot. Zeke follows them, and, after killing Chick, pursues Hot Shot through the swamp, to which he has fled. The scenes of the flight and pursuit are poignant in their sustained tension; we hear the laboured breathing of the fugitive, and see the inexorable, unhasting pursuit of unquenchable hate until Zeke catches his prey and strangles him and throws his body into the swamp. The rest of the film is an anti-climax, a pandering to the popular desire for a happy ending. We are shown Zeke returning home after a short imprisonment and reconciled to his family, including his first sweetheart, Missie Rose.

The Negro Element.

It will be seen that the plot has no distinctively Negro character. The story of the strong man caught by the wiles of a bad woman, who betrays him and drives him to a wild revenge, is universal and world-old, older than the saga of Samson and Delilah. Neither are the frenzied scenes of religious fervour characteristically Negro; similar frenzied scenes of religious emotion among English people were witnessed during the "revivals" conducted by Moody and Sankey and, later, by Torry and Alexander. The Negro contribution is the sincerity of the actors, the superb acting of Mr. Daniel L. Haynes as Zeke and of Miss Nina Mae McKinney as Chick, the vivacity of the dancing, and the beauty of the voices and singing of the crowds. I willingly and sincerely pay tribute to the genius shown by Mr. King Vidor in the production of the film, and especially in the marshalling and handling of his 5,000 performers, but there are two incidents against which I must register a protest—the travesty of the entry into Jerusalem and the use of the full formula of baptism in the name of the Holy Trinity. Surely dramatic realism should stop short of irreverent handling of names and parody of scenes which may offend the consciences of pious men and women to whom those names and scenes are dear and sacred. W. F. H.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

FOURTH SESSION AT LAGOS.

HON. CASELEY HAYFORD'S MAGNETISM.—The general meeting held at the Glover Memorial Hall on the 31st ultimo was a record success. The Hall was full to its utmost capacity and among the great throng may be spotted the Hon. Dr. C. C. Adeniyi Jones, the First Lagos Member in the Legislative Council of Nigeria, The Hon. Eric O. Moore the Second Lagos Member, and Hon. T. Adebayo Doherty the Third Lagos Member; Chiefs Oluwa, Onitana, Ashogbon and Akilolu Oloto, The Great Financier Candido Da Rocha, Esq, Rev. W. B. Euba, Dr. Oguntola Sapara, J. C. Johnstone, Esq., W. B. Biney, Esq., Ade Olugbile, Esq., Vice President of the Ebute Metta Branch of the Congress. Barristers

Sholuade, Baptist, and E. J. Alex Taylor, Esq.-Dr. Smart, Mrs. Abimbola Gibson, Dr. Magnus Macaulay, Ernest Ikoli, Esq., M. D. Martins, Esq The Very Rev. Patriarch J. G. Campbell, Professor Adeoye Deniga, Dr. Ayodeji Oyejola, M. B. Samuel Esq., M.B.E., Dr. R. A. Savage and Herbert Macaulay, Esq., C.E., The Founder of the Nigerian National Democratic Party, Lagos and others. The meeting was opened with the singing of the Hymn "O God our help in Ages past" Mr. Frank Oshin leading on his Organ. This was followed by prayer by Hon. I. J. Roberts after which the Chairman of the day was introduced by Hon. Roberts in choice speech: The Hon. Caseley Hayford, M.B.E., etc., etc., was received with a roaring applause. He kept the audience spell bound for over an hour in his opening address, in fact so great was the force of this address that almost immediately people rushed to take forms of application for Membership of the Congress of which not less than 300 were returned there and then. In view of the preparation made for the Watch-night Service, it was impossible to go through the programme of the Meeting. It therefore became necessary to close the meeting at about 7.30 p.m., without any of the other speakers booked down being able to address the meeting. We have been requested to announce that the Entrance Fee of the Congress is one shilling and sixpence (1/6) and the Membership badge two shillings and six pence (2/6) and all which are obtainable at No. 1 Bamgbose Street. The unreturned Forms should also be sent to that address when it will surely get into the hands of the General Secretary. 1-18-30

The Delegation members included The Hon. Caseley Hayford, President of the National Congress of British West Africa, Mr. Samuel R. Wood, General Secretary of the Congress, P. J. C. Thomas, Esq., and J. C. Zizer, Sierra Leone Delegates; Abiola Akinwunmi, Esq., B.L., C. Kojo Bruce, Esq, and J. Kitson Mills, Gold Coast Delegate; the Hon. I. J. Roberts, Gambia Delegate, with Messrs. N. A. Ekpo and N. E. Esin, Calabar Delegates. Freetown, Sierra Leone

TO-DAY'S CONGRESS SESSION.

FRIDAY, 3RD JANUARY, (9 A.M.)

1. The Drink Traffic in West Africa, by Dr. A. B. W. Smart, M.A., M.B., CH.B., ETC., ETC.
2. The Position and Education of Womanhood in West Africa by

x x x x x x

3 P.M.

Constitutional (including Municipal) Reforms by Hon. Dr. C. C. Adeniyi-Jones, M.B., CH.B. ETC., ETC.

Lagos gained a unique experience on the 31st u'timo at the General Meeting convened at the Glover Memorial Hall in connection with the re-establishment of the Congress Movement in Lagos. The Hon Caseley Hayford proved himself a veritable magnet for as would be seen from the report of the meeting in other columns people of all political shades of opinion were present at the meeting. It was a case of the "Lion congregating with the Lamb" to hear an African deliver political message in a way they have never heard it done before. There you have unalloyed patriotism exemplified in its true essence. But let us dismiss the cogent fact that in that great gathering are men erstwhile antagonistic to the Congress cause and who have carried their tirade to the extent of endeavouring to stab the London Delegate of the Congress at the back. Their conviction to-day to the cause they have persecuted is a living testimony of the sincere motive that goaded the Leaders of the Congress a demonstration of which they had in Hon Caseley Hayford's speech. In effect Hon Caseley Hayford has portrayed to us afresh the legend of the fruit of the tree of good and evil; it remains with us whether we would prefer to choose the proverbial "Bone" to sharing the proverbial "Meat" with our brethren. The Hon Caseley Hayford has been decorated by the King. This should be a great eye opener to many here. What we have failed to do in seven years God has brought His people here to accomplish for us. It remains to be seen whether we would develop the needed mentality to keep the fire burning or perhaps no sooner is the magnet withdrawn we would digress to our incorrigible mentality thriving on other people's labours, and, expecting to "reap where we sow not". We congratulate the Congress Delegation on a successful meeting.—*Daily Telegraph*, January 3, 1930.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE CONGRESS.—Historic was the meeting of the Nigerian National Democratic Party held on Saturday the 4th instant. to welcome the delegates of the National Congress of British West Africa. The Glover Memorial Hall was densely crowded. The members of the Congress Delegates present included the Hon. Casely Hayford, M.B.E., etc. the President of the Congress, Mr. S. R. Wood, the General Secretary of the Congress, Messrs. Kojo Bruce, Abiola Akiwunmi and Kitson Mills the financial Secretary of the Congress all forming Gold Coast Delegates, Barrister J. C. Zizer, the Sierra Leone Delegate, and Secretary to the Local Branch Messrs. Ekpo and Esin, Calabar Delegates, Rev. W. B. Euba, the President of the Local Branch, Dr. Magnus Macaulay the Vice President of the Local Branch, Mr. W, H. Biney the Treasurer of the Local Branch, Mr. P. J. C. Thomas a Sierra Leone Delegate and Hon. I. J. Roberts the Gambia Delegate being absent. Of the high officials of the Nigerian National Democratic Party the following were present—Hon. Dr. C, C. Adeniyi Jones, M.B., B.S. the President of the Party and First Lagos Member in the Legislative Council of Nigeria, the Hon. Eric O. Moore and Hon. T. Adebayo Doherty Barrister-at-Law Second and Third Lagos Members respectively and Vice Presidents of the Party, Herbert Macauley Esq. C.E. the Founder of the Party, Chiefs Oluwa Eletu, Akiolu Oloto, Ashogbon, Oshodi and Onitana a new convert. At 4.30 p.m. prompt the Hon. Dr. C. C. Adeniyi-Jones called on Herbert Macaulay Esq. C.E. to introduce the Delegates to the Party every one of whom was received with deafening applause particularly Mr. J. C. Zizer once associated with the Party. After this the Hon. Dr. C. C. Adeniyi Jones read an address of welcome occupying almost an hour and half to which the Hon. Caseley Hayford responded with the diplomatic suavity congenial to an experienced politician. The Members of the Delegates withdrew after the formal reception was over, the Party then continued with the ordinary business of the day among which the introduction of Chief Onitana—the new convert—took a prominent part As usual with Mr. Macauley he introduced him to the people in his humourous and tactful way—he said great was his pleasure at the conversion of such an Idejo Chief as the Onitana to the cause of the Party. The Chief himself responded in few words. He said "I am of a good birth, I wish to be in good society so that I may die a good death" this being the sum and substance of the *raison d'etre* of his joining the Party as he puts it. He was given a thundering applause.—*Daily Telegraph*, January 7, 1930.

The Fourth Session of the National Congress of British West Africa commenced on Thursday last 2nd inst., at 9 o'clock. Among the business of that morning were the reports by the General Secretary (Mr. S. R. Wood) and the Financial Secretary (Mr. J. Kitson Mills). In the evening at 5 o'clock the Hon. J. E. Casely Hayford, M.B.E., delivered the presidential address.

On Friday two papers were read in the morning, namely, (1) The Drink traffic in West Africa and (2) the Position and Education of Womanhood in West Africa. the first being by Dr. A. B. W. Smart, M.A., M.B., Ch.B. In the afternoon at 3 p.m. the Hon Dr. C. C. Adeniyi-Jones, M.B. Ch.B., read a paper on Constitutional (including Municipal) Reforms.

On Saturday morning Mr. Peter J. C. Thomas, President of the Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Head of the Firm of S. Thomas & Co., read a paper on Commerce, with particular reference to the economic independence of the peoples of British West Africa, and in the afternoon at about 4.30 o'clock, a group photograph of the Congress members was taken.

Yesterday morning, Mr. E. M. E. Agbabi, Barrister-at-Law, M.A., B.C.L., LL.B., read a paper on Education with special reference to National Schools and in the afternoon the Congress was addressed on Sanitary and Medical Reforms.

Tomorrow morning Barrister J. C. Zizer will read a paper on Judicial Reforms with particular reference to the West African Appellate Court and the Assessors Ordinance and Mr. S. R. Wood, (General Secretary) will read another on West African Press Union.

The Session will close on Wednesday 8th. Settlement of resolutions will be the business of the moring; and in the evening the Session will be appropriately closed with a Religious Service. *The Nigerian Daily Times*, January 6, and 7, 1930.

NEGROES AND GENERAL SMUTS.

Manchester Guardian

A Delicate Situation.

1-17-30

A Reuter telegram from New York says that a delicate situation appears to have been created here by General Smuts's reference to the patience of the negro, when he used the phrase, "Next to the ass the negro is the most patient of creatures." Many champions have come forward to defend the negro race.

The editor of a weekly newspaper circulating among New York negroes has challenged General Smuts to participate in a public debate on the status of the negro in South Africa. On being informed of this General Smuts refused to "advertise" the negro editor, but explained again that the whole purpose of his remarks had been to express his admiration for the negro's care-free patience. London, England

Mr. Pickens, one of the secretaries of an organisation for the "advancement of coloured people," whose statement is typical of those that have been made on this subject, says that General Smuts's "social mind" showed that he belonged to the South African system. "While General Smuts represents the best in that system," he said, "he cannot rise above it. He may rise to the top, but that is all. The system in South Africa is one of exploitation of the black natives, uncivilised or civilised, in the interest of white people of European extraction. General Smuts is a most humane and benevolent exponent of this terribly cruel system."

FORCED LABOUR IN TANGANYIKA.

Manchester Guardian Weekly 1-20-30

Mr. Jardine's Report to the League.

(From our Geneva Correspondent.)

Manchester Guardian

The Mandates Commission met at Geneva to-day and examined the report of the British Government on Tanganyika. Mr. Jardine, the Secretary General of the Administration of the territory, made a statement on forced labour which provides rather a startling footnote on the activities of the International Labour Conference, which is trying to produce a convention on this subject. Mr. Jardine said that in 1928 conscript labour had been very much reduced, and that in 1929 the Administration had refused to accede to the only two requests that had been sent to it.

He added that in exceptional circumstances the Administration had been obliged to have recourse to forced labour, as, for instance, in the emergency case of repairing the damage caused by heavy rains to the central railway.

Mr. Jardine referred to the prosperity of Tanganyika, and said that the Budget surplus would be expended on urgent public works, on native administration, and on other services in education, health, and agriculture. He said that the outstanding event of the year was the introduction of the Native Courts Ordinance, by which the courts have been brought under the direct personal supervision not only, as hitherto, of the district officer but of the Provincial Commissioners, with final appeal to the Governor.

Race Problem- 1930

Africa

TRUSTEESHIP FOR THE NATIVES

Manchester Guardian Weekly

N. Rhodesian Threat

A White Paper "Correspondence with regard to native policy in Northern Rhodesia" (Cmd. 3731), issued on Wednesday by the Colonial Office, puts on record the views of those British settlers in Rhodesia, and possibly elsewhere, who disagree flatly with the modern governmental view in regard to native administration.

Replying to representations from the elected members of the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia dissenting from the Colonial Office memorandum on native policy in East Africa, and asking that a deputation might come to England at the public expense to consult with the Colonial Secretary, Lord Passfield wrote (September 20):— 12-5-30

It is unnecessary to discuss them since the views expressed are wholly irreconcilable with the considered policy of his Majesty's Government. As the difference of principle is so profound and I have no intention of departing from the general line of policy laid down in the White Paper of 1923 and the Memorandum, a conference can have no useful result, and therefore I do not feel justified in placing the expense of a deputation on the funds of the protectorate.

The greater part of the White Paper is taken up with the "representations" to which Lord Passfield thus replied. The following are extracts:—

British colonists . . . hold that the British Empire is primarily concerned with the furtherance of the interests of British subjects of British race, and only thereafter with other British subjects, protected races, and the nationals of other countries in that order.

The natural trustees of barbarous and less-developed races are their more civilised neighbours. Trusteeship has been exercised by the white settlers and the successive Administrations of Northern Rhodesia, and the settlers and the officials have yet to learn in what way, if any, they have failed in this duty. They recognise their responsibilities and, subject to the primal necessity of their own survival and progress, fulfil them honourably. If and when they fail in this respect, they will not resent admonition or advice.

Manchester England

"Uncalled for"

The assumption of trusteeship by the Imperial Government is uncalled for, and inadvisable since that Government cannot know as do the white settlers in the country living among the natives the needs, the opportunities, and the capabilities of races who are as unknown by as unknown to the Imperial Government. Interference directed by uninformed or misinformed authority resident many thousands of miles away in the relations and affairs of the white settlers and the African races can lead only to resentment and antagonism.

The settlers will through this policy be forced to renounce their natural concern for peoples whose protection and development have now been undertaken by others. Thus the no doubt well-intentioned efforts of the would-be trustees will be defeated. British settlers will decline to immigrate into any protectorate where they are subjected to injustice and permanently denied the rights of self-government attained by their fellows in Great Britain and its colonies. The Protected territories will cease to progress, and British colonisation will no longer maintain far less extend the Empire. This is on the presumption that the policy referred to prevails.

It is, however, not improbable that the virility of our race may manifest itself in other directions. The unanimous opposition of the white population may take another direction. The settlers may determine to remain and strive for progress despite obstacles. Faced with the declared determination of the Imperial Government to prefer the interests of alien and barbarous races to those of their own, they may seek and find sympathy and aid (interested though it may be) from neighbouring colonies enjoying freer institutions and more equitable opportunities.

The League Disowned

The white population will emphatically dissent from the major proposition enunciated in paragraph 2 "that the interests of the African natives must be paramount," and they will deny that Great Britain is burdened with the responsibility of the trusteeship therein defined. They are more capable of exercising any such trust, and of dealing with its problems and responsibilities.

The adjective "sacred" defining "trust" calls for explanation and elucidation. Any undertaking entered into with the League of Nations by the British Government has been assumed without the knowledge or consent of, and without consultation with, the peoples of this territory of Northern Rhodesia, white or black, and no mandate from that body is needed or calls for recognition. The natives of this territory are not coerced by the whites and the whites will not submit to coercion by their fellow-British subjects resident in Great Britain.

PLIGHT OF NATIVE FARM LABORERS

Negro World

We hope that the Economic Commission which is now touring the country will not simply prove to be another "government" "white elephant." Its terms of reference are wide, so wide in fact, that there will not be any excuse if evidence bearing on the whole economic question, as affecting the Nation, is not touched upon in some way or other. It is true that invitation (verbal or written) is extended to any individual or body. But. in respect of commissions and inquiries during the past the Natives have been so humbugged and bluffed that they now look upon these expensive government bodies as so much dust thrown into their eyes, and for that reason many individuals and societies simply look with silent contempt on these mock commissions. wish, merely in a word, to draw attention to the disgraceful conditions under which Native laborers are employed.

It is for these reasons that we

Farm laborers, especially in the Free State, Natal and Transvaal, are paid between 20s and 30s per month for laboring from sunrise to sunset. This wage includes the service of the man's wife and children, thus depriving the latter of any education whatsoever.

The contract is usually a verbal one which includes the full use of the Native's oxen, plough, wagon and trek gear. The contract not being a written one, the farmer can terminate it at any time and the Native will have no recourse to law because the farmer's bare word is generally accepted as against that of the Native.

We advocate for written contracts of all farm laborers throughout the country, but that such written tracts be not used as an extension and exploitation of the pass system. We also suggest that schools be established on all farms where a large number of Natives are employed so as to enable the children at least to have some form of elementary education, and that each contract shall embrace only the head of the family, and not his wife, sons and daughters.

We earnestly ask all Bantu newspapers and organizations to agitate for the conditions we have suggested including a minimum wage for farm laborers, so as to get the legislature to make them compulsory.

—Abatho Bantu

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA.

Daily News

The first of the new series of launch hour talks for business men on international questions arranged by the London Missionary Society, was held at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, on 1st October when Mr. H. W. Peet, Editor of the Far and Near Press Bureau, spoke on "Black America: Its Rise and Progress." 1-10-30

After dealing with the ferment of development in the life of the 12,000,000 Negroes in the United States due both to the migration to the Northern States and to the great growth of education, Mr. Peet said that the generation among the coloured people was acutely race conscious. It was insistent not only on bare human rights but on full rights as United States citizens. It was asking to be judged by its achievements. It was ambitious of full development, but unlike a previous generation, there was little animosity towards white people.

NAACP Peace Force

Mr. Peet pointed out how progress was being made despite the obstacles raised by discrimination impose upon the Negro population with regard to travel and housing, and similar disabilities, "Everywhere there is the greatest keenness on education—elementary vocational and higher," he said. "In the colleges alone there are now 20,000 men and women students. Illiteracy has decreased from 70 per cent in 1880 to 22 per cent in 1920, and it is likely the new census will show that there is little difference between the black and white population, of the million Negro farmers in the South 250,000 are freeholders, while there are flourishing Negro banks, insurance companies and business of all sorts, including beauty parlours, in which some Negro women have been especially successful. Negroes are represented in all the chief professions. In the cultural sphere especially they have arrived. The names of such men as Paul Robeson, Roland Hayes, Du Bois, Alaine Locke and R. R. Moton are almost as widely known in this country as in America,"

The speaker said that the obstacles to development placed in the way of the Negro were due both to social and economic causes. Comparatively few Negroes were admitted to Trade Unions. The result was that they were, liable to be used for undercutting and strike-breaking, leading to much bitterness.

Relations, nevertheless, had very definitely improved during the past decade, but there that was arisk that continued economic depression might create a danger of a re-growth of inter-racial bitterness, The social bar between the white and the Negro was mainly due to the formers's fear of intermarriage. From his enquiries in this matter, Mr. Peet believed that, eager as the Negro to-day is to achieve full economic civic and other rights, the question of inter-marriage just did not interest him. Also, as one Negro had said to him. "Perhaps we are too proud to marry into a race which thus looks down upon us,"

Mr. Peet said that members of the white and coloured races were increasingly working together in educational and through such bodies as the National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of the Coloured People. The Inter-Racial Council Movement was of especial importance not only in America, but because its success was leading to a similar movement coming

into being in South Africa. The spirit of these Joint councils which was that of "joint counsel" pervaded the principles laid down in the recent British Government white paper on Closer Union in East Africa and it was this which made that document of such prime importance in respect to the future relations of the races within the British Empire.

"The American Negro is facing the future with a wistful wonder," Mr. Peet said. "The United States, in the words of Mr. R. R. Moton of Tuskegee, is "God's great laboratory for testing whether the white and the black racee can live side by side. If they can do so in America they can do so anywhere."

OUR PROBLEMS AS I SEE THEM—A SOLUTION.

By G. Max Gorvie.

Continued from our issue of October 25.

The Paramount chiefs of the Protectorate and headmen together with such leading citizens of Freetown, shall constitute the patrons. These schools shall not be on the principles of any school heretofore instituted. Herein originality counts for success. Our destiny as a race is in our own hands. With education comes the tool to carve our national career. We should found our own civilization. The inspiration of a race is within the race. Vocational training, improvements of our native industries will have first place in the curriculum.

The purpose of such schools is two fold: 1 To reform our social life and raise the status of our women-folk, (a) for that is a proven fact that no nation can rise above her women-folk, (b) That society limps where exists aristocrats on the peonage of the masses. 2 Proper national consciousness will be occasioned and directed and when once a reading public is created, national freedom results.

Such national schools should not be at variance with any heretofore existing schools, and not established where such schools have been in operation unless in consonance with the proper authorities of such schools. The general educational policy shall be respected and the co-operation of the Government enlisted in every way. We must have a national system of popular education to abolish illiteracy and give the masses of people a conscious and intelligent interest in the welfare of their country. Our schools are few and poorly equipped especially in the rural districts. If nationalism must triumph we must be educated to appreciate it.

There is already a growing appreciation for education among the masses in the Colony and Protectorate of Sierra Leone. Let this be more pronounced and we are on the road to freedom intellectually, economically, socially and politically. The sixteenth century pessimist argues "It cannot be done all at once, we are not yet ready for it,"—Luther might as well have waited for a better time to start the Reformation!—Let him think in the past the new Negro favours progressive ideas. Let us practice national consciousness now, for practice predetermines skill. Some among us are so dead to progress that it is almost impossible to arouse them to any sort of exertion.

We aim at autonomy. How can we achieve this desire when only five to ten per cent are educated and ninety to ninety-five per cent who happened to be producers are uneducated? With our women held down in social serfdom how can we efficiently established any national reform? Deep down the foundation of Western greatness is the policy of common Education of the masses.

The Germans were a disorganized people until Bismark aroused to build a united Germany on the basis of mass education. Corruption and misrule were flagrant in England until there arose a Glad tone, who, through his famous Forster (education) Act, made universal manhood suffrage possible. Italy's unification, was possible when Cavour paved the way by enacting laws favouring the education, of the masses. Education common and determined will save us from the abnormal condition under which we are subjected.

In the glorious annals of history, Africa once had a splendid past, this her sons may once more regain if they so determine. With education fostered by ourselves and maintained by our moral support and influence, the national spirit of self-determination will be quickened. Not what a man possesses but what good he bestows on society remains imperishable. Blyden left us no stately mansion, but has been immortalized through his literary works which are being monuments to patriotism, goading youth with "Africa for the African. Sumner will go down in history as the first man to reduce our language to writing. Sibthorpe, for his erudite history of our country, which I believe should be revised and accept as one of the text-books of every school in Sierra Leone. But, ah! the greatest book remains to be written; the greatest deed yet remains to be done. Men of influence and brains, use your opportunity in the defence and progress of your country. Educate the masses! Who can tell but that to this end you were born!

The next solution is organization of our social and economic life. Do you recall that ignorance and social disorganization was responsible for the cruel raid of '98? Our social and economic life were so bound up together that social unrest and slavery were inevitable. Any nation that keeps its women folk in serfdom is like an unarmed man who dares to face a wild lion, When women are educated and share equal places with men in society then may a nation be said to "walk on its two legs" Who has the bravery to strike against the long standing conventions of polygamy? If, indeed, you are educated will you not use your influence to correct the social ill of trading in women, that savage custom of marriage? You may say I am radical. No, I am rather progressive than radical. Think of the evil at time of divorce in the native court! The woman not infrequently for no cause of hers is brought to shame and the "bride money" repaid—a rather polite method of slavery—You say it is Native custom. It is true. But who bears the reproach? Not the individual, but the country Sierra Leone, bears the stigma of polygamy. It follows that if one section is polygamous the whole is labelled polygamous. These customs received approbation in times past, but to-day it is intolerable and looked upon with haughty disdain by progressive leaders.

In our economic life we are confronted with lack of confidence in one another. With us, no group of persons can combine in any permanent trade organization. We can organize in business just as we can in any church function provided we have the true leadership, Sierra Leone needs leaders. Leaders with courage, with character, with vision, whose ideal is service.

Here is a simple method for economic organization:—1. Let all the petty traders come together under the direction of a educated and honest leader. Put their money and contributions together. They can buy from factories far cheaper and profitable collectively than could be done individually. 2. The members of this group are to meet bi-weekly at a stated time and place to formulate plans of mutual interest. Likewise with agricultural commodities, A capable leader should instruct the native farmers, put their commodities together—each man knowing his own quantity of course—and unanimously give to an honest broad-minded leader who will take these to the firms at Freetown or the world's best markets, and the best results obtained hereby cutting off the middle man's profit. By this way we can eliminate poverty and suffering. We must learn to trust the other fellow. "For if we lack confidence in one another, how can we expect the other fellow to treat us?"

There is no race of people that can more readily organize than the Sierra Leonean. Recall the railway strike with its memorable event! Indeed one of the most striking labour demonstrations in all Africa. Because of dis-organization and courage enough the strikers themselves became their own strike breakers. The strike immediately collapsed, yet it showed what the power of unity can do. Educated leadership, educated and indisoluble organization these are the tools to the solutions of our problems.

Reviewing the points raised in this discussion, our problems are: (1). Mass illiteracy (2), Social and economic disorganization, Solution: Mass education engendered by a general appreciation of education that would result in a public school system in every rural district stress being put on the education of girls. 2. Social and economic organization by propaganda, and breaking down the barriers to woman's progress. 3. Combination of traders for a common interest. Above all as much as lie in us to avoid the evils of social distinction.

We have long been sleeping. The hour has struck for Sierra Leone to rise. Who will be the hero to rouse and lead the country to natural freedom? You were educated for a purpose; not for individual interests merely, but to save and lead your country as

> 'One who never turned his back but march breast forward,
> Never doubted clouds would break,
> Never dreamed though rights were worsted wrong would triumph.
> Held we fall to rise baffled to fight better sleep to wake."

Political freedom, social betterment and economic prosperity loom in the not distant future. Let, therefore, every sober minded Sierra Leonean, and African for that matter, think along social and national lines when the Freetown-man and the Pendembu-man shall be citizens of Sierra Leone and build up a civilization of her own.

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Africa

WEST AFRICA IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

COLONEL WEDGWOOD ON THE EAST AFRICAN MEMORANDUM, THE LEARNING OF ENGLISH AND THE APPROACH TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.—MR. HORRABIN ON WHAT TRUSTEESHIP MUST MEAN, IF TROPICAL AFRICA IS TO FEEL CONTENTED.—MISS RATHBONE AND AFRICAN WOMEN.

West Africa 1-3-30 Leader 10-15 Vol XIV

[By Our Parliamentary Correspondent.]

In the House of Commons on June 26, in the Estimates discussion, the vote for the Colonial Office was taken, and, as usual, it evoked interesting references to West Africa. Col. Wedgwood, that tireless and fearless friend of sane progress in Africa, expressed for the principles of the recent White Paper on East African policy approval as enthusiastic as that expressed by West Africa in its editorial article of June 28. He made a suggestion regarding cheaper approach to the Privy Council, of which more will probably be heard. A balanced, constructive, sympathetic speech came from Mr. Horrabin, the Labour member for Peterborough, whose view as to the injustice of spending Africans' money on superfluous public works in order to find work for the unemployed in Great Britain impressed the House with its moral courage. I append from the principal speeches extracts relevant to West Africa:—

Colonel Wedgwood: I would like the Under-Secretary to consider the possibility of the Colonial Office giving an opportunity to Native Chiefs and Native bodies that have a grievance bringing their cases before the Privy Council—only, of course, in cases where the Colonial Office approve. It would facilitate many questions if Natives without money were able to bring their cases direct to the Privy Council in this country, which they regard as their father in matters of justice, instead of having to go through the extremely costly processes of law. This is an idea that has occurred to those friends of the Natives with whom I have been working for some time as a possible solution of a great many difficulties. The hon. gentleman will remember the case of the Southern Rhodesian Natives which cost so much money four or five years ago.

I want to deal with one other side of the development of Native African territories, that is, the side of education. The member for Peterborough (Mr. Horrabin) is fuller of information on the education question than I am, but I would put this view before the Committee that in order to give the best chance for the African, he should be allowed to learn English. It seems such a silly thing to ask for, and yet in a great part of Africa, not merely in South Africa, but even in Kenya, the White population are doing their best to ensure that the Natives shall have a language of their own which is not English. I am certain that the rise in the standing of the Native, his cultural development, his coming forward into the ranks of civilisation, his ability to resist exploitation, and to get into his trade unions, and to widen his mind, depend entirely on the chance of learning to read and speak English. If, as is the case in Kenya to-day, we refuse to allow the Native to be taught English, so that he may know Swahili only, we definitely prevent him rising in the scale of civilisation and having the advantages of the White race. If they cannot read the papers or literature or the laws, if they cannot understand the White agitator, they are in a helpless position in matters of wages or justice. Give them the chance of learning English.

The Learning of English.

I know that it is becoming the fashion lately to say that if only we had not let the Indians learn English, all would be well in India, and that it was the fault of that man Mill and that man Macaulay that we have an educated mass in India thinking like Westerners, although they have a coloured skin. There may be something in that point of view, but, if we take that point of view with Africa which we refused to take in India 100 years ago, we shall be betraying our trust. We have had from the Colonial Office a most admirable Memorandum on Native policy in East Africa. I dare not say how highly I think of it, lest other forces should require the Government to withdraw it. Anybody who reads that document—and I know it now almost by heart—will see that the Government have laid themselves out to see in what possible way they can protect Native interests and allow the Natives to develop on to the same civilised plane as the White man. I would congratulate my hon. friend on having got into that document that interesting and I hope final decision on the drawbacks of communal representation and the superior merits of the common roll of electors. The only thing they have not said in that excellent document is: "And the Native shall be allowed to learn English and become equipped as an Englishman with knowledge to fight for himself." Here we do not or cannot always look after the interests of subject peoples. I know that we pride ourselves on doing it, but we do it jolly badly. It is one thing to have to rely on an even perfect House of Commons for justice, but it is far far better that these people should have the knowledge and the ability to rely upon themselves and to read, think and fight for themselves. Our true duty towards the Natives of Africa is not merely to protect them temporarily from the dangers of exploitation that beset them, but to enable them in due course to take their place as civilised peoples governing themselves and protecting themselves.

Our Moral Title in Africa.

Mr. Horrabin: I am one of those who believe that there is no justification for our presence at all in Africa and in other Continents except on the terms which are expressed so clearly in the mandatory principles, and in the principle especially of trusteeship for the backward races—a trusteeship which is to operate until those peoples are able to stand on their own feet and take their own place in the comity of nations. That trusteeship involves, surely, the care for their development, for their training in self-government, and for their education towards self-government.

It is that educational aspect of Imperial affairs that I am anxious to stress, and I should like to mention the fact that Mr. Amery, in a debate in the House a year ago on this same subject, remarked that the Colonial Office in these days was in fact a Ministry of Education. We on this side of the House, on many occasions, both inside and outside, have insisted on the dangers of the exploitation of Native peoples, particularly in Africa, in the interests of capitalists. I want to urge on the present Government that, from the point of view of the African, there is surely very little to choose between a policy of exploitation in the interests of English profits and a policy of exploitation chiefly in the interests of an English unemployment problem. During the many debates on African affairs which have taken place in the House during the lifetime of the present Government, we have constantly heard of Colonial development, of economic development, but we have heard very little indeed about the duty which surely lies alongside that privilege of economic development, our duty in regard to educational development towards the peoples of Africa. It is surely possible, if I may put it in this way, that there might develop a sort of working-class Imperialism, which, as I have said, would regard the Natives of Africa and their resources primarily as means towards the solution of our unemployment here at home, and that, from the point of view of Africans, would be no different from a policy of quite naked exploitation. It is the first duty of a Labour Government to give at least equal place and equal attention to this business of educating the African towards self-government and, in the very broadest sense, as to the development of African resources or the use of African labour.

Views and their Enforcement.

I want to ask the Under-Secretary if he will assure us that the general views with regard to education laid down in paragraph 8 of the Statement on Native Policy issued a few days ago are going to be carried into effect and are not to remain pious observations; that they are going to be, in fact, an educational charter for the Africans, and that the statement on Native policy is not to remain just a scrap of paper, because hitherto it is easy to compile instances of the exceedingly parsimonious attitude adopted by the British Government in various parts of Africa on this question of education. When we remember that, after the War, the Government in Kenya did not spend one penny on education, and that even now it spends £50 per head per annum on European children and 4s. per head per annum on African children, it is obvious that in the matter of Native education there is still ample scope for this Government to do more than its predecessors have done. When we remember that in Nyasa there is not a single Government school, and that until a few years ago the Government's contribution towards African education in Nyasaland was to divide some £3,000 a year between 1,500 mission schools, there again it is certainly not necessary to emphasise the parsimony of such an attitude. An eminent authority wrote recently that not 1 per cent. of African children go to Government schools, so that there is apparently ample scope for educational development, and I ask the Committee to compare that fact with the record in German East Africa where, before the War, the Germans introduced compulsory education in the three biggest towns in the Colony, an educational achievement, surely, which has not been reached in any British Colony, even in South Africa, so far.

I want to emphasise two main points which, it seems to me, must characterise this business of educational development. In the first place, we must work for a purely liberal education and not merely a technical education, not an education content with dealing in a utilitarian way with certain definite present-day problems, even though those must be touched on in a curriculum designed for them. A very distinguished African missionary and educator wrote recently that the only possible aim for our education must be, quoting certain classic words, "that they might have life and have it more abundantly." I should be a little shy in quoting such idealist sentiments in so realist a place as this House were it not for the fact that those words were endorsed and underlined by so practical a realist as the late Sir Gordon Guggisberg, who himself quoted the passage, that these words must define the only possible aim of our education of the African. Surely the appeal is made all the easier since the Africans are passionately anxious for education.

A Touching Incident.

May I quote an incident described in a recent book by Mr. Fraser, the head of the Achimota College in West Africa, in which he says, on this very subject of the scarcity of schools, that he has seen a school where 300 children stayed outside among the trees, unable to be admitted for want of space, each hoping to be the first to get in when a vacancy occurs. I ask the Committee, not in any sentimental spirit, to try to see that picture of 300 children standing outside the school hoping at some time to be able to get into it, a picture which ought to be contrasted with some of the pomp and pageantry of Empire. The first main point about this question of African education must be that it should be liberal education, and not simply technical education, nor an education designed for inferior beings. Professor Julian Huxley quoted recently in the "Times" an observation addressed to him by an unofficial settler member of the Legislative Council in Kenya, who remarked that all Native education which was not strictly technical was always useless and usually harmful. If anyone insists that that, at any rate, is the point of view of the man on the spot, one can only quote against the man on the spot of that type the whole attitude and the repeated words of the late Sir

Gordon Guggisberg, who surely was entitled to rank as a man on the spot in this particular regard.

The second point I want to emphasise is that this African education must be based on the teaching of English, and that need not in any way obviate a grounding in African history. English must be, surely, to the African Native, the main means of liberation, in exactly the same way that four or five centuries ago in Northern Europe Greek and Latin were the languages of liberation. I am quite aware of certain difficulties about this teaching of English. I believe that in certain Colonies, Nigeria for example, the easiest way for scoundrelly Africans to get rich quick is by advertising themselves as teachers of English. Mr. Fraser tells us that men of this sort who know hardly a word of English quite easily raise money from their innocent compatriots by advertising themselves as English teachers. It is obvious that that English teaching must be very carefully watched. Does not the mere fact of getting rich quick in that way prove as clearly as possible the desperate desire of the African for knowledge, for a knowledge of English, for education?

Free Citizens of the Empire.

Colonel Wedgwood referred to the fact that education in India has been based on English teaching. It is best to be quite frank and to say that we want African education to be based on English in the same way, because one wants to get the same results, not results of violence, but the results of an educated and intelligent nationalist movement demanding its rights, the right to stand as free individuals inside the Empire. We are told as a stock argument that an education based on English means an education alien to the mentality of the African. Surely there is no reason why an education based on English should be more alien to African mentality than a Semitic, Biblical education is to us.

Just two or three minor points of urgency in regard to this question of education—points on which everyone, whether he has first-hand or merely book knowledge of the subject, agrees in principle. There is urgent need for more teaching. I urge on the Under-Secretary that the same method which has been worked successfully in Kenya, and to the success of which Professor Huxley bears tribute, that is of the travelling schools, should be repeated in other parts of Africa, especially in West Africa. I should like to emphasise the very strong appeal that Mr. Fraser made recently for the closer relationship between the medical service and the educational machine. It has been remarked that the Ministry of Education in this country has become more and more a Ministry of Health through the examination of children that takes place in the schools. It has become as much concerned with health as the Department which bears that name. That ought to be the case in Africa, where questions of health, hygiene, and sanitation are so much more important. I do not need to remind the Committee that out of every thousand babies born in almost every tribe in Kenya rather more than 400 die in every year. I believe that that is a very low estimate.

Medical Service and Education.

The need for the very close relation of the medical service and the education machinery is sufficiently obvious. That leads quite naturally to the other point that I want to mention—the need for the much greater development in the education of women in Africa. It is obvious that if you are aiming at an education which is to be related to the day-to-day needs of the people, and those needs are so much concerned with sanitation, the education which leaves the woman outside largely negatives itself. I have seen figures of the numbers of girls educated in Government and mission schools in Nigeria. It was mentioned in each case that the number of boys in those two classes of schools was four times the number of girls. Here is a direction in which the present Government might very well do something. It seems to me that a Labour Government could most appropriately justify itself in regard to these colonial problems, if it were to set about an intensive development of this educational business which expresses our immediate duty to the African people.

The African Woman.

MISS RATHBONE: Like the last speaker, I want to direct the attention of the Committee for a few moments to the question of the problem of the treatment of the Native races in Africa, especially with relation to women. During the last few days we have had circulated to every member of the House two extraordinarily interesting memoranda, one dealing with the closer union of Central East Africa, and the other on Native administration in East Africa. We are told that the latter memorandum has been circulated to the Governors of the territories concerned with instructions that Native administration should be brought into strict conformity with that laid down in the memorandum. I should like to ask whether we are to be furnished with information as to the precise way in which those general principles, laid down in the memorandum, are to be carried out? Statements of general principles not followed by concrete acts are often delusive. They serve as a screen between the truth and the individual, behind which there may be much going on or very little going on. For example, one of the principles laid down in the memorandum regards the subject of taxation.

We are told that in future direct taxation of the Native is to be limited by his capacity to pay without hardship and without upsetting his customary methods of life, and that the Government expenditure should bear a proper relation to the revenue raised from the Natives, and particularly that the Natives should receive directly and visibly a fair return for the direct taxation which they are called upon to pay. I gather that that strikes experts on the subject of African and Colonial administration as a great advance, because in the past Natives have not received the full benefit of the taxation which they have been called upon to pay. Being a novice on this subject I would like to know, further, whether it involves, as it appears to do, that the taxation which is to be expended upon the Natives should be limited to that which they themselves are called upon to pay. If so, it appears a curious principle not altogether in accordance with natural justice, which is that the wealthier section has to pay for social services which benefit the poorer sections. Are there to be two separate pools of taxation, and separate beneficiaries? If so, it is hard to see how the elevated phrases in these memoranda are ever to be translated into concrete realities.

Where the Money Goes.

The hon. member who spoke last quoted the extraordinarily remarkable difference between the *per capitum* expenditure of Europeans on Asiatic races and on the Native races. I notice that the *per capitum* expenditure on education of the Native races was described as practically negligible. That, surely, throws a curious light and a strange contrast upon the principle laid down in the recently circulated memorandum of local policy. It says:

> "On the one hand, it must be the aim of the administration of every territory with regard to all the inhabitants, irrespective of race or religion to maintain order, to administer justice, to promote health and education, to provide means of communication and transport, and generally to promote the industrial and commercial development of the country. In all this range of work persons of every race and of every religion, coloured no less than White, have a right to equal treatment in accordance with their several needs.

It will require drastic changes in the administration of these countries if that item in Native policy is really to be carried out and brought into conformity without causing very great changes in the ratio between expenditure upon Europeans and upon Natives. It is hard to see how it can be carried out at all if the expenditure upon Natives is to be bounded and limited by the amount of taxation which is collected from the Natives. Money may be the root of all evel, but money in matters of social reform is also the root of all progress. Indeed, the amount of progress that can be accomplished in health and in education will be the measure of the financial resources available for the purpose.

Turning especially to the question of women, we are faced with still greater anomalies. It has become a sort of fashion, I notice, in nearly all reports dealing with distant parts of the British Commonwealth, to pay a kind of lip service and tribute generally in a single paragraph or two to the great importance of education and the advancement of women. In the report which we have all recently been studying with such passionate interest—the Simon Report—we find that the women's question is described as the key to progress. In the Hilton Young Report on Africa there occurs this paragraph:

> "The progress of African communities will be seriously retarded if education is not extended to women as well as men. It was asserted in the famous educational despatch of 1854 which laid the foundation of modern education in India that by the education of women 'a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men.' The principle has the support of the best educational opinion and it may be hoped that greater success will be achieved in giving effect to it in Africa, where there is no purdah system, than has so far obtained in India. Christian missions deserve the highest commendation for what they are doing for the women of Africa and their work in this field deserves every encouragement from Government."

It is also a kind of custom in these reports, having paid this tribute to the importance of women's education, to forget all about it. When it cames to translating general principles into practice we hear very little further about the education of women. I think, therefore, we are entitled to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can give us, in the future, if not to-night, fuller information to show precisely what proportion of the poor and meagre funds are being made available for educational services for women. In seeking light on this subject, I have been struck by the very meagre information available in regard to it even in the quotation from the Hilton Young Report which ends in the rather typical and disquieting phrase:

> Christian missions deserve the highest commendation for what they are doing for the women of Africa and their work in this field deserves every encouragement from Government.

"Leave it to the Missions."

That, as far as I can gather from the position in India, Africa and nearly all similiar dependencies, is the very extraordinary attitude towards women's education in Government circles. They appear to say: "It is scarcely worth while bothering about the education of girls, but, of course, we ought to do something. Let us leave it to the missions." Therefore, we find the missions receiving a sort of pat on the head from Government officials, a word of commendation now and then, and occasionally a small grant out of such State funds as may be available when they have done what they must do for the boys.

I am expressly avoiding going into figures and quoting particular Colonies, for fear of giving unnecessary pain and offence to those who are doing their best, but from very many workers who have spent years in doing painstaking work for the education and the health services of women in Africa, one hears the same complaint of tiny grants, capriciously given, frequently lowered or raised without any particular reason, often in accordance with the demands of economy or because of some anonymous complaint, or because money must be made available for some institution in which an administrator is interested. On the health side we hear of great tracts of Africa where hospitals are either non-existent or where they have no female staff and are entirely staffed by men and Native boys, and where women cannot receive service. This state of things exists, although there is an appallingly high infantile and maternal mortality.

There is a special necessity to do something with respect to the women in East and Central Africa, far more so than in regard to any European country, because out there the women are not only suffering all the disabilities of colour set up by the men of their race, but they are, in addition, often something like slaves to the men of their own tribes. Therefore, it is peculiarly dangerous to leave it to the men of the tribes and to those who are in touch with the men of the tribes to keep in memory the need of provision for women. Often the Native men are the last from whom to expect a lead in this matter. Another report, for example, notes that in many cases the older men especially are opposed to the education of women because they are afraid that their wives and daughters will become restive under the institution of polygamy, having their husbands chosen for them and a price being fixed when they themselves are infants and under the conditions to which the Duchess of Atholl referred to in a previous debate. The problem of the women is a problem of colour and also a problem of subjection, which in many cases has the worst features of

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WEST AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES.

[FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.]

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West Africa is therefore to be congratulated, inasmuch as, of the three principal commodities it ships to the United States, cocoa beans and palm oil remain duty free, and ginger, which is at present dutiable at two cents per lb., also becomes duty free under the new legislation.

A. A. S.

Feminine Viewpoint

Music: "Listen to my tale of woe"

In the course of any travel throughout the country I have met numerous women who hail from the harem of some polygamist, and this is a tale I have gathered from hundreds of these women. I was assaulted and abducted from my relations without consultation, by a man I had not met before and whom I did not love. He further, did not even solicit my love, but carried me away to a strange place, where I found myself in the midst of a large congregation of women, who I learnt were the wives of my snatcher. My spirits were depressed when I observed that my chances of being married by somebody I loved and who really loved me, were spoilt by a mere sensualist, who only a few months later brought in a fresh victim into the harem. I feel that I have been ruined, but and it is a big But, a woman has no say in the counsels of this nation"

Observe, dear reader, that the crimes of Rape, Assault and Abduction are connected with this institution. These poor women resent the brute force more than the harem itself.

It is my opinion that as long as the women of this nation feel that they are mere objects of man's pleasure, so long shall this nation remain degraded, for no nation can rise higher than its women. The lot of this disappointed womanhood is far from happy. To the credit of the polygamist, be it said that he tries to make amends by providing food and raiment for his harem, but it is a difficult matter to cloak a disappointed sense of outrage. The outlook for the harem is still more gloomy after the death of the polygamist for as a rule the harem and offspring, excepting the principal wife and one or two favourites, are not properly provided for and they at once become a menace to the family and the nation. Polygamy is responsible for the poverty and the breaking up of some of the leading African families. I write with some feeling. My own family has been totally broken by this institution, for although my great grandfather, Mohlomi the Great, was reputed a wise man and the richest Mosotho, a hundred years ago, although he influenced the life of Chief Moshoeshoe, Founder of the Basuto nation, as is so ably stated by G. A. Gollock in "Lives of Eminent Africans," yet we, the descendants of this great man, are the poorest members of Basutoland Society today The reasons of our poverty are not far to seek. The chief reason in my opinion is that Mohlomi was not only a rich and wise prince, and a clever physician, but that he was the biggest polygamist the Basotho or any other nation has known. He had taken to himself a thousand wives and thereby hangs the tale. I wish the princes and rich men of this land would take a leaf from this brief account of the causes of the downfall of my own family

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An Awakening "Statement"

["*Ilanga Lase Natal.*"]

7-17-30

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Race Problem – 1930
Africa

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Agricultural Workers Strike in South Africa

THE general upsurge in the revolutionary movement throughout the world draws into the struggle ever greater numbers of the proletarian masses. Each day brings fresh news about the struggle going on between the exploited and exploiters, about this struggle extending in scope about the most backward sections of the working class rallying to it, and about the proletariat going over from the defensive to the offensive.

Daily Worker

The movement among the agricultural workers, evidenced lately in the S. W. Cape Province (South Africa), once again proves the general awakening of the exploited and oppressed toiling masses.

5-24-30

Everywhere the agricultural workers are that section of the working class which is mostly cruelly exploited. Simultaneously, they are the least class-conscious and most backward strata of the proletariat. In the colonial and semi-colonial countries the agricultural workers are in actual fact slaves or chattel slaves. They get miserably low wages for their heavy labors, lasting from early dawn until sunset. The white exploiting farmers in South Africa consider the black farm laborers employed by them to be their own property, however, treating them worse than their working cattle. The Negro agricultural workers in South Africa are leading a miserable, semi-starvation existence, without any hopes whatever for being able to emancipate themselves from serfdom under the present rule of imperialism.

New York N.Y.

Heavy taxes, laws prohibiting them from going freely from place to place brutal punishments and even corporal punishment for the slightest offense—such is the fate of millions and millions of the South African land workers. The exploiters thought that by means of their brutal oppression they had succeeded in stamping out every desire in the hearts of the toilers for struggling to better their lives, and for complete liberation.

However, the oppressors were mistaken. We are living today in the great age of revolutionary struggle. The proletariat and the oppressed working masses, having been awakened from their long-age sleep, now took up the determined fight for their liberation, for doing away forever with all exploitation and oppression.

The farm laborers of the Cape Province have now begun to organize, putting up certain demands to the exploiting farmers, for bettering their working conditions and for increasing wages. They also demand that the farmers stop holding their laborers in a continuous state of intoxication, and that an end be put to replacing by means of alcohol the lack of energy of the exhausted workers.

Already from the very beginning the land workers are compelled to suffer from the violent pressure brought to bear by the united front of the employers, the police, judges and white chauvinists. The farmers endeavored to disperse some of the meetings of the laborers by force; however, the latter put up due resistance and succeeded in defending their rights.

And when it was decided by two of the farmers to fire some of their most active workers, they received a reply which, truly, they had little expected; all the workers occupied on their farms declared a sympathy strike. The strikers were subjected to terrible persecution. They, together with their families, were driven from the farms; and when they stopped at the nearest village, the police declared them to be vagabonds and compelled them to travel on. However, by means of police restriction it was not possible to prevent the movement of the land workers, and the struggle is developing and extending.

The struggle of the farm laborers in the Cape Province is only the first step towards organizing the struggle throughout South Africa. It should be the task of the land workers to establish strong unions, and affiliating with the Federation of Native Trade Unions, to wage the struggle hand in hand with all other class conscious proletarians of South Africa against the whole capitalist system.

The International Conference of Negro workers, which will meet in London on July 1st, will even to a greater degree strengthen the will of the millions of Negro toilers to struggle. The conference will draw up a general program of action and demands, and will indicate the path along which the Negro working masses should tread in order to finally overthrow the yoke of imperialism and abolish all capitalist exploitation.

—Provisional International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers.

Riotous Assemblies Act.

South African Native opinion

The powers conferred upon the Minister of Justice (Mr. O. Pirow) by the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act No. 19 of 1930 have been utilised by the Minister in curtailing gatherings of Natives in the districts of Worcester, Robertson, Montagu and Swellendam in the Cape Province. Clements Kadalie, the well know organiser in Native trades unionism has been forbidden to address public gatherings throughout the Reef as from the 11 inst. Kadalie addressed an I.C.U. meeting in Pretoria on the 12th inst in which district Minister Pirow has not enforced his prohibition order against him. It is evident that Mr. Pirow's time for the next two months or so will have to be wholly devoted to the jackal hunting of Kadalie throughout the Union, and the C.I.D. staff in collaboration with Press representatives will have to work at top pressure in officially reporting Kadalie's "insolent" speeches anywhere in the unprohibited districts where the latter may deem it fit to harangue Native audiences with his favourite subject—the foolhardiness of the Cabinet. The world may look to South Africa, for a few week's first class humourous entertainment. For after all how can this ludicrous position be otherwise described. In South Africa we have six million Natives whose problems await the solution of the Minister of Justice. The pass laws, the unsatisfactory treatment of Native prisoners and the selling of their labour to irresponsible white farmers, the miscarriage of justice through inefficient white court interpreters where Native interpreters were required, and a legion of other problems, require the urgent attention of Mr Pirow. But the attention of this Minister is concentrated on an individual whose followers among Natives number no more than ten thousand. The remaining 5,990,000 Natives are left utterly unmoved, at any rate so far, by the activities of this Native "agitator." What will most probably happen however is that Kadalie will reap a rich harvest from the huge advertisement cheaply provided by the Minister of Justice and his press colleagues; and that publicity is likely to awaken the slumbering five millions into some sort of activity. The application of the Minister's prohibition order in the districts of the Cape Province is certainly hitting an unjust blow at many legitimate and harmless Native gatherings that work at social uplift and self help. Mr. Pirow is sadly mistaken if he believes that the Natives look only to religious gatherings and to nothing else for their worldly betterment; and once Natives are convinced that the Government intends to permit freedom of speech to Natives through the agency of religious gatherings, the time will have arrived for them to consider whether it is necessary any longer to attend religious gatherings that have a secondary purpose of being the only agency of giving vent to or rather substituting their political aspirations. It is very regrettable that Parliament saw fit to bring religious gatherings into the turmoil of political legislation, for we cannot see what will prevent the self same "agitators" from masquerading in clerical attire and posing as ministers and preachers of religion and achieving their objectives over the pulpit. Ofcourse that would be a sacrilege of God's temples; but would the origin of it not be the legislation that drove "agitators" to the pulpit? Does Kadalie not suggest such tactics when in Pretoria he said he might find it necessary to adopt underground methods; or would he mean something infinitely more clandestine.? In our opinion the Minister could not provide Kadalie with a stronger case for his propaganda among the sleeping Native millions than to direct his activities to religious gatherings. In other words this means the end of all respect for the church so far as Natives are concerned, if this law is allowed to stand as it is.

Race Problem – 1930
Africa

FINGO TREATY CASE.

Supreme Court Judgment

7-22-30

(Continued from issue 1st July 1930.)

They (the Fingoes) are also stated to have had 22,000 head of cattle. The precise locality of this land upon which they were placed is not described and, as Sir George Cory states, "there is no evidence of the exact amount of territory they occupied between 1836 and 1845." A Blue Book has been put in entitled "Treaties entered into by the Governors of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and the Native Chieftains and others beyond the borders of the Colony between the years 1803 and 1854" The treaties of 1836 between Sir Benjamin Durban and the Fingo Chiefs are contained in this exhibit. But it is not possible to ascertain from these documents the precise locality of the Native Settlements in the Peddie district. Sir George Cory is of opinion that very shortly after the settlement of the Fingoes in the Peddie district a large number of them left the district. From the researches made by Sir George, he states, at page 194, volume 3, of his work entitled "The Rise of South Africa," that the benevolent measures proposed by Sir B Durban for the settlement of the Fingoes in the Peddie district miscarried, and he points out that quarrels and dissension prevailed amongst them—

"almost before the last of the procession crossed the Keiskama..... They crossed the Keiskama on May 14, 1835, but it was not until July 13 that Sir B Durban issued detailed instructions for locating them and appointing officers who were to undertake this duty. By that time the greater number had disappeared...left to themselves they became dissatisfied, frightened commenced to migrate to different parts. This is not surprising, for knowing full well the enmity with which they were regarded by the Kaffirs they realised the danger of being bounded on the east by the thick bush of the Keiskama and by the Fish River on the west. Many of them therefore moved on of the Peddie district and congregated at places where protection was more in evidence, such as King William's Town, Fort Thompson, and Grahamstown."

Sir George states that Mr. John Mitford Bowker, who was appointed Government Agent, and the Rev. Mr. Ayliff, remained with them for a time. The former found them—

"most unsatisfactory people; they stole one another's cattle and goods, quarrelled, and

SETTLED THEIR DISPUTES WITH THE ASSEGAI.

It was impossible to arbitrate between them as all lied so glibly and persistently, the Chiefs being as bad as the people. To make matters worse, dysentry, which was attributed to the waters being bewitched, broke out amongst them and several died.. In October in the Peddie district, of the large number that came from Hintsa's country there remained only 210 men, 204 women, and 284 children."

In July, 1837, efforts appear to have been made to compel some of the Fingoes who had left Peddie to return to that place. At page 417, volume 3, Sir George describes what occurred :

"But to Peddie they determinedly refused to go. . . Eventually in August, 1837, some 1,200 of them were escorted"

to Peddie by the soldiers of the 75th Regiment. This experiment was also a failure :

"Their horror of Peddie seems to have been very real, for they refused to go any further. . . the women giving vent to their grief in the most saddening tears and lamentations sufficient to move the most hard-hearted soldier present. . . They said they preferred to die where they were rather than at Peddie They were restless, wandering people and gave almost as much trouble as avowed enemies."

I have thought it desirable to quote these passages (which were put to Sir George Cory in cross-examination) in order to meet the contention that it was probable that the Fingoes, owing to the large numbers that originally came to Peddie, must at some time have occupied the land now vested in the plaintiffs.

Now, if the facts as stated by Sir George Cory are correct it is obvious that on their first arrival a large tract of country was required for the use of the host that trekked into the Peddie district, but it is equally obvious that the great bulk of the Fingoes only remained there a few months and thereafter on their own initiative departed to other places in the Colony. There is not a vestige of reliable evidence to show that between 1836 and 1845 any of the Fingoes settled upon the land now known as the Wooldridge Commonage.

In the Stockenstrom Treaty with the Fingoes (1836) in paragraph 3 of the Treaty the ceded territory is "as specified at the foot of the treaty according to a map to be framed by a competent officer." But the Treaty contains no such map, and in the Maitland Treaty of 1845 with the Fingo Chiefs (Matomela being one of them), which Treaty "annulled all former treaties between the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and the said chiefs," provision is made in paragraph 6 of the Treaty confirming the grant of that part of the territory ceded in 1836 which the Fingo tribes "have held and occupied." Now in 1837 Lieut.-Colonel Michel was Surveyor General of the Colony. On May 19, 1837, he received instructions from the Governor to define the area allotted to the various Kaffir (including Fingo) tribes under the various Treaties, including the Stockenstrom Treaty. He was specially instructed to see that the limits of the locations should be accurately defined. On October 16, 1837, Michel made his report, to which he attached a plan on an enlarged scale of the tract allotted to the Fingoes, and a specification of the

BOUNDARIES OF THE FINGO LOCATION IN THE CEDED TERRITORIES.

Unfortunately, the originals of the plans or maps referred to in the report are not forthcoming. It is probable, as suggested by Mr. Mabin, that they were forwarded to England. But what Mr. Mabin considers, and I think rightly considers, to be a copy of the plan and sketch, has been produced from the records in custody of the Senate. The sketch is entitled "Sketch of the country ceded to the Amakosas and of the sub-division of the same between the frontier tribes of that nation, as executed by order of Government, June, 1837, by me, Charles C Michel, Surveyor General," and is stated to be annexed to the report of the Select Committee relative to lands in the ceded territory—dated May, 1855. The land ceded to the Fingoes is coloured pink in this sketch. Bell, who appears to have been the Surveyor General of the Cape Colony in 1856, adopted this plan in his compilation of 1885, and in this plan the broad red line is stated to show approximately the outline of the Fingo Reserve of 1836. Mr. Mabin also put in Gray's plan of 1845, the present divisional plan of the district of Peddie, and both Mabin and Wood, whose evidence has already been referred to, state that presuming the correctness of Michel's plan, on the measurements and calculations made by them, there can be no doubt that Wooldridge falls outside the pink territory in Michel's plan, and so outside the Fingo territory.

NATIVE EDUCATION FUNDS.

7-22-30

Missionary institutions and other bodies interested in the development of Native education have been clamouring incessantly for State financial support in order to do justice to the work with which they are entrusted. The Provincial authorities do not seem to blame for the stringency in the allocation of funds for they clearly show that it is the Native Affairs Department that is holding available funds that have accrued from Native taxation under Act 41 of 1925. If the policy of the Department of Native Affairs was that of giving to the Natives accordingly as they paid into this treasury (which ofcourse is wrong in principle) are the Natives really getting a square deal from the surplus held under the Native Development Fund? The anomalous position is outlined in the presidential address delivered by Mr. E. B. Ball, at the annual conference of the S.A. Association of European Teachers in Native Educational Institutions held in King Williamstown on the 24th June last. Mr. Ball says :—

"Our greatest obstacle is not that of the mentality of our pupils, but the utter inadequacy of the financial support given the work. The grants allotted by the Department are quite insufficient for this expansion and many institutions find the burden of helping forward secondary education no light one. In the Cape Province the maximum grant allowed a teacher is only two-thirds of his salary. In certain other Provinces it is undersood that the whole of a teacher's salary becomes a Departmental expense. In addition to this restriction there are several teachers for whom no grant at all is presently given. The whole of their salaries become institutional charges. Almost the whole cost of the necessary buildings is other than a Departmental charge. Though our secondary schools will become more and more the feeding ground both of the Native College and of the normal training schools the system is being starved. It is understood that the real difficulty lies not in any apathy on the part of the Provincial authorities, but in the refusal of the Native Affairs Department to allocate funds adequate for the opportunity in this work. And yet one reads that balance in hand in the General Fund of the Native Development Account has risen from £9,000 at 31st March, 1926, to £80,596 at March, 1927, to £144,342 at March, 1928, and that the balance at March, 1929, amounted to no less than £171,332. In view of this position one cannot understand why additional grants should be withheld from the Native Secondary Schools.

One cannot too fully tribute the authorities of those Native Training Institutions who, despite little financial support, have stabilised and have continued to help forward the cause of native secondary education. In particular reference must be made to the high school at Lovedale which for over 30 years "blazed the trial"—the only secondary school established for Natives in the Cape Province."

On the 26th June, Mr. W. Meaker, M.P.C., (Tembuland) in the Provincial Council asked the Administrator whether

(1) sufficient funds have been made available from the Native Development Fund to enable him to give effect to the salary scales of Native Teachers in terms of Proclamation No. 1 of 1930, dated 3rd January last;

(2) it would be possible to delete sub-section A of clause 5 of the said Proclamation and thereby give the said Teachers some security in regard to their increments?

Mr. du Plessis replied:

(1) Sufficient funds have been made available to enable the Administration to apply the minima of the scales.

(2) Not unless the Minister for Native Affairs should undertake to make available from the Native Development Fund each year a sum sufficient to pay the annual increments, which up to the present he has been unable to do. The Administration has, however, been advised that it is desired that during this financial year a sum shall be made available from the funds placed at the disposal of the Province sufficient to grant to Native Teachers, who have had five years' teaching experience or more, one scale increment for each five years' service, and it is hoped that it will be possible to do this.

A start seems to have been made by the Minister of Native Affairs to ameliorate the deplorable conditions obtaining; but it is not satisfactory to apply only the minima of scales of pay while the balance in hand in the Native Development Account in 1929 stands at the huge figure of £171,332.

In what other branch of Native development are these funds expended where justification of expenditure could be claimed above Native education?

THE NDOBE APPEAL

"Umteteli wa Bantu" of Johannesburg gives the following opinion in the above case:—"It is doubtful whether the Privy Council would interfere in the matter, or indeed whether that body would have any authority to reverse a decision of the Supreme Court of the Union. The proposed appeal would be very costly and would carry only a remote chance of success and it behoves the committee to consider very carefully whether or not it is justified in spending Native money in pursuant of a hope so forlorn."

"Umteteli" has our compliments for retaining the services of an "advocate" who will advise Natives not to follow the counsels of other advocates of the Supreme Court. It is highly doubtful however whether it is wisdom on "Umteteli's part to pay a lucrative retainer fee to an "advocate" whose knowledge of constitutional law is so bankrupt as to be ignorant of the fact that a costitutional question may be appealed on from the Appellate Division here to the Privy Council. The cost of appeal to the Privy Council and encouragement to do so, should be matters that "Umteteli" strongly supported, if at all it had the interests of Natives at heart; rather than that our contemporary should pour a cold douche on Native enthusiasm. Strangely enough though the tenour of "Umteteli's opinion in its Xosa columns is an encouragement while that in its English columns is a derogation to the other. Must we infer a dual editorship of separate races?

PREMIER'S FRANCHISE PROPOSALS.

The judgment of the Appellate Division in the Ndobe vs. Rex. appeal on Native land titles contains passages of far-reaching importance; and one phase in particular regarding the Prime Minister's proposed changes in Native parliamentary representation, is worthy of comment. In giving their opinion on Section 35 of the Act of Union the judges explained that

"in the case of persons on the roll in any province, under sub-section (2), their names, as was pointed out above, cannot be removed from the roll even by a two-third majority. Under Section 59 of the South Africa Act, Parliament has full power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Union, but that section cannot be invoked to enlarge its powers under Section 35."

It is clear therefore that the object of the framers of the Union Act was to keep in tact and as one inseparable unit never to be tampered with, the franchise rights of every voter on the roll without discrimination by colour or race. The Premier in his proposals seeks to enrol the Native voters already on the roll on a separate register by attempting to obtain a two-third majority. The judges, if we understand them correctly, say, the two-thirds majority itself cannot effect such changes. Making a separate register of Native voters' names is removing such names from the common roll of voters of the Union, and such action at once has the effect of diminishing the effect of the votes so removed by reason of colour. Natives claim and insist on the right to remain on the common register which Section 35 protects. Any number of parliamentary commissions with their voluminous evidence on the proposal to transfer Native voters' names to a separate register will not coerce Natives to give up that right. If our interpretation of the judgment is correct, it would appear that General Hertzog even with his white women's vote designed to swamp the Native vote, will have to wait till all Native voters at present on the register die off; and it is most improbable that the Premier can survive the several thousand black voters to carry his scheme through.

Race Problem—1930

Africa.

THE WHITE MAN'S GRAVE OR THE BLACKMAN'S RESURRECTION. OR WHICH OTHER?

II

WHEN the Bishop of Accra spoke of the Gold Coast as the Black Man's resurrection we do not know to what exactly he was referring. If he alluded to his spiritual progress, then we will not question the correctness of the statement, for everywhere the Black Man is realising that the Christian Religion is not the monopoly of any race or nation, and is therefore taking an active part in the religious revival which is prevalent throughout the West Coast. The name of the late Prophet WADDY HARRIS will stand prominently in this regard.

As regards the physical condition of the African, the term "resurrection" would only apply with approach to correctness to the physical emancipation, and the several efforts to make clear that slavery in no shape or form is to be tolerated. It is also true in regard to the realisation by the African as to his true position, and the wonderful success of the Gold Coast planters of Cocoa is clear evidence. But this expression need a great deal of modification when it applies to his relationship with the European race and his place in West Africa The presence of Great Britain in West Africa has been declared to be with the principal object of protecting the people of West Africa and in keeping with the principle of trusteeship, This necessarily connotes that the moment any of the wards are qualified to discharge any particular duty the trustee or his representative was performing, the ward would be given his true place. This, we regret to say, is unfortunately not the case. There are in the professional and clerical departments of the Civil Service many Africans properly to fill positions occupied by Europeans, but the prejudice of colour is too strong. We could multiply cases of appointments once held by Africans which are denied them to-day for no other reason, so far as we know, than that in this age of unemployment in Great Britain, provision should be made for Europeans If we take the Legal Departments of the four Colonies, we find that there is only one African in the Gold Coast (Mr. LESLIE M'CARTHY) who is given an appointment in the Crown Law Office. Junior positions, like the Junior Crown Counsel, in these colonies are denied them, and it cannot be said that there are not many Africans eminently qualified to fill these appointments. What we have written of the Legal Department may equally be said of the Medical Department. Seniority does not appear to be by length of service or by experience, but by the colour of the person. And whilst the European is appointed from any part of the world, the African is refused equal opportunity of appointment even in West Africa. As if to test the value of our treatment, *Reuters* of the 10th instant contained the significant news, that a New Zealander has been given an appointment to the Legal Department in West Africa, and to this is added the distressing news that this is only one of similar appointments to be made in the future.

With such intelligence we are justified in asking, how can West Africa be now truly regarded as the Black Man's Resurection? For post-prandial speeches about the first consideration of the African in his Country such as were made in the Gold Coast and Nigerian dinners, seem to have their real value in the utterances made than in their being put into practice. When we read of the emphasis given by eminent speakers like Lord PASSFIELD and Sir FRANK BADDELEY and others as to the Policy of Trusteeship and the Government of the Country in trust for the people; we are tempted to ask where is this policy in the unequal treatment meted out to the very Africans in the matter of Government appointments and other similar matters?

It is now time that we rise up manfully to challenge these statements when made; and, further than this, we should organise if we are to help ourselves. This is no time for meaningless differences. We have no party politics and as such it ought to be easy for us to unite, organise and pull together; for unless we do, we will find ourselves at a great disadvantage and our progress greatly retarded.

THE HON. W. CASELY HAYFORD, M.L.C.

A numerous circle here and in West Africa will learn with great regret news of the death, which occurred at the Gold Coast on Monday last, of the Hon. W. Casely Hayford, M.L.C. Death was due to acute gastritis. Mr. Hayford is stated to have been about 64 years of age.

Mr. Hayford, who was of the Fanti racial stock, was the son of a missionary, and began life as a teacher in one of the Wesleyan Mission schools, but being both able and ambitious he determined to get to the Bar, and did so. As is the practice at the Gold Coast, he was solicitor as well as barrister, and he speedily made one of the leading practices on both sides, first in the Western and later in the Eastern Province, though his centre of activity was always Sekondi. He appeared in many of the leading cases of his day, especially in land cases, in which his advice was much in demand. Despite the calls of his professional work, he made time to write books and booklets, legal and political, and to take a strong interest in public affairs. He was several times appointed a member of the Gold Coast Legislative Council, and was a member at the time of his death. At the meetings, he spoke eloquently on the needs of the Colony, more especially, of course, the permanent population, the Africans. His son, Mr. Archie Casely Hayford, a B.A. of Cambridge, and also a member of the Bar, had assisted his father in court and in chamber work of recent years. Another child, a daughter, has decided literary gifts. Mr. Hayford was twice married. His first wife was Miss Pinnock. His second wife was before her marriage Miss Adelaide Smith, daughter of the late Mr. Justice Smith, Senior Puisne Judge of the Gold Coast. She has great force of character, is one of the most widely travelled women of the Coast and has devoted herself to the education of African girls.

Mr. Hayford was virtually the founder of the political movement represented by the National Congress of British West Africa, and was its president on several occasions and its trusted adviser to the day of his death. He was also an able persuasive journalist

FINGO TREATY CASE.

Supreme Court Judgment

7-24-30

Continued.

Mr Stuart, who appeared for the defendants, admits that this is so. Now I think I must assume, from the absence of any evidence to the contrary, and from the subsequent survey of Pato's Location and the act of the Government in defining the limits of Wooldridge approximately in correspondence of Michel's and Bell's plans, that Michel carried out his instructions and that the sketch put in correctly defines the precise limits of the territory ceded to the Fingoes. Mabin's evidence on this point was most convincing, and he was fully supported by Surveyor Wood. What may be termed the evidence of the maps is therefore solely in favour of the plaintiffs.

Now, as I have already stated, there is no evidence to show that the Fingoes, including the Matomela tribe, ever occupied any portion of what is now known as Wooldridge from 1836 to 1845. Pato's Location appears first to have been surveyed by Barnsfatherin 1854. Mabin described it as unalienated Crown land. On December 13, 1853, it appears from a letter of that date addressed by H E. Sir George Cathcart to Captain Espinasse, 12th Regiment, and to Edye, Resident Magistrate, Fort Beaufort, that these gentlemen were nominated as Commissioners "for the final adjustment of the Fingo and Missionary Locations in Lower Victoria," in order that the Surveyor-General's department may proceed to allot the remaining portions, not so reserved, in farms and erven. The instructions required the Commissioners to act (inter alia) as follows:

(1) The Fingo Locations in that part of the Division of Victoria which forms the Magisterial district of Fort Peddie should be clearly defined and marked where necessary with beacons and explained to the several Fingo Chiefs;

(2) All such Fingoes as may have squatted beyond the limits of the appointed locations and who belong to the tribes of any of the said Chiefs, should be warned through their chiefs that they must return within their limits as soon as they have got in their present crops.

It is not necessary to refer to instructions (3) and (4).

(5) Also a settlement at or near Pato's Kop would be desirable as it is intended that the headquarters of one of the Fingo militia be there stationed.

The Commissioners were further instructed to ride to the principal commanding local marks accompanied by the Chiefs...and to put up beacons, and they were told that existing boundaries "will be their guide as far as they appear applicable."

Two reports, both signed by Captain Espinasse, have been put in. The latter is dated March 31, 1855, and is addressed to R. Southey, Esq., the Secretary to the Government. In this report it is stated, inter alia, "The outlying locations at Pato's Kop and Waterloo Bay have been fixed upon and pointed out to the present occupants agreeably to the instructions recieved by me. The Chiefs here have expressed themselves to us severally and collectively as

PERFECTLY SATISFIED WITH THE LAND ALLOTTED TO THEIR PEOPLE.

The various boundaries have been carefully pointed out by us personally to the Chiefs and their leading men, and also personally to the Superintendent of Fingoes." The report concludes by stating:

"The outlying location of Pato's Kop in connection with the Fingo militia is not included above, the spot was fixed by us in connection with the Deputy-Surveyor General and has been surveyed by Mr. Barnsfather."

Now from the report it would appear that, prior to its date, no Fingo location had been previously established at Pato's Kop, and I think that paragraph (5) of the instructions to the Commissioners seems also to support this assumption. Moreover, in Gray's plan, November, 1848, Pato's Kop Location is not shown. Furthermore, the letter of June 21, 1845, written by M. R. Robinson, Deputy-Surveyor General, to the Resident Magistrate of Fort Peddie, informing the latter that "there appears to be no objection to Captain Espinasse and yourself selecting a centre for the site of the Fingo location near the Tooi in pursuance of Sir G. Cathcart's authorising the extent to be 2,500 morgen," evidently refers to the Pato's Kop Location.

Barnsfather appears to have surveyed this location in 1854, as is evidenced by Exhibits Nos. 21, 22, and 23. Mr. Mabin states that, although the records to which I have referred prove that Barnsfather surveyed the Pato's Kop Location in 1854 and that its area was 2,510 morgen, no plan or diagram of his survey is to be found in the records. In Robinson's plan, dated August 31, of 1856, the Pato's Kop Location is clearly shown and its extent is given at 2,510 morgen. Wooldridge was surveyed by de Smidt, 1857-8, as already stated.

Mr. Mabin states, and I agree with him, that Pato's Kop Location as delineated in Robinson's plan was taken from Barnsfather's survey already mentioned. In my opinion the evidence conclusively shows that Pato's Kop Location only came into existence in 1854, and that there is nothing to show that Wooldridge was incorrectly surveyed, or that it encroached on the area of Pato's Kop Location as surveyed by Barnsfather, and it is most significant that the area of the Location as it exists at present corresponds closely with the area in Robinson's plan which adopted Barnsfather's survey.

The Land Titles Appeal.

South African Native Opinion
15-5-30
Pg 4 & 10
Kingwilliamstown
Vol 4

What at first appeared to many to be a foolhardy action of the Ciskei Native title holders in opposing the provisions of the Native Administration Act now transpires to be an appeal bristling with constitutional conundrums of first rate importance. Thanks to the Committee in charge of the appeal, for today what rights Natives may or may not claim, and the powers parliament may or may not exercise have been partially decided by the Appellate Division. The necessity of a declaration of this character has been strongly advocated in our columns for years past in view of the threatening danger to Native franchise and other rights in the political arena. It is gratifying to note that European public opinion, has at last been aroused to appreciate the seriousness of the situation caused by the Native Administration Act, and we venture to state that as time goes by, the far-reaching effect of the judgment in the Ndobe appeal will be realised to a fuller extent. It is interesting to read the views of "A Barrister" in the "Cape Argus" who says:—

"Ndobe v. Rex (Appellate Division, June) is a case of extreme importance from the constitutional point of view—so important in fact that it may possibly break the rule of years and be heard by the Privy Council. It decides that the courts have power to pronounce a Union statute to be ultra vires that Parliament does not possess unlimited powers of legislation; that its power to disqualify Natives from voting must be exercised as provided by section 35 of the Act of Union; and that any statute which even impliedly or by necessary consequence imposes such disqualification must be passed by a two thirds majority or it will be declared void by the courts. This is a first-rate constitutional issue, and seems clearly to be such a "question outside the ordinary category, involving a broad question of law, and of very great importance," as alone the Privy Council will consent to hear. But it may well be that the form of the judgment of the Appellate Division, and the actual decision arrived at, will bar any further appeal. Because the actual decision is that the statute in question (the Native Administration Act of 1927) is not ultra vires, because it does not necessarily conflict with section 35 of the Act of Union; but that it can be and must be so read, as not to conflict. That is to say, that it can be so read, and must be so read, as not to impose any disqualification on Native voters which did not exist at Union. So that, for example, when the Act of 1927 gives the Governor-General power to alter the conditions of Native land tenure, it must be taken that the power must be so exercised as not to disqualify any voter.

A very interesting point is left open by the decision. If any statute which by necessary consequence disqualifies Native voters is bad when passed in accordance with the procedure laid down by section 35, can that section itself be amended by any other procedure? Logically it would seem not. But the Government law advisers would, no doubt, strenuously contest any such doctrine. In fact the Government probably thoroughly dislikes the judgment in Ndobe v. Rex from every point of view!"

In our next issue we intend republishing the editorial comment of the "Cape Argus" which gives a similar view of the Appellate Division judgment of the Ndobe appeal.

The Native Problem

South African Native Opinion
Evolution
9-5-30
Pg 4 & 10
Vol 4 No 2344
Kingwilliamstown
(By Rev B J Ross.)

I see in your issue for June 3rd an article by Wayfarer in which he objects strongly to what he calls the Doctrine of Evolution. The very use of the word "doctrine" here leads one to expect ignorance. It is quite clear that had he read the article with understanding he would have seen that what he calls "such pleasant views" are the logical and inevitable out come of holding the theory of evolution. This theory supplies the strongest argument in favour of uplifting the Natives. In fact in those days it supplies the only unanswerable argument.

To say that this theory is "the only ground for justification of the Prime Minister's Native policy" is to prove crass ignorance of evolution. The one thing the Prime Minister and his supporters will not look at is the idea of being guided by the principles of evolution. One might recommend Wayfarer to read a little and think a little and so get to understand the theory of evolution. "What is Man" by J A Thompson M.A. L L.D. Professor of Natural History, University of Aberdeen is a small popular and cheap book that might help Wayfarer much.

Race Problem - 1930

Africa.

SOUTH AFRICA'S MYSTERIES.

RHODESIAN MIRACLES—THE FROBENIUS EXHIBITION AT BERLIN.

(Specially translated for "The African World" from the "Hamburger Nachrichten.")

In the Berlin Ethnological Museum Professor Leo Frobenius has opened an exhibition of the discoveries he has made during the course of a big South African expedition just carried out: there are many hundreds of carefully coloured reproductions of rock pictures—the catalogue lists more than a thousand—some of them many square metres in extent. It is possible to see for the first time what the expedition has done during the years from 1928 to 1930—and for the first time also, absolutely new questions are propounded.

What world of its own this is! Red, brown, grey, bluish, yellow—often monochrome, yet many a time polychrome, and again in many instances with superimposed colouring effects: people, fauna, and flora, each in its appointed place; human beings in communities, on the move, at prayer, hunting; people in procession as they approach the king; people with antelopes, with bucks, with Mephistophelian forms; people at conflict with each other; human beings, seeming as though cut out with scissors, passing over a bridge like ornamental figures; people dancing; people mourning over their dead; and all these things delineated in as few lines as possible, often "expressionistic" in their movement, and of compelling vitality; many a time extending into mighty compositions; often reduced to small typical scenes—a world charged with dynamic force, vibrating with movement.

It is doubtless too much to say that this art may seem to us to-day like that of the Chinese and Japanese a generation ago; one is overwhelmed with the extent of what one sees, and consequently cannot differentiate at present. Frobenius, however, has already discovered a point of considerable difference, and that is just where the secret begins; in this art there are two styles running side by side: on the one hand there is a variegated naturalistic style; human beings and animals reveal their natural appearance; a multiplicity of colours is used in each picture, and the colours are in many cases intermingled, the entity making a decidedly artistic impression. That is the style of the South—the style in the Cape districts and in the Transvaal. Further to the north, however, in Rhodesia, the style changes completely, and there it may be described as linear, everything being depicted in contour and silhouette; the similarity to Nature is not expressed, the forms being strikingly depicted many a time by means of three or four forceful lines, and only one colour is used, mostly red.

Both styles have hitherto been collectively designated "bushman's drawings," and it was thought to a great extent that all these paintings were of a very recent date, and that the bushmen had executed them, and it was also held that older planters had even seen the bushmen at work on these paintings. That is, however, only partly correct and, as a matter of fact, many of these pictures have been painted quite recently, perhaps even during the last century, yet, however, in pursuance of an age-old tradition which disappears into the mists of antiquity. Stone utensils of a prehistoric age have been discovered at the bottom of the caves in the rocks, and the resemblance which this artistic-naturalistic style has to prehistoric European drawings and with the franco-cantabrian style is too striking to be disregarded; we find exactly the same type of painting with exactly the same composition dating from the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. in the caves of the Dordogne, in Altamira, and in numerous other localities in Spain. To give the oldest South African rock pictures the same age would certainly be taking a liberty, but there can be no question that human beings of the same stage of civilisation and with the same outlook were their creators, and the period of origin of these pictures may certainly be said to comprise the period of the last 5,000 years.

Africa does not know the meaning of time. Whereas in Europe, with every intellectual change the older style is abandoned and left behind, in Africa it continues to exist in harmony together with the new one. Frobenius has compared negro culture to the tins in which preserved goods are contained, and not without good reason, since we find in Africa remnants of the various periods of civilisation always embodied in the present, and it is just for this very reason that it is an absolute impossibility to assign a date to the individual works. The franco-cantabrian style has disappeared



PROFESSOR LEO FROBENIUS,
The Eminent Explorer and Archæologist.

from Europe long since—some 7,000 years ago, but in Africa it has remained almost up to the present day.

If it were that the origin of the naturalistic style has been explained to a certain extent in this way, there is still the silhouette style to provide a yet greater enigma. We know this silhouette style in Europe as well, in Eastern Spain, but how is it that we suddenly discover similar expressionistic forms in Rhodesia, and there, too, in a restricted region? How does it come about that just there, deep in the south of the Dark Continent, and in a certain region, masterpieces of an art are discovered which have no significance as regards time?

Frobenius has made the curious discovery that it was just in this particular region that the prehistoric mines were situated. Dr. Percy Wagner has come to the conclusion, after careful investigation, that this region housed the largest mining area in the world at the time, as at various times there were no fewer than 85,000 shafts sunk, all afterwards carefully filled in again! There have been explorers of a fantastic turn of mind who believed they had found in these workings the fabulous mines of King Solomon, but the facts go a great deal beyond this fantastic idea. Who was it that exploited these mines? Certainly not Solomon, but there is ground for believing that they were exploited by people from Northern Asia and India.

It is just this district which includes the mines where the silhouette art is found, and it is, at the same time, the only place in South Africa where the largest ruins of cities are to be found. Zimbabwe is in this region—the gigantic city of stone, the ruins of which are so great as to encompass an entire mountain. It is, indeed, a happy coincidence that a complete exhibition of all the finds from Zimbabwe has just been opened in the British Museum in London: the exhibits include not only Persian and Arabian pottery, but specimens of Chinese arts and crafts as well! The whole of the mythology of this region, the religious beliefs and the folk-lore, so far as Frobenius has been able to ascertain, bears direct evidence of the influence of the great circles of civilisation of Asia Minor and Southern Asia.

It must occur to anyone, just in the same way as though scales had fallen from the eyes, that this silhouette art of Rhodesia embodies just the same wedge-shaped forms and angular movements as those with which we are familiar in Egyptian, Assyrian and Sumerian art; here is the same frontal representation which depicts the figure always in front view, even though the face and hands may be in profile. When we see, as in Rhodesia, mythological scenes of an astrological nature, such as the death and resurrection of the Moon god, the myths of Venus and Sirius, and similar subjects, reproduced in paintings in the midst of grandiose landscapes, trees, lakes, grottoes, rocks (just the pictures of landscapes which are never found in North African and European rock pictures, and might have been copies from earlier Asiatic pictures), then such a cultural connection is plainly visible.

How this influence came about; whether people from India or Asia Minor colonised and mined in this region, and how many hundreds or thousands of years ago—that is the great enigma which, at any rate for the time being, resists all attempts at solution. Pictures, mining works, ruins and myths—all reveal that at some time or other a State which made a practice of sacrifices, a State having priests, must have existed here, and which was closely allied to the Indian-Elamite-Babylonian circle of civilisation, but everything else is shrouded in obscurity.

At the last minute, however, one small point of this secret has been discovered: the destruction of these rock pictures cannot be prevented. It is marvellous to think that they have been preserved for hundreds and thousands of years, and have even here and there been repainted. Frobenius even found an elderly priest of the dead who, in his youth, had helped to freshen with red paint the ancient pictures in the great tombs of the Kings. Nowadays the care of the pictures has ceased, and the natives destroy them, so that Europeans shall not see them; and rightly so, when one hears that pleasure tourists in crowds scratch their names across the ancient works of art. The pictures are used for debased practices of a superstitious nature for healing purposes, and in not a few instances the cattle are driven into the caves. All these facts, however, will not explain why these creations, which have hitherto kept all their freshness, have suddenly, during the last thirty years, faded and crumbled.

The climate has changed. The contour rock pictures of the Sahara are flaking off; all the rocky formations in South Africa have undergone an alteration to their outer surface during the last generation, and they have become full of flaws. It seems almost as though by some magical concentration of circumstances in those places where the profane European eye appears everything will refuse to give up its secret. It is just as though they had lost their strength, or as if the gods were reclaiming them. In the South Seas, in Africa, in Asia, in America—everywhere, the old order of things is dying out, sacred as it was for centuries past. It is high time to save what there still is to be saved. Not the least thing to the credit of the Frobenius Expedition is the fact that it has, at the last moment, collected all the folk-lore and mythology which perhaps alone may permit of a decision being reached with regard to the origin and contents of the pictures.

Then, however—and this very Exhibition is the prelude thereto—Africa will stand before us as the continent of an art which constitutes a world of its own, from the rock pictures of Northern Africa and the Sahara to the cave paintings of Rhodesia—chiselled in stone, painted in caves, engraved in basalt rock and drawn on walls of rock.

(By Dr. Rolf Reissmann.)

NEGRO WORKERS CONFERENCE.

At the beginning of July the first International Conference of Negro workers will be held in London. This is an event of tremendous importance to African workers and peasants not only in Africa itself but in all parts of the world.

The Conference is being called together by the international Committee of Negro Workers, with headquarters at 2, West Fifteenth St. New York City, U,S.A., and will open on July 1st. It will take place in London, the centre of an empire which rules fifty million Negroes in Africa, and and millions more in the West Indies and other countries.

The Conference will be open not only to delegates from British Colonies, but to representatives of Negro workers' and peasants' organisations in all countries. It is expected that delegates will be present from the United States, Haiti, the British West Indies, South Africa. French Equatorial Africa, the Belgian Congo, and British East and West Africa. In all these countries African workers are oppressed and exploited by the Agents of imperialism, whether British or American, Belgian or French. Only by building up a strong internat onal organisation, under a leadership which is prepared to fight all forms of oppression, can Negro workers break down the rule of the exploiters.

In South Africa, in West Africa, in Haiti recent events have shown that Africans are prepared for active resistance, and in that struggle they need the support of workers belonging to other nations. One purpose of the Conference in London will be to bring the African organisations represented there into closer touch with labour and peasant organisations in other parts of the world, and to make it clear to European workers that the colour bar is used by employers to divide white workers against coloured workers, and to increase the exploitation of both.

The aim of the Conference is not to spread any false hopes of a free Negro nation under capitalism, or to encourage a belief that imperialist rulers will grow more enlightened and will give Africans independence later on, when they are "fit for self-government." On the contrary, the Conference will aim at laying down a programme of practical work and organisation for a united struggle against the imperialist system and against the actual conditions which it imposes on Negro workers. Questions such as forced labour, increased taxation, pass laws, restrictions on organisation, will be considered in relation to the economic position of Negroes in paticular countries.

A working committee has been set up in London to prepare for the Comference, and to make arrangements for the reception of delegates.

Communications should be addressed to, the Secretary, International Negro Labour Conference, 23, Ormond Street, London. W.C.I.

May 7th 1930.

French Colonies to Have Native Doctors

[Chicago Defender Foreign News Service]

LOME, Togo, Africa, June 20.—Modern medicine is putting African witch doctors out of business, according to French colonial authorities who are planning an exhibit for the colonial exposition at Paris next year. The collection of exhibits will demonstrate this triumph of science over superstition, the Togo display.

French authorities in West Africa failing to induce French physicians to come out there, have decided to turn out their own medical men on the spot. A medical college to train native doctors, established some time ago, has proven so successful that two more are to be installed. The first will be at Doula, in the former German Cameroon colony, to supply the mandated territories, and the second at Brazzaville.

FRENCH IN AFRICA TRAIN OWN DOCTORS

DAKAR, French West Africa. (ANP).—Failing to induce French doctors to come out here, the colonial health department decided to turn out its own practitioners on the spot.

A medical college to train native physicians, established some years ago, has proved so successful that two more are to be installed.

The first will be at Douala, in the former German Cameroon colony, to supply the mandated territories, and the second at Brazzaville.

STATES SLAVERY YET EXISTS IN NEAR EAST

French Daily Exposes Flourishing Trade in Abyssinia, Arabia.

(Paris Bureau of the Afro-American)

PARIS. — Negro slavery still flourishes in Abyssinia, East Africa, Arabia, and Persia, according to the report of an expedition sent into that region by Le Matin, French daily. The expedition was headed by Joseph Kessel, a French explorer, accompanied by an army doctor and a naval lieutenant.

According to M. Kessel, it is not local slavery, such as still exists in most parties of Africa, Persia, and Arabia, but a regular slave trade. Black men and women are still captured in Abyssinia and the Sudan, he says, taken along regular caravan routes to secret points on the East African coast and over into Asia, and sold publicly at auction in the markets there.

Slaves Protect Palace

His attention was called to slavery three years ago, he says, when he was received by Abdallah, Emir of Trans-Jordania, in his capital, Aman.

He says:

"A guard of black men, heavily armed, and bearing no resemblance to the Bedouins, protected his palace. When I asked the Emir to what tribe these soldiers belonged, he replied:

" 'They are my slaves which have been brought from the other side of the sea.' "

"For centuries and centuries," he says, "the bush and the forests of Equatorial Africa have furnished human flesh for the American planters, the Abyssianian warriors, and the Arab chiefs.

"If the United States has abandoned slavery, if the Europeans wipe it out little by little and not without a great deal of trouble in their colonies, there still exists in the basin of the Red Sea three independent nations which still retain it in all its primitive cruelty, namely, Abyssinia, Yemen, and Hedjaz."

Slaves Smuggled

These slaves, he says, are taken over into Asia either through English, French, or Italian territory since Abyssinia has no seaport. Police-boats patrol the narrow strip of sea but the slavers find means to smuggle them through to waiting markets in Persia, Syria, and Arabia.

M. Kessel tells of seing "black men and women, their bodies bowed with animal labor, their faces more sombre and more mysterious than the night in the depths of an Abysinnian forest."

Thinks Ruler Opposes Slavery

The writer tells of meeting an Italian doctor, with a Negro slave that had been given to him by the Ras Ayelou, one of the most powerful of the Abyssinian chiefs. He expressed surprise, whereupon the doctor replied:

"I am persuaded that the sincerity of the Emepror Tafari makes him opposed to such conditions. You, yourself have seen what a fine man he is both physically and mentally, but he is, perhaps, the only powerful man in his country with modern ideas. Between him and the rest of Abyssinia there goes on the usual struggle between the great reformers and the backward peoples. The least novelty causes a misunderstanding, sometimes a revolt."

The Italian doctor, he said, went on to explain that some of the Abyssinian chiefs are independent in all but name, and that any attempt of the Emperor to introduce new customs would cause a revolt. "You can imagine what would happen among the old feudal chiefs, jealous of their power," he said.

"The Abyssinians are warriors. Three-fourths of the country they occupy has been conquered, and necessarily there are over-lords and slaves. Certain tribes even seem destined for slavery. They are the Wakamo, Sidamo, and Chankalla. These are the human cattle."

The guide of the three French adventurers is a Frenchman, who entering the country penniless engaged in the illicit traffic of arms, and is now worth a fortune.

Say People Sell Selves

Abyssinians in Paris declare that while a form of servitude exists in their country, it is different from slavery as the western world knows it, and that a good many of the people sold themselves into it as a means of making a living.

powerful, with the life or death of every man in his hands. All are subject to his call to arms and, through a system of provincial governors, overlords, and petty chiefs, to taxation and other forms of service."

Ethiopians Are Not Negroes, Geographic Society Rules

Africans who Withstood European Influence and Have Own Rulers, Can't be Negroes Although they Have Thick Lips and Kinky Hair.

The American Negro who has always found consolation in the passage of Scripture which says that Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands, has been divested of even this faint ray of hope by a writer in the National Geographic Magazine which states that the inhabitants of Ethiopia or Abyssinia, the last African stronghold which has withstood European domination, are not Negroes.

The society which has recently released an account of the findings of an expedition of scientists which visited the country, says:

"Although surrounded by Negro tribes and having some admixture of Negro blood brought in through centuries of slave-holding the Ethiopian is by no means a Negro. He is dark-skinned, with hair usually kinky and lips frequently thick, but he has a good high-bridged nose, well-set eyes and a firm chin.

(Next thing you know ,this society will be telling us Jesus was an Anglo-Saxon.—Editor)

"To this he adds a proud and dignified bearing and a warlike, patriotic spirit, which mark him in an outstanding manner.

Larger Than France

"Abyssinia where the world's newest emperor, Ras Taffari, has just taken his throne, is the one sizable and climatically desirable region of Africa which is not under European influence.

"It sits aloof on its elevated plateau, unconquered, little known, and almost unsung. Its autonomous position, however, is not for lack of interest, since it is larger than the republic of France; it has a delightful and healthful climate, and its economic resources have large possibilities. It is rather because it has natural strategic advantages of location and because it is inhabited by a wonderfully patriotic and warlike people, who have defended it against all comers.

Rulers Descended from Solomon

One of their most cherished traditions is that of the descent of their line of rulers from the offspring of Solomon and the mysterious queen Makeda, or, as now designated, the Queen of Sheba, who is supposed to have visited King Solomon at Jerusalem about 1,000 B.C. From this time on for some three thousand years their dynasty is believed to have continued, and it is certain that, in spite of many civil, religious, tribal and foreign conflicts, they have maintained themselves as a free and independent people.

Has a Feudal Government

The government is an old-fashioned feudalism, such as flourished in Europe in the Middle ages. Theoretically, the hereditary ruler is all-

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FINGO TREATY CASE.

Supreme Court Judgment.

The full text of the judgment by Judge-President Sir Thomas Graham and Justice Pittman was as follows:

"In this case the plaintiffs sue the defendants in an action in which they claim an order of ejectment against the first defendant from a portion of the Wooldridge commonage upon which they are alleged to be encroaching. The plaintiffs also claim damages in the sum of £425 against the defendants, jointly and severally, and costs against all the defendants.

The defendants in their plea admit that they have occupied part of the land as alleged, but they deny that such occupation has been by way of trespass or that it is wrongful or unlawful, and they justify their occupation on two grounds:

(a) On the provisions of the Maitland Treaty of 1845; and.

(b) On the ground of prescription.

The defendants also claim in reconvention for an order declaring that, as between the parties to this suit, the land alleged by the plaintiffs to be a commonage forms part of the land granted under the Treaty of 1845 to the Fingo tribes mentioned therein (including the Amareledwane) "the defendants being all members of the said tribe and as such heirs and successors of the tribe whose chief signed the said treaty which has never been annulled and is still of full force and effect, the defendants and their tribal predecesors since the date of the said treaty having occupied the land in dispute as forming part of the territory granted to them as aforesaid."

Alternatively, the defendants claim that the said land has been acquired by the said tribe for residential and agricultural purposes, and for the purposes of depasturing their stock and the cutting of wood.

In their replication the plaintiffs, firstly, deny that the land in issue in this case falls within the treaty of 1845; secondly, allege that the treaty of 1845 was of no legal validity, inasmuch as at that date the Fingoes were British subjects; thirdly, alleged that if the treaty were held to be of any legal validity it was

REVOKED BY SIR HARRY SMITH'S PROCLAMATION.

of December 23, 1847.

As to the claim of the defendants based upon prescription, the plaintiffs deny the allegations of fact and conclusions of law set forth in the plea. They say that the land claimed by the plaintiffs was duly conveyed and set aside as a commonage for the inhabitants of the village of Wooddridge in or about the years 1857 58, and thereafter the plaintiffs exercised full rights of enjoyment and control over the said land to the exclusion of of any of the rights now asserted by the defendants as having been exercised and enjoyed by them over the said land, save that during the years 1910 to 1922 the defendants by agreement with the plaintiffs leased certain portion of the land from the plaintiffs. Lastly the plaintiffs specially deny that the defendants even as members of the Amareledwane tribe have any rights by prescription, or that as members of the tribe they have acquired any rights by prescription to the land in question, and the plaintiffs further deny that the defendants have any rights to the use and occupation of the land, or that they are entitled to any declaration of rights in respect thereto.

At the conclusion of the evidence in the trial the defendants filed an amendment in which they state that even if the Fingo chiefs and their tribes—

"were not British allies but became British subjects in the year 1835 and were consequently British subjects at the date of the execution of the treaty entered into by and between Sir Peregrine Maitland, the then Governor of the Colony, and the Fingo chiefs and their tribes in 1845, as now alleged by plaintiffs, and are still British subjects, the said treaty constituted and still constitutes a valid agreement concluded, uncancelled and part performed, between the parties, granting to and vesting in the said chiefs and their tribes as their territory, for the considerations set out in the said treaty, and for

SERVICES RENDERED TO THE BRITISH IN TIMES OF HOSTILITY

all land then occupied by the members of the said tribes within the area known as the ceded territory at the date of the execution of the treaty. In and before 1845 the Tribe of Matomela had an offshoot which settled on or about what was then known as the Moravian Mission, the remains of which are situated on the Beka river at what is now known as Stanway This portion of the tribe settled upon the land now subdivided into Pato's Kop Location, Lot 15, the lower portion of Wooldridge commonage and Stanway (within the ceded territory and constituted the nucleus of the branch of the Fingo Militia found in 1855"

Mr Lewis, on behalf of the plaintiffs, admits that the main issue in this case is the question of ejectment, and he does not press for heavy damages. Now it will be seen from the pleadings that the first important issue to be decided is, does the Wooldridge commonage fall within the area under the control of the plaintiff board and has the control and possession of this area been vested in the board since 1889? The next question is whether the Wooldridge Commonage falls within the limits of the Maitland Treaty of 1845. If the plaintiffs succeded in establishing that it does not, this finding disposes of all the remaining questions except that of the defence of prescription.

The onus of proving that the land in question was duly vested in the board is, as they admit, clearly upon the plaintiffs. The constitution of the board is admitted in the plea: it came into existence on June 5, 1889. The Proclamation establishing the board is found in the "Government Gazette" of June 7, 1889. The area of the commonage is that shown in de Smidt's Survey.

It appears that on April 7, 1858, de Smidt received instructions from Robinson, the Deputy Surveyor-General, in connection with de Smidt's survey for the location of the British German Legion at Wooldridge. These instructions, inter alia, stated:

"You can consult with Col, Wooldridge (the officer in command of the British German Legion) as to the limits of commonage of Wooldridge, bearing in mind that its extent is limited by specific instructions, it should, however, include the vacant land on the west side of the Begha (river, between the farms of Messrs Hart Webb and Tainton."

The certified copy of de Smidt's actual survey of Wooldridge commonage was put in by the witness Mabin, the officer in charge of the Deeds Research Division of the Surveyor-General's office, Capetown. On the plan it is described as "Wooldridge Commonage, in extent 3,505 morgen, 304 5 sq. roods, Division of Peddie. Extract from plan O.D. 2478. Surveyed by W. M. de Smidt, junr., 1857-1858." It seems from the evidence of Mr. Mabin that de Smidt's original survey is filed in the Surveyor-General's office, Capetown, and the plan of the survey of Wooldridge commonage is part of the plan O.D. 2473, which was the general plan of de Smidt's surveys of this locality made in 1857 and 1858. On the completion of de Smidt's survey of the commonage there does not appear to have been any proclamation issued setting aside the area shown in the plan as a commonage. But Mabin states that it was not the practice to do so, and:

"The earlier commonage surveys were never followed by a proclamation formally setting them aside as such . . . The filing of a plan . . . was taken to be sufficient evidence that the land was set aside . . . and in most surveys about that period the only evidence that the land was set aside was the plan filed in the Surveyor-General's Office."

Mr Mabin also produced two original titles to land in the village of Wooldridge granted in 1864, and in one there is a diagram. In both titles the land is shown to be in the German village of Wooldridge wherein the surrounding land is described as "bounded by the commonage"

De Smidt's plan already referred to shows that Pato's Kop Location falls outside the limits of the Wooldridge commonage. Mabin, in addition to producing the Proclamation of June 5, 1889, already referred to, put in

Proclamation of August 12, 1895, disestablishing the village, and he further produced Proclamation of April 5, 1907, re-establishing the village of Wooldridge and applying the Village Management Board to it. The area is given in the schedule to the last mentioned Proclamation and is identical to that described in the Proclamation of 1889 Mr Mabin also produced a certified copy of a portion of the general plan No. 2691 O F., referred to in the Proclamation of 1907, showing the Wooldridge commonage. This plan is described as portion of plan 2691 O.F., showing Wooldridge commonage and the surrounding farms etc., mentioned in Proclamation No. 138 of 1907, and the witness stated, that he was satisfied that the boundaries of the commonage are identical with those described in the two Proclamations already referred to and are accurately indicated on the general plan. There is no relevant evidence to contradict the testimony given by Mabin, and after a careful examination of the evidence of this witness and of the plans, proclamations, and other records produced by him, I am forced to the conclusion that the

AREA SURVEYED BY DE SMIDT IN 1857-58

is the present area of the Plaintiff Board, and that the control and possession of this area has been vested in the Plaintiff Board by Proclamation as already stated. It is clear from the evidence that the defendants have trespassed upon this area in the sense of grazing and cutting wood, and that the majority of the defendants' huts are also upon this area. It is true that since de Smidt's survey in 1857-58 there have been two later surveys of the locality, Don's survey in 1902 and Wood's in 1927. But neither of these were undertaken for the purpose of challenging the correctness of de Smidt's survey. On the contrary, Wood stated in his evidence that de Smidt's work was reliable. The object of Don's survey, as stated by Mabin, was not to investigate any dispute relative to the boundaries of Wooldridge commonage and Pato's Kop Location, but his survey concerned a dispute relative to the boundaries between Pato's Kop Location and certain farms belonging to one Wesson and a farm belonging to a native named Seqwaba. Don as a fact in the course of his survey did survey the Pato's Kop Wooldridge boundary, but there is nothing in his report to indicate that he attacked de Smidt's survey. Wood gave evidence at the trial. He stated that he was instructed to—

"give a definition of the boundaries between Pato's Kop Location and Wooldridge Commonage."

Wood had de Smidt's survey and Don's, and his object appears to have been to pick up the missing beacon placed by de Smidt. He accepted de Smidt's survey and fixed the beacon. In Wood's plan the boundary between Wooldridge commonage and Pato's Kop is shown as "E Smit G," and on the Divisional plan as running from Pato's Kop to Stanway. As stated by Mr. Lewis, there is no evidence of any sort to show that the line laid down by Wood is incorrect. When Wood completed his survey he

"handed the beacons over to Mr. Cornell, the Assistant Resident Magistrate, Peddie, in the presence of the headman of the location and his councillors."

and Mr Wood states in his evidence that the report shows that the contention of the Natives—

"is not so much a matter of the survey of the lines E Smidt and Smidt C, but that the whole area belongs to them by treaty and prescription."

The witness A. L. J. Wild, who was born at Wooldridge and has resided there all his life (except for an interval of two years), and who is the chairman of the Village Management Board, stated that—

"the commonage was defined, we were always pointed out the beacons as children, excepting the one in dispute, which I did not see until now—near the church."

This witness further stated that the area as defined in the Proclamation is the area over which the Plaintiff Board had exercised full control.

Now it is

NOT SERIOUSLY DENIED THAT THE DEFENDANTS HAVE ENCROACHED UPON THE COMMONAGE.

From the inspection made by the Court it was found that some 20 or 30 huts occupied by the defendants are upon the commonage side of the boundary as fixed by Wood, and it is admitted that the cattle belonging to the defendants graze upon the area claimed by the plaintiffs as commonage, and that the defendants claim the right to cut wood on this area. These commonage lands having been found to be vested in the plaintiffs, the onus is on the defendants to establish the rights claimed by them. In considering this question independently of the question of prescription four questions arise as correctly stated by Mr Lewis in his able and exhaustive argument:

1. Was the treaty of 1845 ever of any validity at all?
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It is obvious that if the answer to the last question is adverse to the defendants it will obviate the necessity of having to decide the legal and historical issues raised in questions (1), (2) and (3) as above stated. This being so, I propose to deal with this question at once.

The historical evidence of what may be described as the Fingo Heriis, and their settlement in the Peddie district, is contained in the evidence of Sir George Cory, a witness for the defence, and in numerous reports and documents put in by consent of both parties, to which I may have to refer.

From his researches into the history of the Eastern Province Sir George states that he ascertained that the Fingos came from Zululand. They constituted the remnants of some eight tribes. In 1820, owing to the operations started by Tshaka, one big tribe, the Amahlubi, was divided into two portions one of which fled over the Drakensberg mountains, and the remaining portion joined up with the seven other tribes and took refuge in Hintsa's country about the year 1828. Their lot does not seem to have been a happy one, as they are said to have become the herdsmen and servants of the Gcalekas. They remained under these conditions until Sir Benjamin Durban and Colonel (afterwards Sir Harry) Smith marched their troops across the Kei River into Hintsa's country in 1835.

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NEGRO WORKERS CONFERENCE.

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The Conference is being called together by the International Committee of Negro Workers, with headquarters at 2, West Fifteenth St., New York City, U.S.A. and will open on July 1. It will take place in London; the centre of the Empire which rules fifty millions Negroes in Africa and millions more in the West Indies and other countries.

The Conference will be open not only to delegates from British Colonies, but to representatives of Negro workers, and peasants' organisations in all countries. It is expected that delegates will be present from the United States, of Haiti, the British West Indies, South Africa, French Equatorial Africa, the Belgian Congo, and British East and West Africa. In all these countries African workers are oppressed and exploited by the Agents of Imperialism, whether British or American, Belgian or French. Only by building up a strong international organisation, under a leadership which is prepared to fight all forms of oppression, can Negro workers break down the rule of the exploiters.

In South Africa, in West Africa, in Haiti recent events have shown that Africans are prepared for active resistance, and in their struggle they need the support of workers belonging to other nations. One purpose of the Conference in London will be to bring the African organisations represented there into closer touch with labour and peasant organisantions in other parts of the world and to make it clear to European workers that the colour bar is used by employers to divide white workers against coloured workers, and to incease the exploitation of both.

The aim of the Conference is not to spread any false hopes of a free Negro nation under capitalism, or to encourage a belief that imperialist rulers will grow more enlightened and will give Africans independence later on, when they are "fit for self-government." On the contrary, the Conference will aim at laying down a programme of practical work and organisation for a united struggle against the imperialist system and against the actual conditions which it imposes on Negro workers. Questions such as forced labour, increased taxation, pass laws, restrictions on organisation, will be considered in relation to the economic position of Negroes in particular countries.

A working Committee has been set up in London to prepare for the Conference, and the reception of delegates should be addressed to, The Secretary, International Negro Labour, 23, Great Ormond Street, London, W.C 1.—*The Gold Coast Spectator* June 7.

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slavery. I appeal to the Under-Secretary to bear these points in mind and to carry out the details of this admirable memorandum, to see that women receive an adequate share of such financial grants as may be made and that they shall be represented on committees whether in Africa or in this country. I want to see the Colonial Office carry out a really courageous policy so that this Memorandum shall not remain a mere pious expression of opinion, but shall lead to definite and practical results.

Liquor Prohibition.

MR. ERNEST WINTERTON: I want to associate myself with Miss Rathbone. It is important that a declaration of this House should become neither a dead letter nor a scrap of paper. In 1888 this House passed a Resolution cordially supporting the Imperial and Colonial Governments in their endeavour to suppress the traffic in spirituous liquors in the territories under their influence and control. There has been an increasing sale of spirits in certain parts of the Crown Colonies which is causing the gravest distress and concern to many people in this country of all parties and creeds, whether they are associated with the temperance cause or not, who desire to see a far stronger position taken up by the Colonial Office than has been the case during the past few years. They are filled with grave concern at the unsatisfactory nature of the replies so far given and although they acknowledge that there has been some slight improvement in West Africa and on the Gold Coast during the last two years there is still much to be done to redeem the established declaration of this House, that the right thing to do with the liquor traffic as regards Native races is to prohibit it.

The Under-Secretary's Reply.

DR. SHIELS, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, said in his reply:—

A number of questions have been raised to-night and one of them has concerned African education, which has been raised by Colonel Wedgwood, Mr. Horrabin, and other members. I have a great deal of sympathy with the views of these members, and I agree with everything that they have said of the importance of education. I am only sorry that they did not give me information that they were going to raise the subject of education, or I might have been supplied with figures showing that a great deal is being done in that way. Some countries are more advanced than other, but there are many of our African Colonies which are doing splendid work in that connection. I would like to remind hon. members, some of whom may have never known of it, that we have in the Colonial Office a very able Advisory Committee on Education, composed of some of the best educational experts in the country. That Committee was there when we came into Office, and we have done our best to develop it and to take full advantage of it.

MISS WILKINSON: Is it a Committee of English educational experts?

DR. SHIELS: There are English educational experts on it, but there are also experienced Colonists like Lord Lugard and Sir George Maxwell. We try to prevent it becoming in any sense academic by taking care that all directors of education and governors and other officials, when they come to this country, are invited to the meetings of the Committee, and, wherever possible, they go over the problems with the Committee, and so keep their feet on solid earth. I can assure the Committee that the work of that Committee is very fruitful. We have just finished a survey of the educational system in Nigeria. They are considering a scheme put forward by the very able Director of Education there, and there is every reason to have very great hope of the results which will follow the working out of that scheme. As regards the kind of education, that is a very important matter, but not one into which I am able to go fully to-night. I have a great deal of sympathy with the view that we as a Ministry ought not to pay very much heed to the fears of that may arise from the teaching of the English language. We are told that it may become dangerous to develop a black-coated brigade, because all Africans will want to become Government clerks. The number of such appointments is very limited, however, and therefore the majority of the people will have to adapt themselves to other occupations, and I think that the extension of the teaching will be likely to cure that propensity, whereas if we confine the teaching to a small class the position is likely to be intensified.

There are some differences of opinion both about the particular type of English education and the appropriate time at which it should be given, and this matter has been engaging our attention, but there does seem to be a general concurrence of opinion among educationists that it is better to carry on in the vernacular up to the age of about 10 years, and after that to start with English. One of the difficulties relates to the supply of teachers, for the teachers must know something about the English language, and we have concentrated, I think wisely on providing training for teaching as being the most important line on which we can develop. I can assure hon. members that all the points they have made are sympathetically regarded and are before the Colonial Office. On the question of linking this up with medical education, there ought to be a liaison between the medical service and the education service, and that is being carried out.

In regard to the women's question, child welfare, and so on, which have been referred to by Miss Rathbone and others, these subjects are being taken up with very great earnestness in the Colonial Office, and the existence of the Colonial Development Fund has given us some encouragement. The terms of reference of the Fund were broadly drawn, and it has been found possible to include in the schemes towards which assistance can be given schemes to develop and to assist the public health service. We have just had a committee of the Colonial Office sitting to devise the lines along which such assistance should be given, and I am certain that before very long we shall get very substantial assistance from this Fund for various Colonies which are not very well off, because as, I think, Miss Rathbone said, "Whatever fine ideals you have, they cost money to carry out." There is no doubt that we have been hampered, especially in certain Colonies, such as Nyasaland, because of the parsimoniousness of the Treasury, but we are now hopeful that in Nyasaland and other parts we may be able, with the help of the Colonial Development Fund, not only to assist in public health, but also in the training of subordinate medical personnel and of midwives and in other ways to meet the very real need to which hon. members have called attention.

Mr. Winterton spoke about the liquor traffic in West Africa. I received notice that this subject was going to be raised, and I have figures which I think will snow to the hon. member that the subject is not quite such a serious one as he thinks. As a matter of fact there has never been any serious liquor problem in West Africa. I agree that certain mistakes have been made, but the difficulties are not easily got over. Further than that the Commission in Nigeria which reported in 1909 found that there was no ground for the allegations made and no evidence of widespread drinking. A report was made at the beginning of this year and there is unanimous testimony to the fact that drunkenness is almost unknown on the Gold Coast and in Ashanti, and the situation in this respect is better than it was before the War. If the hon. member cares to put down a question on the order paper asking for the figures, I shall be pleased to supply the information.

That Transkeian Pass Law.

The motion to repeal all pass laws in the Transkeian Territories was piquantly introduced in the last Bunga session at Umtata by the well-known Councillor C. Sakwe of Idutywa. He gave details of instances of the hardships inflicted on innocent and well behaved Natives of the Transkei and Ciskei by the enforcement of the pass law under the 1894 Proclamation. It was encouraging to note that the mover was supported by one or two influential Native chiefs who had the courage to express their convictions and the wishes of their electors in denouncing the perpetuation of a relic of medieval legislation. A few Native councillors were unfortunately bluffed by groundless suppositions of a danger of the agitator type of Native entering the Territories if this law was repealed. Several magistrates harped on the feeble and only excuse for retaining the law that it helped to keep out the undesirable type of Native though simultaneously the enforcement may cause considerable inconvenience to innocent Natives. This argument resembles the action of a housewife who would throw away a bucketfull of fresh milk because of the presence of a fly or two in it. The folly and injustice of inconveniencing hundreds of respectable Natives of both sides of the Kei for the sake of keeping out Wellington and one or two others is nothing short of an insult to the Native registered voters of the Cape. Evidently with the magistrates of the Transkei the sacred rights of Native voters are repealed and negatived by the 1894 Proclamation. With them the force of an enactment that may not be altered even by the House of Assembly, but by a two thirds majority of both Houses sitting together is abrogated by a Transkeian proclamation. If men who are conversant with law in the Bunga can barefacedly conjure with their legal knowledge in a manner to hoodwink the untechnical Native councillors, the question of their presence in the Bunga will give rise to grave misgivings. Councillor Sakwe however was equal to the occasion when, as a result of his Native supporters forsaking him, he remarked:—

"I am here to speak what my people have sent me to say, but I have not been authorised to move. Therefore it is for this Council, to which I have brought this motion, to say whether it should be thrown out or accepted. All I have said about passes is quite true. Not one person in the House has stated what should be done to help the people. Someone speaks and cuts up what has been said, but ends up by saying the request should remain. Outside a friend promised to support me, but when he comes to the Council he does not stand up. I asked him to propose an amendment to strike off some words, and outside he agreed to do so. I don't know whether he is nailed to his chair, but he does not get up now! I have the impression that when a man brings up a public matter it should not be treated as though it were a matter of his kraal. Outside there was quite a number of people who favoured this motion and who said they were going to rise in the House, but I can see that my friends are going to throw me aside in this matter. What is the definition of a

pass? A pass is a piece of paper on which the name of the person travelling is written. If a person has a pass he can come into the Territories and do mischief."

CR. SAKWE conclusively proved the fallacy of the argument for the retention of the pass law of 1894 when he explained that the agitator can also arm himself with a pass and do as much mischief as he liked in the Territories. The same thing occurs in Johannesburg, where the Amalaita gangs are always well provided with passes, and yet they effectively carry out their depredations. Now that Parliament has passed the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act that is designed to deal with the individual agitator let us hope the supporters of the 1894 Proclamation will be satisfied that their difficulty is overcome, and that the next Bunga will be unanimous in expunging a pass law that is a disgrace and insult to the intellectual Native element in their own reserves.

Industrial Conciliation For Natives

Contributed.

1. As some time must elapse before the report of the Native Economic Commission can be laid before the Government, it has been decided to make immediate arrangements by which early attention may be given to difficulties or disputes in regard to conditions of employment which already exist or may develop in the meantime between Europeans and Natives in urban areas.

Directions have accordingly been given for the detachment of Mr. A L Barrett from his present duties as Acting Under Secretary, Department of Native Affairs, Pretoria, to undertake this work upon request made for his services, or at the direction of the Minister of Native Affairs.

2. He will be styled Conciliations Commissioner; and application for his services may be made either to the Secretary for Native Affairs, or through any office of the Native Affairs Department, or any Magistrate.

3. Applications will be considered only if the Minister is satisfied that they emanate from and are sufficiently representative of employers or employees, as the case may be, in any particular class of work.

4. The Commissioner's efforts will be directed towards establishing good relations between employer and employee, and to a voluntary adjustment of differences between them. He will be prepared to act as adviser, mediator, or arbitrator; and he may be consulted on all matters affecting good relations between Europeans and Natives in urban areas.

5. It is considered undesirable to disturb the machinery which already exists in proclaimed Labour Districts for the redress of grievances of Native Labourers as defined in Act No. 15 of 1911; the Commissioner therefore, will not operate in connection with "Mines and Works" unless specially directed by the Minister.

6. Mr. Barrett's judicial experience as a Magistrate and his administrative experience in the offices of the Chief Native Commissioners in Natal and in the Transkei, as Secretary and Treasurer of the Transkeian General Council, also his long service amongst the Native people and his knowledge of their language, have contributed to his selection for this task; but the intervention of a mediator, however capable, will not avail alone against influences which in recent years have been definitely directed towards the creation of racial antagonism and industrial strife. The Government therefore asks on the one hand that the employing classes will accept this necessary appointment in a spirit of co-operation and good-will, and on the other hand that the Natives will repose confidence in an officer who is well known to them and whose detachment for this service has been arranged at the cost of no small inconvenience to the Department.

7. All correspondence in connection with the Commissioner's duties should be addressed to the Secretary for Native Affairs, Pretoria.

The Leribe Agricultural Show.

Fair Criticism and Praise.

(*continued*)

REMARKS ON DIFFERENT EXHIBITS.

The first the Horses' item. Here we find this time our Principal Veternary expert takes his seat in centre of the horse-parade-ring and directs his Basuto judges to make out their selections which finally polishes by placing in proper merit. This surely is a praiseworthy demonstration to educate the Basuto judges in the right direction. However I hear that the Vet expert says this is the poorest horse show he has ever seen ever since he was connected with the country's Shows. In passing it may be mentioned that a number of exhibitors declare they are not in agreement with the system of running item 5 joinly with item one stallions. I think item 5 should be understood to mean geldings as per Sesuto programme; for in Sesuto the name *horses.* means all stallions, geldings mares, colts and filies included.

Item Cattle. A fair representative specimens were shown. Great credit must be given to the labourious judges who patiently moved about amongst a wild group of mountainous animals. But at the same time it would be unfair not to tell them that they are not without blemish in that they still allow themselves to mix up with exhibitors and are therefore open to serious criticism from the public. Beware gentlemen.

Item Sheep and Goats, Wool and Mohair. The judges on these lines deserve the highest contributable praise from any onlooker who saw these men studiously and patiently display sincere interest in sorting out this troublesome and complicated classes.

Item Grain Serials. Ah! here we had a variety of all specimens of grain grown in Basutoland; and to excel everything we saw something like khaki bush seed; oh by the bye I hear they called it thepe seed. Had it been khaki bush seed one would not have been surprised because the Leribe Reserve teems with it and it has greatly added to the beauty of the place. In this Grain item the judges are to be congratulated because their onerous work was not tampered with by the exhibitors who in previous years have marred the show and I hear many exhibitors have refrained from coming forward fearing the old system was still adhered to. This year's arrangements are highly appreciated by the public and it is hoped the Committee will keep on this forward move to the credit of themselves

Items Fowls, Miscellaneous, Needlework ect., which were under the supervision of our European and Basuto ladies were handled in a most praiseworthy and commendable way with willing hearts and joyous faces of those individuals. But here again our ladies must receive a gentle warning from one who wishes them well that it has been noticeable that exhibitors are prone to interfere with their good work and thus likely to make them err in their just decisions. Clear away that egotism of such and such Girls Industrial School has presented this and that In conclusion I must say the laurels of the day go with lady workers and a fitting Sesuto expression is, "le kamoso bo-'m'e mafumahali a khabane."

Jas. Ra-ngaka Makepe.

Race Problem – 1930
Africa.

IMPRESSIONS ON BASUTOLAND

To the Editor, "Mochochonono"
Sir, 5-7-30

May you allow me, through the medium of your widely read paper, to express the following:

Long ago, when the Queen of Sheba had visited King Solomon, and had seen far more than what she had heard told her, she said: "It was a true report I had heard in my own land .... howbeit I believed not the words until I came and mine eyes had seen it; and behold, the half was not told." The words are a literal expression of my views about Basutoland (especially with reference to Morija Institution and Maseru).

A visitor, coming into Basutoland is struck by the beautiful scenery. The mountains rising in undulating terraces become a cynosure for neighbouring eyes. And still, they draw the imagination to its loftiest heights, so much so that one remembers Wordsworth's immortal words: "O mountains, meadows, hills and g oves," in praise of the beauty of nature. Rise early and cast wandering eyes at the horizon, you will burst into such music: "The sun above the mountain's head,
A freshning lustre mellow spread,
Through all the long green fields has
His first sweet" morning glory

Look at the fields, and you will find a most industrious Bantu people, the Basuto at work. As I passed some of the fields on my way from Mafeteng, I saw extended lands, I saw a Basuto in his bed blanket, follows, the plough, merrily singing, as he turned the soil in preparation for winter crops You see a red blanket here, one there, one everywhere in the corn fields. This is surely an industrious people– the Basuto.

Turn to social life. The houses are simple, very simple indeed—but beautiful. The people lead simple lives—most having as part of their daily bread—bohobe. This food is very nourishing indeed. Children are well attended to. To protect themselves from cold, they use blankets instead of the big coat so much used in other provinces And I delight in this apparel.

Religion. I was struck by the great importance attached to religious life. Nowadays many people are not so religious, but religion forms part of the daily life of the Mosuto. Thus, every morning, each Basuto household must have a morning prayer before the day's duty is begun. Isn't this a good thing? I attended service at the Maseru Church, and the church was full to its utmost capacity.

They are a kind generous people. I was almost tempted to exceed the limits of my time-table– and this was through their kindness. I shall long remember Basuland, the land of my ancestors. I am very grateful to all who did their utmost to make my stay enjoyable and my work easy. I refer to the principals of Morija and Lerotholi Institutions, the Rev. E. Motsamai, and family, Messrs: A. Ranthake, N. Tlale, E. Masseela, F. Mapetla, J. Mohapeloa, B. Fobo, and Mrs. E. Kruger, Miss Kruger, and Miss F. Mabille, B. Mashologu,

GEO B. MOLEFE,
S.C.A. Travelling Secretary.

BEWARE !

CRIMINAL REVOLUTION IS AT HAND.

5-7-30

Here we are, attempting to right wrong and stop crime—making laws upon laws, putting things upside down under the delusion that we are labouring in the right way. After all who is happy, anyway? Nobody is satisfied and never will be so long as we have raised the Banner of Selfishness instead of justice. We are unreasonably selfish by legislating in a way which gets everybody into trouble. Are we then surprised that the Country is faced with heavy taxation in order to maintain large armies of Convicts, lunatics, paupers, inebriates and desparadoes who in turn make it necessary to have large numbers of Police, special police, detectives, warders, reformatories, assylums hospitals for free medical treatment etc. etc.

THE ORIGIN OF TROUBLE

Let us try to see the source of trouble, sum up the situation and diagnose the root of evil, if possible. In most cases if history of victims (culprits) could be followed, it will be traced from some crime committed under very distressing circumstances actuated by either long term of unemployment, loafing or inadequate funds to maintain life. Let us take a man who keeps a straight life. He sweats every day, month in and month out, earning inadequate pay He is unable to buy clothes and food enough. He needs this and that but cannot obtain same by honest means. He walks past the butcher-shop and sees nice meat. His heart yearns because probably his picaninies also need meat but he can't get it for them A lump goes up his throat. He again passes a store where there are nice clothes to buy. He remembers that his last pair of trousers wants patching on both knees. Urchins laugh at him every Sunday when he goes to church. Despair grips him. He starts planning. What is the good of honest life and rags when there are such bright chances as "Back-door" system? He steals, forges, gambles, sells liquor illicitly, drinks, fights, sells diamonds, Kafir beer and skokian, loiters, breaks into stores, pick-pockets, murders, etc. He is not alone, they are many and their number is increasing daily (so are taxes) filling up gaols etc. Their progeny will surely follow their example to fight against law and order–cripples and idiots are added in and we shall have no rest. How are they to be saved? Woe unto us! Law courts cannot be empty whilst we have the present system. They are hungry men, women and children who are becoming a burden to the State.

P. C. ELECTION.

THE EDITOR THE "IMVO"
5-27-30

Sir,

I want to appeal to the Native Voters of Tembuland through the medium of your columns to again support our sitting member Mr. W Meaker, M.P.C I have closely followed Mr Meaker's career in the Provincial Council ever since his election in 1924 and am therefore in a position to state that he has consistently fought for the interests of the Native people. When Mr Meaker was returned the Native Teachers had nothing fixed or definite from the Education Department and they received their pay quarterly instead of monthly as the European teachers and I noticed that no sooner had Mr Meaker been returned than he commenced to fight for :—

(a) Increased pay for Native teachers.

(b) Fixed Scale of increments.

(c) Monthly payments instead of quarterly.

(d) Better Pension provisions

He put his finger on the real source when he attacked the very small amount of 4/- in the £ which was being given by the Government for Native Development in terms of Act 41 of 1925, and year after year have noticed that Mr Meaker has gone to the attack on the above points and not without result Today the native teachers can thank Mr Meaker for :—

(a) Having forced a fixed scale even though the same is not all to be desired still it is a step in the right direction.

(b) He has secured better pay for the teachers who were at the bottom of the adder.

(c) He has obtained monthly payments for us.

Apart from his work in the cause of Native education Mr Meaker has not been idle in other directions and we Native people also appreciate the work he has done in order to get better road conditions for us. Since his return Mr Meaker has secured

ridges for us over most of our important rivers which is bound to prove of great commercial value to the Native people. At Umtata Mr Meaker has more than doubled the hospital accommodation for the sick Natives.

And lastly Mr Editor I would remind the voters that it is Mr Meaker who first published the idea that a Library should be started for the Native people. It is Mr Meaker who drew up and started the Transkeian Native Reference Library and it is Mr Meaker who secured recognition for this from the Provincial Council and so secured a grant in aid with the result to day this Library can boast of several branches with good reading matter worth several hundred pounds. In view of the foregoing Mr Editor I feel I can truly say that in Mr Meaker the Native people have indeed a true friend and one who has kept faith with them. Are we then going to throw him over board. I hope not. I would appeal to Mr Mangcu not to oppose Mr Meaker as I feel sure that such action on his part would only tend to weaken Mr Meaker's hand. It would give his opponents the right to point a finger at him and say look at your Native people whom you have always been supporting. They want to turn you out, I say let us support the man who has proved to be our friend.

SERIOUS RIOT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Five Killed and Twenty Wounded.

The visit of the Chief of the Capetown Criminal Investigation Department to make an arrest at Worcester, in Cape Province, South Africa, on Sunday precipitated a serious riot in which five non-Europeans were killed and 17 injured on one side and the

RACE ENMITY AND SECESSION are an ugly pair of political issues but the Union of South Africa is wrestling with both of them at the present moment. In pursuance of the policy of keeping down the natives, who constitute a huge majority of the population, and denying them political rights, the assembly has just passed a riotous-assemblies act which gives to the Minister of Justice absolute and arbitrary power to deal with so-called agitators, with no right in the persons arrested or punished to appeal to the courts. The bill is aimed particularly at the movement directed by the African National Congress and at the outbreaks, some of them serious, that have multiplied during the past few months. It is the old story of British imperialism lording it over native races, and strengthening repression by resort to a measure which the *Cape Times* denounces as "iniquitous" and which a speaker in the assembly declared was not only contrary to both Dutch and English legal tradition, but made the Minister "a tyrant who is prosecutor, judge, and legislator at the same time." What the government thinks about it was shown when Premier Hertzog, in replying to General Smuts's criticism of the bill, heatedly declared that the House "was not the place to theorize about ethical principles" and that the bill was "really in the interests of the natives themselves." It was the same General Hertzog who insisted, in a debate on the recommendations of the Conference on Dominion Legislation, that the right of South Africa to say whether it would remain in the Empire was "a vital test of whether we are or are not a free people." The recommendations were accepted with an amendment to that effect.

Police Commandant of Worcester and two constables were seriously wounded on the other side. The condition of the Commandant is reported to be critical.

STORY OF THE RIOT.

Reuter's correspondent says that the culminating point of the trouble which has been brewing in Worcester, a small Cape township, during the past year was reached on Sunday afternoon during a terrible fight between 14 armed policemen and a horde of non-Europeans. Captain Barter, Commandant of Police, was felled to the ground, his head being cut open with an axe. Two constables were wounded.

The police, on reaching the scene of the fight in a street near the coloured location were compelled to open fire to protect Captain Barter. They were attacked by coloured pepole armed with knives, knobkerries and, it is reported, firearms. The police were finally compelled to withdraw, leaving several dead and wounded in the street, which is at present in sole control of the coloured people. Police reinforcements have been summoned from Capetown and fighting is still going on.

Worcester was the scene of an ugly riot on April 5 following a police raid on a body of illicit liquor traffickers in the native location. On this occasion the police were obliged to fire shots in order to effect their withdawal from the place with four men they had arrested.

How the Trouble Began.

The immediate cause of Sunday's outbreak was the action of Major Thomas, Chief of the Capetown C.I.D., who arrived in Worcester during the week-end to investigate the native trouble here. He cleverly secured the arrest of a native whom he noticed earlier in the day loading a rifle at the African National Congress meeting. Two detectives whisked the native off in a motor-car while Major Thomas and another detective remained behind. They were, however, set upon by natives and had to take refuge in a neighbouring house, eventually escaping amid a shower of stones.

Later in the afternoon 14 armed constables and five detectives arrived in the location, where the natives were fighting among themselves. While effecting an arrest Constable Waters was stabbed in the ribs. His assailant was shot dead. Then Captain Barter was struck down with an axe. Major Thomas shot down the man who wielded the axe, but a native woman slashed Waters's throat with a knife. The police then opened fire, but were compelled to retreat among a crowd of wailing native women seeking their dead and injured.

The native location is still in turmoil, and crowds of Europeans are gathered outside the police station. The water running in the furrows of the location has been turned red with the blood of those killed and injured.

Remarkable escapes were recorded, notable among them being that of Constable Steyn, who was stabbed over the heart, but was saved by his stout leather pocket-book, which was transfixed by the knife. The skin was only scratched. Innumerable offers of assistance have been received from civilians, but they have been declined by the police. The police estimate that seven non-Europeans were killed.

EDUCATION OF THE AFRICAN NATIVE.

Governor's Striking Address to Missionary Conference.

The deterioration that results from lack of responsibility, and the danger of the decadence of the African natives through their having no interests to take the place of their former tribal life, was the keynote of a striking and outspoken address by His Excellency the Governor (Sir Cecil Rodwell, K.C.M.G.), when opening the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference at Bulawayo in mail week.

His Excellency questioned the wisdom of the attempt being made to educate the



Sir CECIL RODWELL, K.C.M.G.,
Governor of Southern Rhodesia.

natives along academic lines instead of teaching them subjects of practical value.

"Is there not some danger," he asked, "in the transfer of the African native in half a century from primitive conditions into contact with a civilisation which it has taken us nearly 2,000 years to acquire? Civilisation, if administered in excessive doses, may cause moral indigestion."

The Governor urged the necessity for providing suitable means of recreation for the native, and for allowing him a measure of self-government to give him "plenty of bones to chew at and plenty of matter to wrangle over." He expressed his hearty approval of the Pathfinder and Wayfarer movements being organised among the natives of Southern Rhodesia, to give the youth an interest in life.

Missionaries representing every missionary society in Southern Rhodesia attended the opening, and warmly applauded the Governor's speech.

Race Problem—1930

Africa

PICKENS, DUBOIS, MOTON, BELABOR GENERAL SMUTS

So. African ex-Premier Gets Hot Barrage in New York.

Afro American

SAYS NEGRO IS ASS

1-18-30

Conference to Follow at Howard University.

Baltimore, Md.

NEW YORK.—General Jan Christian Smuts, white, former premier of South Africa, compared the African Negro with a jackass in a meeting in town hall, Thursday afternoon of last week and has been in hot water ever since.

As soon as he completed his speech he was challenged by Dr. R. R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, who sat on the same platform.

The next day he was dared to debate by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, editor of the Crisis, on the relations between the whites and the natives of South Africa.

Assaulted by Pickens

Saturday he was assaulted by a broadcast from William Pickens, field secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., who referred to the South African republic of General Smuts as a system of exploitation of black uncivilized or civilized natives in the interest of the whites of European extraction.

"Mr. Smuts," says Pickens, "is the most benevolent and humane exponent of this terribly cruel system."

For good measure, Dr. Pickens said that General Smuts was about as logical and as impressive as the average politician from Mississippi.

What Smuts Said

General Smuts characterized the Negroes of his home country, Africa, as child peoples.

"They are happy," he said, "and do not feel the burden of life like the white man, neither do they brood over their grievances."

He warned against attempting to force white civilization upon the African natives, declaring that the result would be disastrous and lead to a racial problem so tremendous that it would be well-nigh impossible to cope with it.

"Next to the ass," said General Smuts, "the most patient of all animals is the Negro."

Rebuked by Moton

Dr. Moton rose following this address and said:

"I know I ought not to say this, and I know my wife would tell me not to. I wish I did have patience, but I haven't, and the habit has become ingrained in me through my sixty-two and a half years.

"But what I want to ask General Smuts, is what he meant when he associated the Negro with the jackass. What he meant when he called us docile animals. I do not think he meant it, but when he said those words about our being animals 'next to the ass, and the most patient of animals' it hurt. It cut like a two-edged sword through the heart of every Negro in this audience, and also through some of the white people. General Smuts, you are a cultured and refined gentleman, but I would like to ask you about those words."

General Smuts in replying said he had all respect for the patience of the Negro race.

"I think that patience is something that we white people might learn from the Negroes. We would be much happier if we did."

The general said that his words were not meant as an insult but as a result of his admiration of the ability of the Negro to sing and be content amid suffering and tragedy.

Debate Declined

General Smuts declined, through Philip C. Nash, the invitation of Dr. DuBois to debate.

Moton Speaks

Dr. Moton said Saturday:

"While I disagree with General Smuts, I do not wish to create any conflict. We have the best of personal relation and are going to discuss the problem of Negroes both in America and in Africa at a small conference at Howard University."

Dr. Moton regarded the suggestion of the general for the solution of the African problem as dangerous.

"It just won't work," he said, "instead of advancing the interests of Negroes of South Africa I think it will offer the greatest opportunities for their exploitation by the whites.

"If the Negro is going to live with white people on any basis of equality, he must be civilized like the white people, trained like the white people."

Writing in the New York Amsterdam News, Captain Harry Dean, author of "The Pedro Gorina," declared he would like to ask General Smuts the following sixteen questions:

1. Is it not a fact that the occupation of South Africa by members of the European races evidence a state of war between the whites and blacks?
2. Is it not the policy of the whites to exterminate the blacks by any means necessary?
3. Is not the overthrow of African civilization by the whites in South Africa, and the superimposition of white civilization on the natives a question of importance, not only to the contending parties, but to humanity itself?
4. Has your party's policy in South Africa reduced the natives from a state of opulence to a state of poverty?
5. Are you not the leader of a movement to disinherit all natives south of the Zambesie?
6. Did you not have an American by the name of General Boynton on your staff in the campaign of Equatorial Africa, who protested to you and resigned his commission because of your ruthless slaughter of hte men, women and children of the Masi tribe?
7. Is not higher education denied the native South African?
8. You are a member of the Dutch Reformed Church. Are not natives denied admission to your services?
9. When you were Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa in 1918, was there not a mysterious edidemic of deaths to the number of half a million or more?
10. Did not your Department of Sanitation strew arsenic in the streams throughout the native territory?
11. Have you not a law which excludes natives from the roads of South Africa?
12. Do you permit free speech, free travel, free schools for natives?
13. Art natives permitted to hold real estate in fee simple?
14. Is it not a fact that natives are denied the right of franchise and freedom of worship?
15. Have you ever convicted a white man of rape?
16. Is not intermarriage prohibited by law?

Captain Dean, who says that he knows General Smuts, holds that he is the greatest oppressor the black man has ever had in South Africa.

NEW YORK TIMES

JAN 1 1930

SMUTS CHALLENGED IN TALK ON NEGRO

Dr. Moton Says Likening of Patient African to the Ass Would Be Misunderstood.

GENERAL DENIES SLIGHT

He Declares Efforts to Impose White Civilization on Africa Would 'Bolshevize' Natives.

When General Jan Christiaan Smuts, speaking before the Civic Forum at the Town Hall yesterday on racial problems in Africa, referred to "the African, the most patient of all, next to the ass," Dr. Robert R. Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, who was on the stage with the speaker, arose to protest. He asked the South African statesman to explain himself in order that the negroes in the audience would not leave "with a bad taste in our mouths."

"I felt," said Dr. Moton, "that South Africa was safer under your Premiership than under that of your successor. However, I am not here to bring up politics. But I do wish that General Smuts would explain why he has compared the negro with the jackass—I mean the ass. I am quite sure, of course, that no insult was meant, but, on the other hand, we negroes would leave this hall with a bad taste in our mouths if no explanation were forthcoming."

Meant Admiration, Says Smuts.

General Smuts hastened to correct the impression that might have been given. "Far from wanting to insult the natives of Africa or any negroes," he declared, "I was expressing my admiration for the natives."

It was the fine singing of spirituals by a negro quartet before the lecture that had prompted him to refer to the cheerfulness of the negroes. He had spoken of the slave gangs of old trudging across a continent singing their songs.

"And today," he had added, after applauding the singers, "I heard once more the voice of Africa."

General Smuts, after reviewing the history of "sleeping Africa," came to the more recent events, which he characterized as "Africa's awakening," and declared that efforts to impose the civilization of the white race upon Africa's aboriginal population could result only in bolshevising the native and making him a menace to the rest of the world.

The former Premier of the Union of South Africa contrasted the African system with the European, warning of former failures and pointing out that hundreds of thousands of South African negroes have become unhappy wanderers, having lost contact with their tribes and their native discipline.

"There is a great deal of good in the African culture and system," said General Smuts. "For one thing, the African is a Socialist. All land is owned in common, as are most of the cattle, and each tribe is run by a council of elders and a chief. If you try to break down this system, it is very easy to do so, but it is impossible to substitute a European or any other system in its stead. By doing so you bolshevise the most docile being on the face of the earth, the African negro, and you make him a menace to the rest of the world.

"Why should we standardize humanity? That may be a fine thing in the United States. You want to make a great nation, and you are succeeding; but you cannot do that with the human race. In Africa you must build on the African foundation. It has been created in hundreds and thousands of years, and I have a very high respect for any system of time as I have for all natural facts. Let there be differences in types as long as they are ethically sound."

Would Maintain Native System.

If the blacks are to be dealt with in a fair and honest manner, he said, the old system must be maintained. It is meant for the African, and while certain good things in white civilization should be afforded to him, it is wrong, he maintained, to make "an inferior European" of a native who is justly proud of being an African.

"Leave them their villages, their dancing and their songs," he said. "In the past we have gone astray in South Africa. There have been misguided efforts on behalf of governments and missionaries, although I do not in the least wish to condemn the latter, with whom I heartily sympathize, and we now have perhaps millions of negroes who have lost their native contacts and no longer belong to their old tribes. Our system is individualism; theirs is socialism. The result of trying to Europeanize them has caused so many to be lost to their own people."

Any change in the African cultural system, General Smuts warned, should be made without violence. The native laborers in the copper mines of Rhodesia and other parts should not be allowed to take his womenfolk and children with him.

"Let them remain in their tribal areas," he urged. "Do not bring them to be contaminated by white civilization, which, after all, is perhaps only an experiment. When we reflect a little on our own foibles, our wars, our tremendous losses of human lives, it may not be so fine. At any rate, the black soon learns the vices of white civilization and they soon degrade him."

Answers Pointed Questions.

A negro quartet had sung spirituals and had provoked the applause of General Smuts, who spoke of the Africans as singers. He recalled the slave gangs of old, trudging across a continent singing their songs, and referred to them as the "most patient of all, next to the ass."

When time came for questions following the lecture, a negro interrogator wanted to know: "Can the natives continue to sing and dance while the whites gather diamonds and copper and rubber?"

The General replied in the affirmative. He also said "yes," when a third questioner wanted to know if an American negro could go to South Africa, buy a residence and live there freely.

Last night General Smuts was the guest of Thomas W. Lamont for dinner.

South Africa Teems With Mysteries for Visitors

Miss Zonia Baber, noted Chicago educator and student, was among the large crowd that attended the meetings of the British association at Cape Town, South Africa, the past summer. While there, she divided her time between attending sessions of the association and learning some facts about that country. Her story has been prepared for The Chicago Defender in six sections, of which this is the fifth.

THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

By ZONIA BABER

IN THE middle of 1800 the sugar and tea crops in Natal needed careful attention and the planters of that region desiring more skilled labor than the native could give sent to India for indentured help. The first Indians were landed in 1860. In 1870 there were 6,500 Indians in Natal. When the indentures came to an end many remained as traders, market gardeners, etc. The white folk say, "Because of their low standard of living they are able to drive the white merchants out of business in the smaller towns." They have become a menace one frequently hears. There were in 1911 when the census was taken 161,339 Indians in the Union—141,336 in Natal, 13,405 in Transvaal, 6,498 in the Cape and 100 in the Orange Free State. Since 1912 there has been steady repatriation. In 1920 the Asiatic commission recommended the repatriation of a large percentage of the Indians in the Union.

About the same date the Pretoria chamber of commerce advocated "the total exclusion of further Asiastics from the Union," the gradual elimination of those already in the country (free railway and steamship transportation with $100 bonus offer to each who would go back to India and stay there); their segregation in the meantime in locations outside the towns. Segregation has been employed experimentally, but not with much success. In 1925 the government introduced the areas reservation bill, based on the acceptance of the fact that the Indians were an alien element in the population, a statement resented by the Indians in South Africa. In 1927 an agreement was arrived at between the Union and the Indian government which recognized the right of South Africa to maintain a western standard of life. (The South African Year Book and Guide.) Some people consulted said, "The Indian is the Jew of South Africa." An Indian merchant in Pretoria said, "We are discriminated against in every direction except in business. The white people will buy of us because they get excellent return for their money. The Jews are our worst enemies. They go to the legislature and get what they want because they have the vote. We have no vote so the legislators will not listen to us. No, we cannot go into a theater, hotel nor restaurant within the Union. The Boer hates color and wants to drive it out of South Africa. Our children cannot go to the white schools and the native schools are so poor usually that we do not like to send our children to them. Besides, there are almost no high schools for black children, so we have to send our children to India for their education.

"No, there is no color bar in business. The wholesale merchant will invite me home with him for dinner when he wants me to buy his goods, but he would draw the line in every other place."

The Indian porter at a hotel in Nairobi said: "I do not believe you can imagine the number of ways in which we are insulted in this country. When we were trying to get representation in the Kenya Colony government a commission from India came here to help us in securing our rights; a member of the commission was a prince who had been entertained by the king of England, but he could not go into the dining room of this hotel. The owner said he had no prejudice and would gladly dine with him, but he feared his guests would all leave if an Indian went into the dining to be served. Give him the best suite in the house and have his meals sent up to him." Many of the waiters were Indians. If monkeys could understand English or Afrikaans they would laugh themselves to death over the logic of their superior cousins.

No Indian is allowed to own real estate in the Union. One Indian interviewed said that his property was all in his wife's name as she is Colored (of Malay and white blood), so she could hold property. If she were a man she could vote in the Cape Province. It is difficult to understand the logic of paying a premium for the mixture of the white and black races when the fear of race mixture has become an obsession with the white group. Yet the Colored man (one with ancestors in a dark race as well as in the white) may vote in the Cape Province, hold property, have educational advantages, hold positions denied to the nation, in fact receives superior treatment in every way.

South Africa Demands Cabinet Of Negroes

By ARTHUR BELL

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa, Jan. 4.—An entirely new move in the native fight for improved political status has been made by the native congress at Queenstown, which now demands that Negroes should be represented in the house of assembly (national legislature) and that there should be two cabinets, one white and the other black.

This proposal was put forward by Dr. Wellington, who claims to have been born in Chicago, although Zululand seems more likely to have been his birthplace. Still, the Chicago claim gives him prestige, which is amplified by his promise to the natives that Marcus Garvey and the "Americans," meaning Negroes, are coming to South Africa with guns and airplanes if called upon for aid.

The natives have actually chosen their own cabinet and have submitted a list to the British and South African governments. This list includes their own governor-general, a post for which Dr. Wellington himself is chosen, Sir Impey, whose title is self-conferred, is named premier. An interesting appointment is that of M. Pelem to be "minister of European affairs."

Queenstown has been chosen the native capital of South Africa.

PRINCE SAILS FOR AFRICA.

Big-Game Hunting Expedition.

The Prince of Wales sailed from Southampton on Saturday by the Kenilworth Castle for the Cape. After a brief stay with the Duke of Athlone he will go to Dodoma, in Tanganyika, to resume the big-game hunting expedition which the King's illness a year ago cut short.

The Prince and his small staff—Lieutenant Colonel the Hon. Piers Legh and Captain J. R. Aird—are travelling as ordinary first-class passengers. The Prince has indicated his desire to take his meals in the liner's first-class dining saloon along with the other passengers, and a table has been reserved for him just inside the door. There will also be five seats vacant which will enable him to entertain should he desire to do so.

The Prince is one of about 500 passengers on board, many of them tourists, for the liner is engaged on a "tour voyage."

DR. LEO FROBENIUS TO RECEIVE £5,000 GRANT.

Union Archæologists' Criticism.

The Bushman paintings found by Dr. Leo Frobenius during his archæological research in South Africa have been purchased by the Government. The Department of the Interior granted Dr. Frobenius £5,000, which included the payment for the paintings and a grant to enable him to carry out further research work. For this purpose Dr. Frobenius left for India some months ago, and is continuing his investigations there, endeavouring to connect up his Zimbabwe theories with the Eastern civilisation of that date.

The Bushman paintings secured for the nation were on view at Pretoria during the visit of the British Association, and were of great interest to the members. They have now been packed up and are to be sent to the Cape, where they will be housed in the Cape Town Museum.

The announcement has, it is stated, caused surprise and bewilderment among archæologists in the Union.

Case of Miss Bleek.

Archæologists interviewed expressed astonishment at the amount involved, in view of the fact that Miss Bleek, one of the best-known authorities on Bushman paintings in South Africa, valued the paintings for the Government at £2,000.

Miss Bleek, however, expressed the opinion that when the details were revealed it would be found that the £5,000 was purely a gift to Professor Frobenius, in return for which he had probably promised to let the Government have the whole or a portion of his collection. She added that the assistance Union archæologists have received from the Government was microscopic compared with this £5,000.

Professor T. T. Barnard, Professor of Anthropology at the Cape Town University, asks for a full statement from the Minister of the Interior, asserting that if, as is stated, only a part of the collection obtained in the Union has been purchased, then the price may well be considered excessive.

Race Relations 1930

Africa

NATIVES' ANXIETY.

Native Opinion
5-20-30
Kingwilliamstown
South Africa

The fact that a moderate and well-disciplined Native body like the Transkeian Territorial General Council passed a [illegible] asking permission [illegible] Union Government [illegible] representations [illegible] direct rule is [illegible] ling. It is only [illegible] of the troublous times the black race has encountered under the tutelage of a white race whose present perplexity is to destroy the fruits of their western civilisation ostensibly to preserve their existence. For generations past Natives have been trained, in the Church and State to be loyal to the Great white Queen Victoria and the royal household of Great Britain, and they thus cultivated that deep reverence, loyalty and affection for the British sovereignty that the English people themselves cherished in their patriotism. Since the advent of British rule in South Africa much water has passed under the bridge. The granting of responsible government after the re-adjustments resultant of the Boer war conquest brought in its wake bitter antagonism between the white races. The outlook of Boer and Briton regarding the treatment of the aborigines was diametrically opposed to each other, and the vacillations of political power and influence between the two white races thereby resulted in the black race being made the subject of barter, and exploitation. It is within the horns of this dilemma that our people are yearning for the original guardianship that knew no distinction of race or colour among its subjects. With this desire we see no thing to quarrel about South African patriotism may have a political meaning with the "White" races of the Union, [illegible] Natives have been denied a share in the shaping of the State's affairs since the consummation of Union by the notorious colour bar. It is impossible for them to respond to the dictates of party politics, as these have their turn at the wheel of government. Natives are crying out for political stability if even as a subject race, and it is for those in power to grant that stability to secure the loyalty and respect for white authority that Natives are well-known for. It is a bad sign that Natives should look away from South Africa for their happiness, and only sympathetic and just rule will change their attitude to that of confidence in the government of South Africa.

A LAND GRANT.

Imvo Zabantsundu
Native Opinion

We observe that the first report of the parliamentary Select Committee on Native Affairs contains a grant numbered "(42) Grant to the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa of certain land in the Healdtown Fingo Location, Fort Beaufort, Cape Province," and that the said committee recommended "8. The grant, at fair valuation, in favour of the President, for the time being, of the South Africa Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South African, and his successors in office, from time to time in trust, as an extension to the site of the Healdtown Training Institution held under title-deed dated the 30th December, 1897, of a certain piece of land, in extent three morgen 35,738 square feet, being Wesleyan Mission Annexe No 6, situate in the Healdtown Fingo Location, in the district of Fort Beaufort, the said grant to be subject to the same conditions as appear in the original title deed, dated 30th December, 1897. (*Case No. 42.*)"

From the foregoing it would appear that one of the most contentious problems of the future in land occupation between missionary bodies and their church adherents will have to be thoroughly gone into, and a sound and equitable policy propounded on mutual terms if the Church is to be saved from the disaster of a suicidal policy of land disputes between itself and the people for whose settlement the land was originally granted.

Kingwilliamstown
South Africa
Native Opinion
9-23-30

Wh to Offenders. Im [illegible]

Justice Sutton made noteworthy strictures at the De Aar session of the Circuit Court last week. He expressed disgust at the conduct of the jury in acquitting a white man named Kruger of a charge of rape on a young Native girl. After complimenting two railway stewards slabbert and Enslin for the straightforward manner in which they gave their evidence in this case, Justice Sutton said:—"How the jury could disregard their evidence, and come to the conclusion they did is beyond my understanding." The Minister of Justice (Mr Pirow) in a recent speech advised persons accused of immorality to take the privilege of being tried by a judge and two assessors. It still rests with the Minister to provide a remedy in such cases where the accused person is a white man who will naturally take cover of a white jury; and the complainant a Native girl, who cannot choose. In view of the importance of upholding the standard of white morality in South Africa, and the setting of an example of superior culture by whites to the benighted bla[illegible]ans, we hope Mr. Pi[illegible] will not allow the opportunity [illegible]ing a service to [illegible]ymen pass by. He [illegible]aneously ly be acting as [illegible]ian and protector of the [illegible]er sex of the weakest race.

Questions in Parliament

Imvo Zabantsundu
Native Opinion

The meting of justice in cases where Native women and European males infringe the Immorality Act still leaves much to be desired. A week ago in the Assembly the Minister of Justice replied to a question by Mr Struben (Albany) in the following terms: "My attention has been drawn to a recent case involving a breach of the Immorality Act in which the Native woman concerned, having pleaded guilty in the Magistrate's Court, was sentenced by the Eastern

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Districts Division of the Supreme Court at Grahamstown on May 7 to nine month's imprisonment with hard labour, and there after the European man concerned was acquitted by a jury. As the woman pleaded guilty, and the judge, presumably, considered all the facts before passing sentence, I do not propose to interfere. If, however, there are any other special circumstances which it is desired to bring to my notice, I am prepared to consider them on receipt of the usual petition."

Thus the task of drawing up a petition whenever the Act in question is transgressed in the foregoing manner is hereby thrown on Natives themselves in preference to an inquiry by the Minister of Justice! What a round about way of meeting the ends of justice!!

LERIBE AT EASTER.

The Comet
5-14-30

First Impressions: "I wish all missionaries would learn Algebra, for then they would know how to eliminate by substitution." AGGREY.

Second Impression: "Too often the African was taught that everything was heathen, wrong, ungodly. Our very names were designated as pagan and we were given European or American names Our dances were all tabooed, our games stopped, our customs discorded, and all that was best in our systems was forgotten, with baneful results." AGGREY.

Masers Bantuland

Leribe was at its best at Easter. In the old days one used to see much drunkenness and disorderly conduct during this season, but on this occasion, 1930, one saw new life. What brought about the new life? The first quotation from the sayings of the world famous African preacher will answer this. The healthy collaboration between the Assistant Commissioner of Leribe and the progressive members of the African and Indian Communities has brought about the change.

The young Africans and the A.C at Leribe set about providing recreation for the youth of Leribe two years ago and a new tennis court was provided, "the prettiest Native tennis court," remarked a Fouriesburg player on Easter Monday at Leribe. Well may it be the "prettiest Native tennis court" for the best elements of Leribe Native and European, had been engaged in its construction, well exhibiting the moral of the preaching of the famous African, Dr. Aggrey, whom we quoted in our opening remarks: "You can play some sort of tune on the white keys of a piano; you can play some sort of a tune on the black keys; but to produce real harmony you must play both the black and the white keys." Large crowds of people flocked at the Tennis and Football grounds at Leribe on Easter Monday, where matches were being played, and thus excitement over sport eliminated craving for drink and substituted the spirit of sport, the spirit of hope, the spirit of fair play, the spirit of the Resurrection morn for drink. What an achievement. May the desire to attend seriously to the recreation of the community spread throughout the country, until the wilderness and vacant blank left by the work of earlier missionaries who, with good intentions but ignorantly on introducing Christianity condemned everything African as heathen, with the baneful results we see today, is filled in with something healthy. We need not remark that the present generation of Basuto are neither Basuto in their general behaviour nor European. They are lost in the wilderness and require to be led into the best principles of African and European Society. For this re-birth, the best brains, European and African, are required to co-operate.

This leads me to another sign of new life that I saw at Leribe during Easter season. I attended an informal opening of a Native Library by the A.C. in collaboration with the sisters of the Jonathan Anglican Weaving School. I learnt with delight that Sister Marion of the Jonathan Weaving School was sailing to England on furlough ,that during her stay in England she would collect as many books as possible for the Leribe Native Library. Mr Sims is doing the same service here in South Africa. What a service these distinguished members of the ruling Anglo-Saxon race are rendering the African Race. What a blessing is the Leribe Native Library going to be to posterity! I have already enlisted for membership and am now feasting sumptuously on the good things therein provided. I should strongly recommend every teacher, preacher, clerk, farmer, chief and commoner resident in Leribe to become a member of the Leribe Native Library.

Yes. Such has been the Easter of 1930 to Leribe. Ficksburg won Leribe at football by one goal. Fouriesburg lost the game at tennis Leribe winning by six points. But the greatest satisfaction to a student of sociology was the absence of drunkenness and the presence of goodwill at Easter. May God give us more Europeans of the type of Mr. Sims and the sisters at the Jonathan Weaving School to help us rise to full manhood and womanhood.

M C. C. MOTEBANG.

WHITE POPULATION IN THE UNION.

Agricultural World
London England
6-12-30

British Stock Decreasing.

The changes which the population of the Union is undergoing are, in some measure, indicated by the annual report on Statistics of Migration, 1928, issued by the Department of Census and Statistics.

Perhaps the most outstanding feature of this document is the extent to which the Union is losing its British stock. While there was a net gain to the population of 8,662 during 1924-28 and of 2,923 in 1928, the net loss of British stock in the five-year period was 1,857 and in the single year 239.

"The experience of the previous four years in regard to the national origins of persons entering or leaving the country permanently," says the report, "was repeated in 1928. British-born emigrants again outnumbered British-born immigrants, the figures being: emigrants 3,777, and inimigrants 3,538, a net loss of 239.

"The non-British element of the population showed a net gain of 3,156, and of these 2,303 or 73 per cent., were of Eastern and Southern European nationality, mainly the former.

"The shortfall under 'British' (for the five-year period) is made up of 18,508 Britishers entering for permanent residence, less 10,322 South African-born and 10,043 other South African British leaving permanently. Of the British, other than South African born, only 311 of the arrivals and 132 of the departures were naturalised."

The report mentions that male emigrants in 1928, whose destinations were given, as South-West Africa, Rhodesia, Kenya, Nyasaland, and Tanganyika were greatly in excess of settlers to the Union from those countries. The proportions of emigrants to immigrants were: South-West Africa, 10 to 1; Rhodesia, 42 to 1; and the other three countries combined 18 to 1, Kenya receiving the majority of the latter.

On the other hand, the Union received 1,268 more male settlers from the British Isles than the number of departures.

Race Problem - 1930

Africa

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF NYASALAND.

Annual Report.

The annual report of the Education Department of Nyasaland, which has just been issued in respect of 1929, reports an uninterrupted continuation of the systematic education of the African native, and, incidentally, presents a scheme which any other British African possession might well adopt as a model. It also records not only the close co-operation between the Government and the missionaries as a whole, in this direction, but also the co-operation between the numerous individual missionary societies, a number of which have been unremitting in their religious and educational activities ever since David Livingstone entered the country in 1860.

Until the year 1926 there was no Education Department in Nyasaland, and the management of the education of Africans was left entirely to missionary enterprise. From 1908 to 1918 Government made an annual grant-in-aid of £1,000. This was increased to £2,000 in 1918. With the passing of the Education Ordinance of 1927, a system was introduced of assessing grants according to the number of qualified teachers and in respect of the number of pupils receiving vocational training at each Mission. The reputation of missionary education work carried out at such places as Blantyre and Livingstonia, soon spread throughout Eastern, Central, and Southern Africa, and youths trained in Nyasaland have been in constant demand in the neighbouring territories as medical orderlies, teachers, clerks, and artisans.

The Phelp-Stokes Commission visited Nyasaland in 1924, as did also the East African Parliamentary Commission. Their reports enunciated the policy of co-operation between Government and Missions in education, and it is on these recommendations that the educational training of the native in the Protectorae has been based.

The foundation of the system is the village school, which consists of four vernacular classes. Sometimes a fifth or introductory class in English is added if there is available a native teacher who can impart the language. It is considered doubtful by the Director of Education whether this procedure should be encouraged. On completing Class IV. of the village school, the pupil can qualify to pass Standard I. of a central school, that is, he can enter the Anglo-vernacular course. A "central school" is always located at a mission headquarters, and is under European supervision. At it pupils study up to Standard VI. In practice, however, most pupils proceeding beyond Standard III., in addition to receiving literary instruction, follow a definite vocational course.

Adults are admitted to most mission schools, and constitute a problem. They are mostly anxious to learn but are a handicap to the progress of the younger pupils. They are irregular in attendance on account of their other duties. The majority of missions are unable to separate them for instruction from the younger pupils on account of lack of teaching staff and funds.

The missions operating in Nyasaland have complained constantly that their educational work is thwarted to a great extent by the cult of the Vinyao Dance. The Vinyao is an exceedingly powerful native secret society, which has many ramifications and exerts great influence throughout the territory. Little is known concerning it by Europeans, beyond the fact that the chief feature of its ritual is the periodic Vinyao Dance, of a revolting and orgiastic nature which no European has witnessed and lived to tell the tale. The members of the society are strongly opposed to religious instruction, Christian or Mohammedan.

The doctrines of the society are so infiltrated among the million and a-half native residents in Nyasaland that the Government has considered it injudicious, if not impossible, to stamp it out, and, therefore, towards the end of last year the Provincial Commissioner convened a meeting between the missionaries and the leading members of the Vinyao. After a lengthly discussion and reiteration of the charges made against these dances and counter-charges of unwarrantable interference and irritation from the other side, a compromise was reached. The teachers undertook not to teach children, whose parents are members of the Vinyao, either in or outside school to despise the Nyao customs; while the Vinyao undertook to send their children to school even after the children had undergone the initiation into the Vinyao.

Naturally, with such a systematic scheme of education for the very large number of native children (136,000) in the Protectorate, insisted upon by the Colonial Office, it has been found difficult to keep up the supply of trained teachers and vocational instructors, and, in order to assist the missions, the Government has established a Jeanes Training Centre near Zomba, the capital of the country. Here, under expert European supervision, teachers are trained. During the year classes are held and lectures given on supervision of village schools, community progress, technique of teaching, school and class management, hygiene and sanitation in the school and in the village, agriculture and nature study, and first lessons in teaching oral English. During vacation all these pupil teachers return home and put their theories into practice by assisting in the village schools.

The Native Problem.

To the Editor of "Imvo."

Native Opinion

916-30

Sir.—The controversy which had taken place in the Transvaal Press recently on the above subject has clearly shown that a section of the European population of the Union is determined to maintain at all costs the spirit of the Voortrekkers—the spirit of repression and oppression; to "keep the Kaffir in his place." In the Cape this spirit was kept up by the old Afrikander Bond, a Dutch political organisation with a wing which was known as the "Remschoen Party," as it was opposed to progressive measures and the extension of the rights of citizenship to the Natives. But, thank God, there was a handful of Englishmen and Dutchmen who, to their undying glory, stood for justice and fairplay, and stoutly defended the liberal Cape Native policy until the Union came with the Nationalists of the Transvaal, the Afrikanders of the Free State and the Imperialists of Natal, combined with the Bondsmen of the Cape to break up that policy. Surely, the Natives have no reason to be proud of the Union of South Africa.

The descendants of the Voortrekkers are now the unhappy rulers of South Africa—ruling the black millions with fear, prejudice and repression. Only a few days ago, the Minister of Justice, the Hon Oswald Pirow, K.C., speaking at Premier Mine, Pretoria, is reported to have said :—

"Recently I received representations from an association which stated that their chief concern was not poor whites, but poor blacks. I had to exercise great self-restraint, because I wished to reply that the greatest danger to the country was black kaffirs."

Where else in the wide world a people in their native land are looked upon as "the greatest danger," a menace, enemy, peril and problem? It is in this land of Afrikanderism.

When the country's industries everywhere were crying aloud for the black man's labour, injustice was pouring out from the Department of Justice, making the existence of the precious labourer more unhappy than ever. On the other hand the governing Party was racking their brains trying to find a solution of the so-called "Native Problem" which cannot be solved for the simple reason that it is artificial; because outside the Union there is no such problem, no "fear complex" or selfish Voortrekkers and fastidious Nationalists. The position is made more difficult by the advocates of segregation who, at the same time, refuse to provide land to carry out the scheme, while they said that the Natives must "develop along their own lines" or build up their own civilisation! But Professor Macmillan, of the Witwatersrand University, declared that "there is no such thing as dual civilisation;" and the fact that we hear no more of the Prime Minister's "two streams" policy supports the Professor's statement. Have the segregationists ever thought of what the proposed "land of Goshen" for the Natives would do for the feared millions?

It is a remarkable thing that while "white South Africa" was possessed of the fear of being swamped by the blacks, white women clamoured for equality with men in every sphere trying to get away from duties of womanhood as wives and mothers; the birth control question seems to be gaining wide favour. How, under these circumstances, the desired balance of numbers of the whites and blacks will be attained is one of those things no black fellah can understand.

[To be continued.]

Racial Co-operation.

No finer sight nor ample evidence of the value of cooperation between black and white could have been witnessed than that at the opening of the Fort Cox Agricultural Institution on Saturday 6th instant, when the Minister for Native Affairs opened the new school. Both sections had loyally worked together from the very beginning to achieve the result. The Native Farmers' Association of the Keiskama River valley in the first instance, seeing the needs of its district, began in 1922 to knock hard at the doors of the Government for the establishment of Government schools of agriculture in each of the four provinces, and for schemes of irrigation, demonstrators, shows, stock improvement, weaving schools, and so forth. The answer took long to come, and the persistent struggle was carried on in official circles by many good friends too numerous to mention. One friend in particular deserves mention, namely, Mr A D Beale, magistrate of Keiskama Hoek, who was described by Professor Jabavu as "the embodiment of what we Natives think a magistrate should be," that is, not a mere poll tax collector and adjudicator of cases, but a friend who outside office, works for the social betterment of his black neighbours. Around the Minister there sat Europeans conspicuous for decades in the Eastern Province for their good work and goodwill for the Bantu, while in front, facing Mr Jansen, a representative combination of the five Native Farmers' Associations of the Keiskama Valley, Healdtown, Kingwilliamstown, Ama Ndlambe (Berlin) and Peddie, worthily represented the progressive section, together with many others including reds. Gratifying was the news that so many applications had come in, without any press advertisement that many had been refused admission even after the Government had undertaken to guarantee further funds to double the original accommodation of forty pupils. It is a happy augury that the excellent staff of the institution is working in hearty cooperation with our people in all the meetings of the local agricultural association. The buildings reflected credit to the finished workmanship of Lovedale and St. Matthews departments of building and carpentry; and the one face and personality one sadly missed in the auspicious gathering was that of late Dr James Henderson, who must have taken justifiable pride and joy in the successful handiwork of the students and apprentices he so dearly loved. It was a delight to notice that Sir Charles Crewe and Mr W T Welsh (Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories) had sent deputies to represent their well known deep interest in, and support of the venture. That this splendid beginning may develop to undreamt of proportions and redound to the progress of racial and political unity of white and black in this whole country, is the fervent wish of all the Bantu of South Africa.

White and Black in Basutoland

(continued)

The Basutoland Government has encouraged this attitude by taking the leading part in not giving the true value of labour so far as Natives are concerned. They give princely salaries to their European employees and give them five pounds a month on top for horse allowance, but they will employ a native interpreter and his horse for three pounds a month. The Government depends mostly on Native tax for its revenue and yet hitherto they have done very little by way of keeping the Native economic position on a sound basis. Like foolish and selfish people they are milking the cow without feeding and caring for it. All this the result of that "dominant note"—prejudice

We are indebted to the white people for what light we have. They are our guardians to guide us in ways of civilization. But they must not boast of it as though they have done it for the mere love of it, because they got more profit in return for what they have given. They should take a reasonable view of the position. Destiny has decreed that white and black should live together in South Africa. It will be for their mutual benefit and mutual progress for them to live in good relation to each other. A house that is against itself will not stand.

It would be a good thing if the white people in Basutoland would try and take a long and broad view into the future of the territory and make up their mind to work out and develop the resources not only for their own benefit but even for the benefit of their posterity. This they can ensure by adopting the policy of give and take. They have to realise that they must give something in return for what they get. In the same way that a cow must be properly fed in order to give a regular supply of milk the white people must make up their mind to give Native labour its full value

In Basutoland the whiteman has always been respected and trusted but now-a-days there is a noticeable change for the worse. The Native has at last discovered that the friendliness of the whiteman towards him is merely for gain and that as soon as he has his eyes open to see that he is not exploited that friendliness cease We do not say that all traders are like that there are some who are ready to give a hand to uplift those Natives who are living around them, the kind of people we could wish them long life among us, the precious gems found in a barren waste. Most of the white people in Basutoland seem to be conscious of the fact that they are only sojourners in the territory, that they are only here for gain and profit and when they have made their pile they shall bid the territory good bye. That is taking a narrow view of the position Why not take that broad view and aim at leaving the territory a better place than you found it? You may come and go but you are not the last. Many shall come after you. Let them not curse you for your foolishness. Let white and black in Basutoland have a common object in view—that of helping to develop the territory for the good of all that live therein. This can be done by co-operation, by working for the mutual benefit of both white and black.

Race Problem- 1930

Africa

HALF-STEAM AT GENEVA.

WEST AFRICAN PROBLEMS.

[WRITTEN FOR "WEST AFRICA" BY FRANK OWEN, M.P.]

The Assembly of the League of Nations which has just closed at Geneva has been the least eventful ever held there. Overshadowed abroad by the results of the German elections, and in Britain by the Imperial Conference, Geneva has been relegated to a back seat such as it has not occupied since the bad old days when the League Assembly was merely a conference of the Allied Powers. West Africa

The economic blizzard, as Mr. Winston Churchill has described in his vivid way the great trade depression, has been responsible for the cautious and hesitating attitude of delegates from almost every country. Bad times at Home and the need of conciliating the discontented elements which in every land are making capital out of the cry of distrusting the foreigner, have been responsible for the sorry sight of such good Leaguers as M. Briand and Count Bernstorff delivering at the tribune of the Assembly speeches powerfully flavoured with a new nationalism. And in Germany the triumph of a leader pledged to tear up the treaties which are the basis of the European settlement and the redistribution of Colonial territories, as well as being the foundation of the League itself, has weakened the hands of those statesmen like the Foreign Minister of Great Britain and the leaders of the Dominion delegations who believe that but for the League the difficulties of the position would have brought the world face to face with a crisis as great as that of 1914. 10-18-30

In these circumstances no sensational advance was possible. Last year the British Government was able to say that it would sign the optional clause of the Hague Statute and that all the Dominions would sign also. Our Government was able to secure the evacuation of the Rhine. This year, indeed, the Government said it would sign the Treaty of Financial Assistance to States invaded, but made signing conditional on general disarmament. And though the Disarmament Conference will almost certainly be held next year, nobody in Geneva looks forward with any great hope towards it while the present tension continues. "All the more reason for holding it, in order to relieve the tension," says Mr. Henderson, who is an optimist and has courage as well as confidence. Friends of the League hope that he is right.

Perhaps it was exactly because the famous "Geneva atmosphere" was so unsettled that there was no renewal in 1930 of the claims heard in other years of the ex-enemy lands for the return of their former Colonies. Indeed, it was noticed with curiosity in Geneva, that though Lord Rothermere ardently advocates that Germany should receive back her African territories, Herr Hitler himself, who has not erred on the side of modesty, did not include it specifically in his extraordinarily popular programme at the German elections. Lord Rothermere's zeal sometimes outruns the plans of his *protegés*. On this occasion it may be that the German delegates deliberately refrained from raising the issue because they understood that whatever they asked for in Geneva Herr Hitler would demand more at home.

With the Palestine inquiry taking up much of the time of the Committee of the Assembly which debates the affairs of the Mandates. and with the Dominions leaders obviously more pre-occupied with the conference in London which has followed that of Geneva no question of fundamental significance was debated. Only the reports of the Mandatories on the discharge of their duties during the past year and the remarks of the Permanent Mandates Commission upon them were subjected to scrutiny. They show that the system set up in 1919 has again been justified by the results. If in its other efforts to order the social life of the less fortunate races of the world (as in its attempt to stamp out the curse of slavery) the League had been as successful, there would have been little to complain of at this Assembly.

In the Cameroon under British Mandate the delegates to the Assembly have been able to record the high praise of the vigorous efforts of the Administration to prevent slave trading by the efficient policing of the district and the heavy punishment of offenders. In this campaign, as in the League's war on "white slave" trading or drug smuggling, the co-operation of the neighbouring States is vital to success. The French and the Belgian administrations have been loyal in support.

In another direction the authorities have earned the approval of the colleagues and critics of the Mandatory at Geneva. They have taken fresh steps against the alarming increase in the liquor traffic in Africa, which set so many wise heads wagging a few years ago.

In the further extension of the educational work of the missions and in the improvement of the medical service and its expansion, the Governments of the territories of the Cameroon and of Ruanda-Urundi were commended and further encouraged. The prompt measures taken by the authorities in Ruanda-Urundi to deal with the famine there last year and the provisions made by them to prevent a recurrence were approved. Since the enforcement of new conditions for the protection of the workers employed in the Katanga mines there has been a notable improvement in the health of the workers and a decrease in the death-rate.

In French Togoland an interesting experiment of a State agricultural credit system to assist and encourage African planters has engaged the attention of the Permanent Mandates Commission. The finances of the territory have, further, permitted considerable public works to be undertaken. At the same time the Commission is anxious to ensure that when the Mandatory makes grants towards any institutions in the home country, the profit for the territory from which the tax is raised shall be fully commensurate with the burden. The two petitions from the Notables of Agunyogu which have reached the Commission begging for them to adjudicate on certain cases already decided by the courts of the territory have been noted, but not proceeded with. At the same time the Commission have urged that though in law the petitioners have no case, in equity they may have well-founded grievances. The local administration have agreed to seek a compromise.

In Togoland and the Cameroon there remain problems to be settled. There is, chief among them, the method by which Europeans resident in the territory can be directly taxed, which the Administration is now studying. Until some effective system is devised it is unlikely that the complaints which have been made that the non-application of the Convention to abolish import and export prohibitions will receive overmuch attention. Revenue must be raised, somehow. Revenue is, in fact a question which demands some attention, and the Commission did the territory concerned a service when it secured from the authority concerned the assurance that the grants made by the Gold Coast Administration to cover the deficit of the Togoland budget were free gifts, and not loans to be called up at a later date. Sound finance is as much the mother of good government in Africa as in Europe, and until the day when, with a return to general prosperity, the League can afford to be generous itself towards the territories for which it holds the ultimate responsibility, it is imperative that these communities shall grow to nationhood paying their youthful debts as they go.

WHAT WE THINK.

PARAMOUNTCY.

The House of Lords discussed British policy in East Africa on Wednesday, when Lord Passfield formally proposed that a Joint Committee of both Houses be appointed to consider the reports on closer union and the conclusions which have been reached by the Government, and to report thereon. Lord Passfield declared that the Government were not giving a new interpretation to "paramountcy of native interests," but what is the exact interpretation of the word "*paramount*" seems, in our opinion, to be the stumbling block in the whole question of native policy, and so far no one appears to have been quite clear on either the application or the meaning of the term. Lord Passfield states that the Government are simply repeating what the Duke of Devonshire had said in 1923. It is interesting, therefore, to quote so high an authority as Lord Delamere on the actual origin of *paramountcy*. At the November meeting of the Joint East African Board Lord Delamere stated that he considered it very important to explain how the word "paramount" first came to be used in the discussion of native affairs in East Africa. In the negotiations with the Colonial Office in 1923, he recalled, the European delegation from Kenya urged that the influx of Indians meant that competent natives were being deprived of the opportunity of becoming skilled workers and foremen in their own country, and argued that in that matter the native interest would appear to be "paramount." From that simple and indisputable statement arose the misinterpretation now commonly current. The 1923 White Paper, which had said that the responsibility for native affairs must remain with the Agents of the Imperial Government, and with them alone, Lord Delamere continued, had been radically modified by the 1927 White Paper—which expressed the hope of associating more closely in the responsibilities and trusteeship of Government the European communities domiciled in the country—and by Mr. Amery's speech in the House of Commons when introducing that White Paper. On that occasion the Secretary of State made it clear that in course of time Kenya might rightfully expect another step in a share of the government of the country. That fundamental pledge was contradicted by the 1930 Paper, which says in effect that Kenya must not get its further step until the natives have shown their capacity more or less generally of being placed on a common electoral roll; the further proposal that the Federal Council may now consist partly of people of any race is not in accordance with Mr. Amery's interpretation of the 1927 White Paper. With regard to the question of a veto retained by the Secretary of State, East Africans recognised this as an excellent negative weapon, which, they believed, would operate entirely satisfactorily. Where had it failed, and why? Only in such places as British Guiana and Jamaica, and then because those countries had mixed white and

black governments, which had failed and always must fail. There was growing confusion through the use of terms which were but little understood, and which sometimes were capable of very widely varying interpretations. "Paramount," for instance, was the cause of much confusion. If, in a family or a school, it were said that the interests of the children must be paramount, no one would construe it to mean that the whole business of the home or the school must be stopped, or that the parents or teacher must not rule; the natural construction was that, since the children could not stand alone, their interests must be taken care of before those of anyone else. No East African would quarrel with that interpretation of "paramountcy" of native interests except that the use of such a word as "paramount" was obviously dangerous by reason of the constructions which might be placed upon it. The word meant "those in authority," and to use such a term of people not yet able to stand alone, and to suggest that they should be in authority, was absurd. The interpretation given to the term "paramountcy" and the general wording of the Memorandum on Native Affairs had aroused the European communities of Africa from the Sudan to the Cape, but the proposals in the White Paper on Closer Union, based upon this interpretation, were more dangerous to East Africa as this paper proposed constitutional changes which would completely alter the future development of East Africa. The most significant point in Lord Passfield's statement to the House of Lords on Wednesday, and one which, to our mind, is a distinct compromise with East African public opinion, is that the Secretary of State for the Colonies has *now* consented to the Memorandum from the Delegations being placed before the Joint Committee, a concession he had previously refused. This will, therefore, permit the Joint Committee to form their own opinions, and these "considered opinions" will carry a great deal of weight when the Committee meets on the ill-fated "White Paper" next February.

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For these reasons it is of supreme importance that the British electorate, on whom the responsibility lies, should have the relevant facts fairly stated to it. With that purpose in view the B.B.C. arranged for a series of lectures to be given, and published an explanatory pamphlet by Major Walter Elliot, M.P., called, with unfortunate tendentiousness, "Africa, the Dark Continent." This pamphlet contains several serious mistakes of fact, its illustrations give a misleading picture of life as lived by modern Africans; and the list of authorities contains the name of one only of the many books that deal with the problems that have arisen from the presence in South and East Africa of the powerful forces of modern industry. The pamphlet as a whole is based on the false central thesis that "an African should be an African and a European a European," while in the description of Mr. Vischer's talk it is asserted that "there is a fundamental difference of mentality" between Africans and Europeans.

It is our experience that this last statement is quite untrue. All the evidence we are aware of supports the view that Africans and Europeans have the same natures and are of the same average intelligence. On reading the pamphlet, Sir James Rose-Innes, once a Cabinet Minister under Rhodes, and later Chief Justice of South Africa, wrote: "Such a picture is misleading and dangerous. If people are led to believe that all Africans are picturesque but troublesome savages, the plea for equal rights will leave them cold. And the bibliography is very one-sided."

We agree that tribal institutions should be protected, so long as the tribes desire their continuance. But in the sphere of modern industry, which for many millions of Africans is as important as it is to us, these institutions neither do operate nor can be made to do so. What above all we would urge upon our fellow-citizens is that Major Elliot's policy of differentiation, called in South Africa "segregation," is responsible for most of the conflict of interests and unrest that have arisen wherever it has been applied. Among examples of its consequences are the facts that the African infant mortality rate in Johannesburg is over 500 per thousand, the African death rate in Nairobi is three times as high as that of Europeans, and the Government of Northern Rhodesia spends on the education of 540 European children more than twice as much as it spends on the education of 180,000 African children.

It is in such spheres that all experience has proved that the traditional British policy of *equal opportunities and equal justice alone ensures good inter-race relationships*. We feel it would be a tragedy if through ignorance, or in consequence of misrepresentation by partisan propaganda the British electorate were led to believe that there can be any other solution of the East African problem.

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Race Problem - 1930

Africa

FINGO TREATY CASE.

On Wednesday 18th June, judgment was delivered in the Supreme Court Eastern Districts Local Division by the Judge President Sir T. L. Graham and Justice Pittman in the matter of the Wooldridge Village Management Board vs. Macingwana and others. This action has come to be popularly known among Natives as the Fingo Treaty Case inasmuch as it embraces territory ceded to the Fingo tribes in the early days of Fingo settlement. The full text of the judgment will be reproduced in these columns in sections, begining in the present impression. Summarised the judgment which was entered in favour of the plaintiff V.M. Board was as follows:—

(1) The Wooldridge commonage is within the area of which, since 1889, control and possession has been vested in the plaintiff. The commonage was first surveyed in 1857-58.

(2) The Wooldridge commonage never fell within the limits of the treaty of 1845, and there is no evidence that it was occupied by Fingoes between 1836 and 1845.

(3) No prescriptive rights were acquired by defendants or their predecessors, inasmuch as they only occupied Crown land as licensees, and paid hut taxfor the privilege of living on Crown land.

These findings disposed of defendants' case. But in view of the importance of the question, especially to the Fingoes the Court was specially requested to decide the remaining issues. On these the Court gave its opinion as follows:—

(4) The treaty of 1845 was void and invalid, inasmuch as at that date the Fingoes were British subjects, and a treaty can only be concluded between States, and not between a State and its subjects.

(5) If the treaty could be regarded as a contract, it was one with the Government, and to any action for breach thereof the Government must be a party.

(6 The treaty of 1845 was annulled and revoked by the Proclamation of 1847.

The Court ordered defendants to remove from the commonage within three months and to desist from further encroachment. Plaintiff was awarded the sum of £20 as damages and costs.

Mr. Lewis, K.C. (with him Mr. Reynolds, K.C.), appeared for plaintiff; and Mr. Stuart for defendants.

From the foregoing summary it would appear that the bulk of the contentious issues involved would form the subject of intricate litigation between the Government and the Fingo tribes concerned rather than a matter between local authorities and the Fingoes. We understand on good authority that Mrwebo's tribe are taking the action on appeal to the Appellate Division. In our opinion it is a matter for serious consideration of the Fingoes whether the wisest step would not be that petitioning the Supreme Court to suspend judgment being given effect to pending an action to be immediately brought against the Government ... the very same issues. The question of surveys and diagrams drawn by Government officials at various periods (and by which the Court was guided to enter judgment) is an ex parte affair where the Government may have required to accommodate itself legally through its officials in the Surveyor-General's department to find room for the demands for land settlement by the German legionaries, the British soldiery and European farmers who came on the scene after Fingo settlement. The text and conditions of the treaty between the Government and the Fingoes were unfortunately not the subject of close scrutiny in this action. The question of whether (1) the alleged "treaty" could be regarded as a "treaty" or not (2) the occupation of land by Fingoes was as licensees to the Government (3 the 1845 "treaty" could be made null and void by Fingoes becoming British subjects or by Sir Harry Smith's proclamation of 1847, is one that must entail the thorough study of the terms of the Fingo treaty of 1845, and Sir Harry Smith's proclamation dated 10th June 1851. The fact of the agreement or contract between Government and the Fingo tribes being called or miscalled a "treaty" does not appeal to us as a necessary condition that would validate or invalidate the agreement. The agreement for all the Fingoes cared might have been called a Magna charta, a Bible or Eve's paradise; but what they depended upon was the solemnity integrity and good faith of a promise and stipulation made by the Governors as representatives of the Queen Victoria. To find out whether the stipulations and promises made by word and in writing by the early Governors were bogus treaties it is necessary that the Fingoes institute proceedings against the Government as we have suggested. This step will rest with the Fingo chiefs of the entire Peddie district working in closest co-operation. The venture is then likely to meet with a ready response and will be taken up as a national undertaking.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Egypt in West Africa.

It is, I believe, generally accepted that the culture of the West African peoples has been considerably influenced by the splendid and vigorous civilisation of ancient Egypt, but by what route this influence was carried is a more open question. Was it carried across the Continent by traders along the lines of communication, through the southern Sudan, between the two great rivers of the northern half of the Continent, the Nile and the Niger, and limited to the inland peoples? Or did it also reach the Atlantic seaboard, and leave its mark on the names of coastal villages, rivers, and countries, still recognisable so plainly that he who holds the key can read it as he runs? The learned Dr. James Rendel Harris, formerly Curator of MSS. at the John Rylands Library at Manchester, has applied a vast labour of erudition to tracing Egyptian influence, by etymological analysis of place-names, in many countries, and claims to have proved, by a critical examination of Hanno's Periplus, that the Phœnician colonies on the West African seaboard were preceded by Egyptian settlements, planted all along the coast, as far south as the Congo, and that the Egyptian settlements can still be identified by their names. In "Go West" ... s sometimes designated it by the ... Nub, or gold."

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Dr. Harris believes that he has established the fact that not only were Egyptian colonies planted in West Africa long before Hanno's voyage, but that the Carthaginian admiral's own story in the Periplus leads to the conclusion that "the Admiralty charts he used in his cabin were based on Egyptian documents of a very ancient date." What was the attraction which lured the Egyptians to "this otherwise unattractive region"? On this point he allows himself "a little speculation on the psychology of colonisation." He believes that "the commercial quest was not the first impulse. . . . There is another reason, again of a non-commercial kind. . . . They were seeking a country of which they had heard good words from their teachers, some Land of the Blest, or Island of the Blest, where one might, perhaps, find eternal youth and age-long happiness." ("Voyages of Hanno," 1928.) In No. 12 of his Caravan Essays (1929: "The Gold Coast") he writes:—"We may be reasonably certain that the earliest visitors . . . whether they came by land or sea . . . whether transient guests or permanent settlers, were under the attraction of gold, the real magnet, the unchanging lure of the human race." On the hypothesis that in the Egyptian colonies, gold and religion are closely related to one another, he searches the map of the Gold Coast for Egyptian names relating to gold and religion. He finds "amongst the Lagoons ... one smaller than the rest . . . which is known as the Nuba Lagoon or Gold Pool." On the religious side, he finds evidence of Egyptian settlement in the numerous names ending in Ra; besides Ankobra, there are Akkra (Life of the Spirit of Ra); Domiabra, which may mean "the Land that is dear to Ra"; Ahobre, the Splendour of Ra; as there are at least two kings of the thirteenth dynasty with the name of Uah-ab-Ra, this name gives the date of the Egyptian colonisation. Numerous variants of the name Amenfi show a connection with Amenophis of the eighteenth dynasty. The name of Ashanti is an Egyptian survival—"a pair," with Harris, but I venture, with diffidence, to take exception to two of his instances. The ... means the "Sunset Land." Then there is ... Gold Winnebah, "a name with a very Egyptian ... colour and contour." As Dr. Harris remarks, "It is surprising how well-preserved these names appear to be."

Exceptions.

Dr. Harris claims "that it is not required for the establishment of Egyptian origins to have an impregnable fortress of ... examples. . . . If a single one of the instances which we have given of Egyptian influence in the Gold Coast is correct, the hypothesis is established." It would be presumptuous in me to dispute the conclusions of a scholar of such erudition as Dr. ... some time during the eighteenth century.

W. F. H.

(Woodbrooke Essays, No. 20) he points out that there are place-names on the Gold Coast which are purely Egyptian. He says:—

"When I was writing on 'The Voyages of Hanno,' and identifying the Horn of the South' in that voyage with Cape Palmas, I pointed out that the Egyptian voyagers, whose maps were being followed, and whose tracks were being followed, and whose colonies were being annexed, must have gone at least as far as Cape Palmas, and, probably, farther, so that we ought to find traces of them in the Niger area, or even farther south. The 'Times,' of October 30, 1928, had a splendid supplement on British West Africa, in which they describe the potential wealth of those tropical regions. . . . In treating of the Gold Coast and its rivers, with their richored driftings, it is remarked that 'in the early part of the present century, dredges, under European supervision, were working on the Ankobra, Offin, and Prah Rivers.' The reader who is familiar with what I may call the pertinacity of river-names, will not be surprised when we tell him that two, at least, of the golden streams referred to in the 'Times' are Egyptian names that have come down to us with no sensible variation. The first is simply 'Life of the Heart of Ra.' The name does not seem strange when we reflect that the connection between gold and the sun hardly needs illustrating, and, in fact, the

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A frica

FINGO TREATY CASE.

On Wednesday 18th June, judgment was delivered in the Supreme Court Eastern Districts Local Division by the Judge President Sir T. L. Graham and Justice Pittman in the matter of the Woodridge Village Management Board vs. Macingwevana and others. This has come to be popularly known among Natives as the Fingo Treaty Case in which is embraces territorial rights of the Fingo tribes in the early days of Fingo settlement. The full text of the judgment will be reproduced in these columns in sections, begining in the present issue. Such an impression which was entered in favour of the plaintiff. The Board was as follows:—

(1) The Wooldridge commonage is within the area of which, since 1889, control and possession has been vested in the plaintiff. The commonage was first surveyed in 1857-58.

(2) The Wooldridge commonage never fell within the limits of the treaty of 1845, and there is no evidence that it was occupied by Fingoes between 1836 and 1845.

(3) No prescriptive rights were acquired by defendants or their predecessors, inasmuch as they only occupied Crown land as licensees, and paid hut tax for the privilege of living on Crown land.

These findings disposed of defendants' case. But in view of the importance of the question, especially to the Fingoes, the Court was specially requested to decide the remaining issues. These the Court have its opinion as follows:—

(4) The treaty of 1845 was void and invalid, inasmuch as at that date the Fingoes were British subjects, and a treaty can only be concluded between States, and not between a State and its subjects.

(5) If the treaty could be regarded as a contract, it was one with the Government, and to any action for breach thereof the Government must be a party.

(6) The treaty of 1845 was annulled and revoked by the Proclamation of 1847.

The Court ordered defendants to remove from the commonage within three months and to desist from further encroachment. Plaintiff was awarded the sum of £20 as damages and costs.

Mr. Lewis, K.C. (with him Mr. Reynolds, K.C.), appeared for plaintiff; and Mr. Stuart for defendants.

From the foregoing summary it would appear that the bulk of the contentious issues involved would form the subject of litigation between the Government and the Fingo tribes concerned rather than a matter between local authorities and the Fingoes. We understand on good authority that Mr. Webb's tribe are taking the action on appeal to the Appellate Division. In our opinion it is a matter for serious consideration of the Fingoes whether the wisest step would not be that petitioning the Supreme Court to suspend judgment being given effect to pending an action to be immediately brought against the Government the very same issues. The question of surveys and diagrams drawn by Government officials at various periods and by which the Court was guided to enter judgment) is an ex parte affair where the Government may have required to accommodate itself legally through its officials in the land settlement by the Government Surveyor-General's department to find room for the demands for tion, through the lines of land settlement by the German legionaries, the British soldiery and European farmers who came on the scene after Fingo settlement. The text and conditions of the treaty between the Government and the Fingoes were unfortunately not the subject of close scrutiny in this action. The question of (1) the alleged "treaty" could be regarded as a "treaty" or not (2) the occupation of land by Fingoes was as licensees to the Government (3 the 1845 "treaty" could be made null and void by

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THE PRESS IN WEST AFRICA.

In our last issue we left off at the point dealing with the clear existence of what is popularly termed public opinion. When this opinion has been formed or collated, the Press has an obvious duty of expressing it clearly and unequivocally and without any fear as to the consequences. Its neglect to do so is a serious breach of duty which may amount to a betrayal of confidence. In fact the Press owes a duty to the people to support its opinions by the full weight of its power and no effort should be spared in this direction.

The last and perhaps the most important matter we propose to consider in dealing with this subject is the ventilation of the grievances of the people by the Press. This subject is intimately connected with that of the expression of the opinions of the people, but there is a marked difference between the two. In our opinion the one ends where the other begins.

The expression of the opinion of the people may meet with the ready acquiescence of those in authority; it is when these opinions are known, but the same nevertheless disregarded, and injustice is done to the cause of the people, that grievances are formed which need ventilation. The power and efficacy of the Press on these occasions cannot be underestimated. It has inherent in it great possibilities to advance the cause of the people and to enhance its interest. In the past the Sierra Leone Press has rendered signal service by the manner in which it has exposed injustice or unfair treatment; and the comparative freedom from oppression that is enjoyed in this community is due to the liveliness of the Press and the reputation it has created in this regard. The Press is yet capable of living up to its past reputation if properly supported by the people. It is a great mistake if we imagine our difficulties are all over. We foresee greater problems and difficulties in the future than we have ever had in the past; and unless we have a powerful, reliable and healthy journalistic Circle to assist our politicians, our condition will be serious. With the working of the mines will be associated some such questions as dumping of a class of Europeans on the community. If this should ever happen on a large scale, a great economic question will be opened for solution, and we will need all the force of the Press to combat it.

Already we are hearing of the proposed amendment of the Laws in the form of the introduction of a CriminalProcedure. Any such project is viewed by the people with grave distrust and disapproval and one of the most adequate manner of expressing their feelings on the matter is through the Press. The question of unemployment is still in the air, and the work of the Press in pointing out the anomalies in the Civil service in the matter of the over-staffing of the European personnel the unnecessary lavish of money in the nature of motor-allowances to some Europeans are all within recollection. With these matters before us, there is a duty on the people to support the Press of our community by the free expressions of views on matters of public concern, especially when such opinions are invited by the Editor, and, most important of all by pecuniary support, in either enrolling ourselves as subscribess or by purchasing the newspapers regularly when published. It is time we learn to support those organisations which have served and are serving us well, and since in these practical days, every organisation of whatever nature it is, requires monetary support to enable it to carry on its duty, it is incumbent on those who are likely to derive benefit from it, to look ahead and do everything possible to continue its existence of usefulness. The Press itself should be alive to its responsibilities and the need for concerted action. The community is too small for great differences of opinion to exist on any public matters, and, as, the Press is concerned, the remedy for this is the formation of a union when Editors and Journalists will appreciate the true lesson of *esprit de corps*.

BRITISH WES

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

"The Gold Coast Review."

After a long interval we have received an issue of "The Gold Coast Review" (Vol. V., No. 1, January—June; Crown Agents; 2s.). From its beginning its editor has had difficulty in obtaining contributions owing to the small circle to which the appeal for contributors was made, and, partly, owing to the "elaborate outline suggested for the guidance of those who might wish to send contributions, which appeared in the first two numbers." This gave an impression that only scientific articles by experts would be welcome. In the preface to this issue Mr. H. S. Newlands, who has succeeded Mr. C. W. Welman as Secretary for Native Affairs and editor of the Review, has modified the original suggestion and made it clear that accounts of things seen and heard by intelligent and observant amateurs will be acceptable. Among the articles he has collected for this issue is a reprint of Captain Rattray's account of his "Solo Flight from England to the Gold Coast in Cirrus-Moth, G.EBZZ," which appeared in Blackwood's Magazine. As Captain Rattray says, his feat should encourage other amateurs to take up flying, for if "a man . . . nearly forty-eight, after twenty-two years of West Africa . . . can go on leave, and in four months learn enough about flying navigation and aero-mechanics to enable him . . . to pilot a flying machine, alone, from England to West Africa," flying cannot be beyond the powers of the average man. It has also provided a practical refutation of the pessimistic experts, without tropical experience who proved theoretically that unsuitable weather conditions, causing bumps and air-pockets over dense forests, terrific heat deranging engines and oil, and other difficulties would prevent flying being a practical proposition in those parts. Captain Rattray flew his small machine "for several thousand miles over West Africa at the hottest time of the year, during the hottest part of each day," over 300 miles of dense forest, without worse bumps than in Europe, and came to the conclusion that "climatic and weather conditions on the Gold Coast, taken all round, and as compared with those in England, are, on the whole, ideal for flying." It is, therefore, reasonable to hope that in the not distant future an air service between England and West Africa will be functioning as regularly as the marine service.

Aborigines of the Gold Coast.

The traditions of the Akan peoples, telling of migration from the north-east to the coast of the Gulf of Guinea, indicate that on reaching their present habitat they found it already occupied, and that the aboriginal inhabitants have, in most places, been absorbed in, and have adopted the language of, the immigrants. There are grounds for believing that the fisherman class in the coast towns are descendants of the original inhabitants who were in occupation of the sites when the agricultural Akans arrived. All over the country are found polished celts, to which the Akans attribute a celestial origin and medicinal virtues, and other stone implements, and also pottery differing from that made by the Akans, which seem to indicate the presence of another race. Much useful work in the collection and description of these articles has been done by Captain R. P. Wild, M.Inst.M.M., F.G.S., of the Mines Department, who has followed up his illustrated article on "Stone Artefacts of the Gold Coast and Ashanti" in the issue for July-December, 1927, by another in the present issue, in which he describes a number of objects dug out of Monkey Hill, Obuasi, during the last eight years. The site is a remarkable one. Monkey Hill is a spur of the Moinsi Range, but separated from it by a narrow defile; with steep sides and commanding extensive views, it may well have been a stronghold of the aborigines against the advancing flood of immigrants, and have therefore given rise to the belief that it is haunted by evil spirits. The finds included pottery with ornamentation in various patterns which distinguish it from the unornamented Ashanti pottery. A number of objects, including fragments of a clay tuyère, indicate that iron smelting was practised by these people, though the craft is no longer carried on by the Ashantis. There is evidence that the people of the Gold Coast were working in metals when Europeans first reached it, and it is probable that the smelting of the iron ore which abounds in the country, was abandoned because smiths found the iron bars imported by European traders easier to work. As bars of iron have been a staple article of trade since the beginning of the seventeenth century there has been ample time for the art of smelting to be forgotten. Captain Wild's work on Monkey Hill is a valuable contribution to the archæological research which must be carried out before the distant past of the African continent and peoples can be known and understood.

Fetish Convents.

An interesting, but somewhat obscure, article is "A Study of the Fetish Convents in Dahomey," translated from an article in the Bulletin du Comité d'Etudes Historiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française," appears to be the work of a Frenchman with a limited knowledge of English. The writer claims that Dahomey is the last refuge of "the primitive religion and the mixture of mysticism, of superstition, and of paganism, which the traditions of Egypt, Carthage, and Syria left behind." He says that "the fetish religion is based entirely on fear, auto-suggestion, mysticism, and hysteria," and "pertains more to medicine than to psychology." A sketchy account is given of the initiation of neophytes, mostly female, but much more systematic research is needed to obtain a clear idea of the religious ideas and practices of the worship of "the gods, the Python, Thunder, the Sea, or the Panther." The first has interest outside Africa as the basis of the "Voodoo" cult of the Spanish-American negroes in the New World. Mr. J. Hughes Matthews, M.O., W.A.M.S., contributes a reversal of Rattray's Mole-English vocabulary, with additions, which fills twenty-three pages. A reprint of "A Lecture to Administrative Service Cadets . . . on the Governor's Powers, their Basis, and their Delegation to District Commissioners" raises questions deserving a special article; I can only point out here that the reason why communications to a Chief opens with the words, "My good Friend" is that British authority on the Gold Coast is based on the consent and good will of the people, who are, as Sir Hugh Clifford described them, faithful, if humble, allies of the British Empire.

W. F. H.

Race Problem - 1930
Africa

Bantu-European Student Christian Conference.

4-23-30

The Council of the Bantu section of the Student Christian Association of South Africa in cooperation with the larger Student Christian Movement of the country, have decided to hold a joint Bantu-European Student Christian Conference at the South African Native College, Fort Hare, from the 27th June to July 3rd. This conference will bring together 150 Bantu students from the Native Training Colleges throughout Southern Africa; 50 or 60 European students from the European Universities and Colleges of the Union, and 50 senior people including a number of ministers, teachers and other men and women of the European and Bantu communities who are interested in the larger spiritual and social life of the Bantu population and in the promotion of a better interracial life.

The Student Christian Movement has already held two smaller sectional student conferences of an inter-racial nature. This moveme t has likewise at most of its conferences given a leading place to a discussion of inter-racial questions from the Christian point of veiw This will be the first time however, that the Student Christian Association will have undertaken a conference on such a large scale which will be nationally representative of Bantu students and at the same time of an inter-racial character.

The programme of the conference has been so drawn up as to deal with the following comprehensive questions: (1) The content and demands of the Christian message; (2) the application of the Christian message to practical problems of life such as the general social conditions of the Bantu population both urban and rural, the economic situation and aspects of the racia question; (3) the large question of the Industrialization of the Bantu and (4) a constructive programme of study and helpful service, where possible in regard to these questions, on the part of students.

Plans for this conference are well under way. Delegates will be entertained at Fort Hare and Lovedale as well as by staff people of these two Institutions and citizens of Alice who have gladly offered their cooperation. Following is a list of speakers and leaders who have been invited and most of whom have agreed to serve: Dr. J. H. Hofmeyr, M.L.A., Dr. Edgar H Brookes, Mr Howard Pim, Dr. James Henderson, Prof. J du Plessis, Rev. E. MacMillan, Rev. John L. Dube, Rev. R. E. Phillips, Rev. A. Cardeross Grant, Rev. R. H W Shepherd, Dr. A. B Xuma, Mrs. Charlotte Maxeke, Mr. T. Makiwane, Mr R Selope Thema, Principal Alexander Kerr, Mr. D. D. T Jabavu, M. L. Marquard, Mr. W. G. Ballinger. It is hoped very shortly to announce the full programme of this conference as well as a complete list of speakers and leaders. The organizing secretary for the conference is Mr. Max. Yergan, Secretary of the Student Christian Association.

It is further planned in connection with or immediately preceeding this conference to have a formal opening of the S. C. A. Building and Y. M. C. A. Hall now in course of construction at Fort Hare. The sessions of the conference will be held in this building which will be the conference headquarters.

Natives' Voting Rights.

Natives Opinion

(By Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu.)

3-16-30

[*From the "Cape Times."*]

Kingwilliamstown
Africa

Some of the best friends of the Natives have suggested that we should change our attitude towards the Prime Minister's franchise proposals and should offer to meet him half way in regard to alterations in the Cape Native vote. For these well meaning efforts we are sincerely grateful.

But the Bantu stand united against any tampering with the Native vote, supporting the decision of the 1926 Government conference which, alas, for that very act, was never called together again. All the Bantu political organisations—the Non-European Conference, the African National Congress, the I.C.U., the Cape Native Voters' Convention, the Bantu Rights Protection League, and so forth have not vacillated on this question, and the present writer is closely identified with their attitude.

The Natives in all the Provinces have never been as single-minded as they are to-day, thanks to the policy of the present Cabinet, whose aim, in the words of General Hertzog, is to "keep the authority of the white man not for to-day, not for to-morrow, but for as long as the white man remains here."

Segregation Distrusted.

The Prime Minister's magic wand in all Native policy is segregation. Our view is that segregation will always imply separation of interests, racial division, and an unnatural antagonism between citizens of the same State.

After an experience of nearly 20 years of what segregation means when translated into actuality, the Bantu find themselves on the wrong side of the balance sheet, the result being a lowering of our respect for European honesty. This is proved by the fate of land segregation. Under the 1913 Lands Act the land was partitioned on the basis of the story of the lion and the ass, the whites taking eleven-twelfths for themselves, leaving only one-twelfth for the blacks, who are more than three times their number.

The blacks were promised additional land. The promise, now 17 years old, has never been fulfilled and will certainly never be fulfilled unless our rulers undergo an unexpected conversion. All the attempts made to carry out this promise have proved fruitless, as evidenced by the reports of commission after commission, by the Johannesburg Joint Council, by the Johannesburg European-Bantu Conference in 1923, by the Cape Town European-Bantu Conference of 1926, and by the comprehensive evidence given before the 1927 Select Committee.

"Not Another Acre."

The summary answer to our case is the Natal slogan of "Not another acre for the Native," which reflects also the attitude of the white Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Therefore land segregation is an utter failure and impossibility so far as we are concerned.

Industrial segregation is not a whit better, because the non-European is foredoomed to industrial helotry by the 1926 Colour Bar Act and other projected legislation, such as that of the present Minister of Justice.

Social segregation works itself out spontaneously and needs no law, but our law-makers see in it only another chance to inflict on us pin-pricking pass laws to render our social life a nightmare of unrest.

In these circumstances we cannot be blamed for distrusting

political segregation: because it is, like Fundamentalism, half a century behind the times so far as South Africa is concerned.

Incidentally, the new vote for European women, yet another colour bar, has rendered out of date the groundless fear that the Natives would swamp the European vote.

[illegible] Franchise Proposals

If there is [illegible] question at all, it is the [illegible] because it affects [illegible] whereas the [illegible] urban areas number only 500,000. If the Prime Minister really desires to do justice by us he should address himself to the land problem. Next to that, and perhaps equal in importance, is the pressing necessity for a complete official survey of the economic conditions of the Natives in rural areas

The vote comes last in urgency because at the present rate of Bantu progress it will take at least 200 years before the Cape Native franchise can be a serious factor in Parliament, and then it will not be a danger At present it affects only 12 seats out of 140 The present proposals will, by the elimination of these 12 seats, add a new majority of 24 to the Nationalist majority.

If that is the secret motive for the campaign one cannot find fault with those eager to utilise the opportunity to make the revolutionary change in our vote. But I hope I am wrong here.

We are not responsible for the difficulties that confront Parliament, because they are not of our creation. It is the Prime Minister who starts with the hypothesis that we are a political danger. Some sympathetic Europeans implore us to accommodate our cause to practical electioneering exigencies.

Our reply is: We prefer to stand and die by the ultimate principles of just ce. Bitter experience has taught us that compromise on political rights in South Africa is a dangerous course, for the Native gets the thin end of the stick every time. This is writ large on the Peace of Vereeniging (1902) and in the National Convention (1908).

SOME PERTINENT QUESTIONS.

I should like to ask the Government to give an honest answer to the following pertinent questions:

Do we Natives count as full citizens in South Africa?

Is our opinion or our sentiment negligible?

Why is the principle of consultation embodied in the 1920 Native Affairs Act now a dead letter?

Why are we refused consultation on matters particularly affecting our welfare, like the Bill amending the Urban Areas Act?

Why are we compelled to invoke the protection of the courts against the Government, time and again, to defend ourselves from the iniquity of departmental regulations of which Parliament knows nothing?

Where is our hope of civilisation when all our efforts at self-advancement are foredoomed by Parliament never to receive any recognition?

Why is deputation after deputation from our people refused a hearing?

What are we to infer from this series of refusals?

What sort of a South Africa is to be expected if the Premier's Native franchise proposals are rammed down the unwilling throats of the intelligent Natives who are the united vanguard of Bantu progress?

Does it matter nothing if we are left dissatisfied, joined together, not by a new racial bond of mutual love but by the accumulated disbelief in the sense of equity on the part of our rulers?

Will it matter nothing if henceforth we resolve to inculcate in our sons and future Bantu leaders an enmity to European leadership?

Is it our duty to give white people some lessons in Christian honesty in regard to pacts such as were made in 1909 before the Union Parliament?

"OUR CAUSE DOOMED."

Yes, our fate is inevitable, our cause doomed. The cause of Christianity itself was apparently doomed at one time. It is hard to believe that the majority of Europeans in South Africa will for all time remain as impervious to right dealing as they are in our day. As Sol Plaatje has eloquently said: "We shall this time let white politicians do their own fell work, so that, when the tears of the many victims of the Union's legislative efforts at length draw retributive justice from the heights, no Prime Minister may say that we, too, have had a hand in the transaction."

We indeed prefer to be doomed for today, but we shall continue our struggle against the battalions of repression that happen to be omnipotent What we have we mean to stick to, until the original colour bar in the Constitution is expunged.

That initial colour bar is the fountain and origin of our political evils in all affairs of white and black race relationship in South Africa. It has closed many other doors of opportunity in our face. Hence we are not prepared to help in the erection of fresh colour bars against ourselves. We do not want to go backward but forward. Therefore, with that goal in view, we resign ourselves with stoical equanimity to our doom.

I, for one, cannot take upon myself the serious responsibility of suggesting or approving a compromise involving a renunciation of full citizenship and a reduction of our present rights, which are a birth right belonging to us, and to our sons and grandsons.

COLOUR IN THE COMMONS.

The African World
5-24-30

The Strangers' Gallery in the House of Commons got a touch of unwonted colour on Thursday of last week when a group of negroes, guests for the time being of Lady Astor, in the House, listened with interest to the debate on Canal Boat Children.

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The Kentucky Singers, who are in England on their way to the Continent, have been singing their way round the world, and have been [illegible] with a view to taking their part in the coming Coronation festivities at the Abyssinian Court. They are all graduates of American colleges, and have had their voices professionally trained for more than five years past. They have been touring for the past five years.

London, England

WEST AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES.

[FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.]

New York, July 16. — Mr. James Neal, formerly American West African Line agent at Monrovia has been appointed agent at Freetown, and sailed for his new post on July 10 on the Cathlamet.

On the same steamer Mr. John Frost, an engineer of the Bethlehem Steel Company, was a passenger for Tenerife. Mr. Frost will supervise the erection of an oil refinery.

West Africa
7-26-30

Dr. and Mrs. E. A. Ayers, missionaries, sailed for Monrovia.

Passengers on the West Lashaway which arrived on July 15, were Miss Catherine Spencer, of Rochester, N.Y., another tourist who made the round trip down the Coast and back; Miss Elizabeth Wilson, a school teacher from Freetown, the Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Daniel Cope, missionaries from Monrovia; and Captain Charles Grove, mate of the s.s. Arcturus from St. Vincent.

no. 704, Vol. XIV

Colonel George Warburton Lewis has obtained, through the American State Department (the equivalent of the Foreign Office in England) the appointment of Commander-in-Chief of the Liberian Army. Colonel Lewis has had a fine career, as soldier, policeman, writer and poet, and has spent most of his life in the tropics. He served as a non-commissioned officer several times in the Philippines, and in China during the Boxer rebellion. He served in the police and in the detective bureau in Porto Rico, where he has spent much of the last 18 years and also on the Customs border patrol between the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Moreover, he has been acting Chief of Staff to General O. P. Townshend with the rank of Captain and Treasurer of the Dominican Republic during the American occupation under Admiral Robinson. Colonel Lewis's latest book of poems—"Songs of the Tropic Trails"—contains both poems in the Kiplingesque fashion, narratives of actions in the Philippines and others in a more sentimental vein, descriptive of the tropics and the author's love for them. Certainly from the point of view of length of experience in the tropics and of police and military duties there, Colonel Lewis is the best man the State Department could have found to recommend to the Liberian Government for this position.

A. A. S.

Race Problem - 1930

Africa

OPENINGS FOR THE "SMALL MAN" IN WEST AFRICA.

II.—THE SYRIAN TRADER AND HIS BRITISH COMPETITOR.

[By a British Commercial Man With 25 Years' Experience of West Africa.]

From time to time comes the cry that foreigners oust the Briton in business. It is contended in many quarters that the foreigner is more resourceful, more conscientious, better commercially trained to deal with the growing problems of modern commerce.

It is noticeable in West Africa the number of Greeks Armenians, Turks, Swiss, etc., on the European side and Assyrians, Arabs, etc., on the Asiatic side, in British Possessions from Sierra Leone to the Cameroon, who blossom out in a small way as independent traders. They frequently do well. I know several who make £1,000 to £1,500 per annum net, and that after only a few years' experience, whereas these same people had they been agents for the old-established firms would in all probability have worked 20 years or so and then have been receiving less for their services, and without security of tenure.

There is something to be said for these foreigners, and while the Oriental and semi-Oriental code is not the British code it seems to me it would be better to study *why* these foreigners succeed, instead of—all too frequently—using up energy in "slinging mud" at them, and this brings me to the question of Syrians and Arabs. We cannot get away from the Syrian and Arab, they are like the poor, always with us. The foregoing remarks apply more particularly to the Syrian, because, strictly speaking, Arabs are nearer akin to the sons of Africa than the Syrians.

It is a fact that the British have a habit of regarding foreigners and Africans as simply "Dagoes" and worse. A school of thought which is becoming discredited, but it dies slowly.

Regarding Syrians, there is no doubt that they secure a firm footing in West Africa and prove themselves resourceful and efficient in conduct of business. In special reference to Nigeria, some 60 per cent. of the produce trade passes through their hands. In the Northern Provinces 70 per cent. of the groundnut business is handled by them, and 27 per cent by Arabs, Yorubas and Hausas, leaving 3 per cent. which the established merchants receive direct from the producers. How is it done?

I consider that there are three main props by which we may account for the Syrians' hold on trade, and I put them in the following order: First, practical psychology, second, hard work, and third, economy. The Syrians are as thrifty as the Scots. By practical psychology I mean ability to understand the mind of the people with whom they deal. A Syrian in the North *thinks like a Hausa*, and in the South like a Yoruba. In order that he may do this, he learns the language of the people with whom he will have to associate in order to build up his business.

This realisation of his customers' outlook creates mutual sympathy, paves the way for him. It is the foundation on which he builds. There is no doubt that the Hausas like dealing with Syrians and Arabs. There is no getting away from the fact that whatever prices rule, a Syrian and Arab will buy cheaper than any European firm can, *but the Syrian is a foreigner.* He simply equips himself better for the battle. He s an expert student of the mentality of his customers.

Most Syrians come to Nigeria with, at most, a f pounds, and grasp of possibilities, hard "graft," perseverance, thrift, and imagination that make them so successful that they get, as said above, some 60 per cent. of the produce business through their hands.

If the Briton would compete with the Syrian he must equip himself and study local conditions in the same way. He must not be ashamed to have friends among Africans. A sense of racial superiority is not synonymous with racial arrogance. I might at this point ask, how many European firms offer a prize to any young assistant who passes a junior examination in the language of the locality to which he is going to be placed? None, as far as I am aware. At any rate, it is not general.

The Government *knows* that it is a prime necessity for any officer—in order to carry out his duties intelligently—to learn the language of the people he is to be associated with. I have come across two men in business who studied and passed a Hausa examination. One left the merchant service and joined the Government. The other was told by an unimaginative Home Office that they did not think there was any special advantage attached to knowing the language. These complain of the competition of the Syrians and consider they ought not to be allowed in the country!

The Syrian is a fixture in West Africa. It is unthinkable that the Legislature will work towards the expulsion of these useful people. Even if it were to do so and drove them out, the position would in all probability be worsened, for then there would arise, as a result of such policy, an army of the worst type of middlemen who would exploit the producer ruthlessly.

The Syrians are doing a great deal to break down barriers of reserve, the shyness of the peasantry, and to encourage them to bring in their products and deal direct with the European. On the other hand, the increasing volume of groundnuts marketed in a place like Kano, renders it a practical impossibility for "groups" to deal exclusively with the farmers. It will be seen by intelligent merchants that the Syrian and Arab can be legitimately regarded as a useful type of middleman.

When from a trade point of view we seriously consider the Briton in relation to an Assyrian, it is bound to be admitted that the latter has a not inconsiderable advantage in the fact that he is able to stay for longer periods without deleterious effect upon his health, and even bring his wife and family. He can to a certain extent "colonise," but it should not be forgotten that he contracts maladies in the same way that the European does. It is not uncommon for Syrians to suffer from blackwater fever, dysentery, etc.

In conclusion, let me urge that British employers, in their attempt to overcome what they regard as the serious competition of the Syrians, see that they select carefully the men they send, upholding the traditions that have shown Britons to be the greatest empire-builders the world has known. And I might add, see to it that the rewards attract that type, so that when the time comes for our country to face in West Africa the situation she has to face in India and Egypt, the bonds of union will be strengthened. not weakened.

[The following extract from an article in the "Manchester Guardian" of July 3, may usefully be quoted in connection with part of our contributor's article:—"At a recent meeting of the Japan Cotton Spinners' Association plans were drawn up for increasing trade with Africa and Russia. A new organisation, the Japan Cotton Textile Export Association, is to be formed by the Cotton Spinners' Association, and the Cotton Yarn and Cloth Exporters' Association, and one of its first actions will be to send out investigators to Russia and to South and West Africa to study the possibility of extending Japan's trade. Japan plays a very important part in East African trade in cotton goods, and has more recently caused severe competition to British goods in Egypt, but hitherto West Africa has absorbed little, if any, Japanese cloth. West Africa, indeed, has often helped to keep Lancashire looms running when the Far Eastern markets were not buying well, and the increasing demand for cloth has been a boon to many manufacturers. All things considered, it is surprising that Japan has delayed entering West Africa for so long, but it is apparent that Lancashire will have to study the market more closely if it is not to go the way of China, the Straits, India, and other countries where Japan has made such striking progress"—Ed., "W.A."]

WEST AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES.

[From Our Special Correspondent.]

New York, June 24.—The Zarembo, of the American West African Line, arrived on June 17, having made the run from Dakar to New York in 14 days—a record. Among the passengers was Professor Henry W. Nissen, of Yale University, who brought 16 chimpanzees for research work.

Among the passengers who sailed on the Otho on the 20th were the Rev. A. I. Good and Miss Verna E. Eick, Presbyterian missionaries, for Kribi; Mr. F. B. Surguine, Jr., of Louisiana, representing the Foreign and Domestic Veneer Company of Louisville, Ky., for Grand Bassam, and Miss Ninette Blanc, of New York, for Dakar. Miss Blanc has just completed a round trip on the same steamer, for pleasure, from New York to the Congo and Angola and return, and claims to have so much enjoyed the trip that she sailed again, this time for Senegal, with the intention of motoring through Morocco and Algiers to the Mediterranean. If Miss Blanc's example is followed one may look forward to seeing Sherbro and Winneba and Calabar rivalling Deauville and Nice and the Lido as resorts for American tourists.

The latest of the series of American prize-fighting fiascos, not to say scandals, occurred at Philadelphia during the so-called fight between the Italian Carnera and the veteran African boxer George Godfrey. The press and the public are scathing in their remarks, and the authorities threaten dire things, but the public continues to pay immense sums to see these affairs, and not unnaturally there are consequently always promoters and managers ready to provide them. There was the affair at Miami not so long ago when Scott claimed a foul against Sharkey which was disallowed. Quite recently there was the world's heavyweight championship fight at New York, Sharkey against Schmelling, where the former again had a foul claimed against him and this time allowed, thus losing the title. Now, in Philadelphia, the third important fight ends the same way. Godfrey was fined 5,000 dollars and suspended permanently, but it remains to be seen what this means. There are 48 States in this country, and nearly as many authorities in control of professional boxing; quite a number of "permanently suspended" boxers are still appearing in the prize ring regularly. Carnera also bears an unsavoury reputation. He has been "barnstorming"

the United States, appearing all over the country against third- and fourth-rate boxers for what there is in it, which is a lot, to the point where there remain few places where he can safely appear.

From the Coaster's point of view, the only interest lies in the reaction—or lack of it—of the public in the South to such a result in a fight between an African and a boxer of European descent. A few years since the fight would have been followed by the lynching of Africans in the South and uproar over most of the rest of the country. Such was the result of the Johnson-Willard battle and others. Yet the Godfrey-Carnera contest, ending in what the referee has stated to be deliberate fouling twice, has caused not a ripple of resentment, only disgust with prize-fighting as a whole, and appears to be regarded as apathetically in the South as in the rest of the country. To those interested in the development of the relationship between the races in America this fact stands out as of considerable interest in an otherwise unimportant affair.

S A. Bantu Board of Music.

Native Opinion

The S cond Annual Conference of the above will be held in the Bantu Men's Social Centre, Johannesburg, on the 7th. & 8th July, 1930, commencing at 10 a.m.

Delegates arrive in Johannesburg on Sunday morning, or before, if possible. The idea is to assist Mr. Radebe in his efforts to stage a Sacred Concert on Sunday afternoon or evening, with the object of raising funds for the Board Since the practicability of this scheme depends on the participation of delegates, Mr. Radebe earnestly requests to be informed immediately what talent will be available. This may be done by informing the General Secretary what delegates are going to Johannesburg.

Delegates and others should communicate with Mr. M S Radebe, 18 Rickey Street, Doornfontein, Johannesburg, for accomodation etc.

If Associations will send up motions, these can be properly tabulated in agenda form and sent to all delegates. The advantages of such a step are obvious.

HAMILTON M. J. MASIZA,
Gen. Secy.
No. 2 Location,
Kimberley.

THE KROO, HIS WORK AND WORTH.

The Africans who hail from Liberia's surf-bound Kroo coast are known upon the whole of West Africa's littoral, as far south as Loanda, as "boys," although they may range from a mature, brawny giant to small boys. The headman generally brings along several such piccins to run errands and attend upon himself and the other men, although these little fellows naturally are not reckoned as on the true "strength" of the gang.

West Africa

These gangs, which "contract out" when and where they are wanted, vary in number from half a dozen to four times as many, according to the nature and volume of the work to be performed, and one of the first things to be done upon the arrival of a fresh lot is to name and register them. This job always falls to the principal European clerk, if the place is large enough to have more than one clerk, and lining up his charges and listing their names provides this disillusioned gentleman with a slight gleam of amusement amid his monotonous surroundings.

Incongruous and weird to our thinking are the answers of the Kroo-boys when challenged for their names: "Black-pot," "Fry-pan," and "Bottle-of-beer" being invariably amongst these. "Sunday," "Monday," and "Saturday" also seem suitable titles to own while working for the European, while every gang has its "Cæsar," its "Johnson," and its "Samson," this last being as a rule the weakest.

On a "boy" making his first trip from the Kroo coast, or maybe from a bush of that country's hinterland, he naturally has everything to learn, and perhaps has scarcely realised the necessity of providing himself with a name the Briton can pronounce. So the clerk himself dubs him something, founded most likely upon some peculiarity.

7-26-30

A little chap of unusually hairy face thus once received the name of "Whiskers" from a facetious clerk But "Whiskers" was what that irreverent youth and his colleagues also styled their bearded chief, behind his back. Now, this agent kept a parrot on the verandah of his upstairs quarters, and whenever he sent a clerk from the trading-beach to fetch thence some book or paper the assistant would bait Polly as he passed her with "Hello, Whiskers!" The parrot strongly resented this, and, as one day the little African "Whiskers" was for some reason replacing the regular servant of the chief in sweeping down the latter's quarters, the bird startled that Kroo-boy infant by suddenly exclaiming on its own, "Hello, Whiskers!"

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The lad glanced fearfully around, but, seeing no one, continued his work, when there came again that deep-tone exclamation. Convinced, now, that the parrot must have been the speaker, since brief examination of the rooms showed their emptiness of human occuation, little Whiskers cautiously approached the cage and, gazing at the bird with awe, inquired, puzzled and impressively, "Whoever to goodness told yer my name?"

Kroo-"boys" are clannish as a rule, and cultivate a fine contempt for the people of lands in which their lot happens to be cast during their service. They consider that their country in nowise forms part of Liberia. They will declare with indignation, indeed, that the people of that republic have not, and dare not, assert the slightest claim to lordship over them, and, secure between the boiling surf ever beating on their shores and the impenetrable bush behind their backs, they live out their lives in a proud independence, except for stated periods of service, voluntarily undertaken with the European.

For several generations Kroo-"boys" have worked regularly on and below the decks of steamers plying up and down the West African coast, and they are known everywhere as strong and fearless boatmen.

Somewhat short of stature as a rule, but splendidly strong and sturdy, the Kroo when well commanded will toil until he drops, then take a header off the quay into the river! After a short swim his skin gleams like satin, as he makes off, dripping, to his quarters for a meal and the evening's inevitable "sing-song."

T Ruete

A GREAT WORK IN CENTRAL AFRICA.

Progress in Central Africa is marching on with giant strides in these days. In the Belgian Congo, the British East African Dependencies and the Portuguese Colonies the story is the same—unceasing activity in railway construction, road transport and mineral development, resulting in a closer linking together of these great territories with Western civilisation and rendering their virtually unlimited resources accessible to the markets of the world. In this great work the important group of interests represented by Sir Robert Williams and the Tanganyika Concessions, Limited, has played, and is continuing to play, an outstanding and honourable part. Sir Robert Williams, like his co-worker Cecil Rhodes, combines the qualities of a far-sighted visionary with those of a practical man of action. Posterity will assess the value of the services which he has rendered to civilisation in Central Africa; it is enough to say here that it is largely owing to his tireless energy and unswerving faith that Rhodes's dream of a Cape-to-Cairo railway, with its attendant mineral and agricultural development of the territories traversed, has largely become a *fait accompli*. With such an achievement to his credit, Sir Robert Williams might rest on his laurels with pardonable pride, but, as he pointed out in concluding his intensely interesting speech at the Tanganyika Concessions' annual meeting on Thursday, the group of enterprises with which that company is associated have not yet nearly attained maturity, and the future has yet to see the full benefits derived therefrom. The copper production of the Union Minière du Haut Katanga, despite the imposing dimensions which it has attained of recent years, is little more than half what it will be, while Central Africa will in the coming years produce vast tonnages of copper and other minerals of which the supply is as yet inadequate to meet the world demand. Lastly, and perhaps most important of all, the Benguela Railway, the construction of which will have an immense influence on the development of the country through which it runs, and will greatly shorten the Northern Rhodesia-Congo route to the Western Hemisphere, is only now reaching its objective, and is expected to be open for through traffic to the Katanga in March of next year. It will be the heartfelt wish of all interested in the development of Central Africa that Sir Robert Williams may be spared for many years to come to preside over this great group of undertakings with that foresight and conspicuous ability which he has manifested in the past, and which have been productive of such important consequences for the progress of African civilisation

West African Mail
8-2-30
London E.C. 4

No. 1447, Vol. CXII

Misuse of the word "Native."

In the "Sierra Leone Weekly News," we notice that a writer in natural dissatisfaction at the loose way in which the word "Native" is used, in a reference to WEST AFRICA says that we are "one of the chief offenders in this direction."

Considering that this paper was about the first to raise a protest against the practice, has repeatedly urged the Colonial Office to replace the word by "African" in official papers and has even often commented adversely upon

West Africa
7-26-30

many British newspapers' thoughtless, albeit not at all ill-meant use of the word, this rather takes one's breath away. Anybody who reads WEST AFRICA at all regularly will find that the word appears rarely indeed except in official phrases such as "Native Courts," where its replacement by "African" might prove misleading to Africans themselves. WEST AFRICA has always recommended the use officially of "African" or "Yoruba," according to circumstances, but I welcome the undeserved accusation in the "News" if it serve to prove to others the intense disfavour with which "native," used out of its proper place, is regarded by the majority of West Africans.

Race Problem - 1930

Africa

Government Native Conference.

Native Opinion
4-29-30

Reuter's agency has broadcast the startling intelligence that Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu of Fort Hare had been informed from reliable authority that the Government had definitely decided to abolish the principle of formally consulting the Natives on any important projected Native legislation, and in his comments as a result thereof Prof. Jabavu says: "This principle was laid down in the Native Affairs Act of 1920, and provided for the summoning of conferences of Native bodies representative of Native opinion with the object of enabling the Government to guage more accurately the state of Native thought and feeling, and of affording to those not otherwise represented the opportunity of expressing their views. The first conference was held in Bloemfontein in 1922 and since then annually in Pretoria up to 1926. At the last conference the Prime Minister's Native franchise proposals were rejected, and since then no conference had been called and no reason given for this."

"If the Government had decided not to call any further conferences under the Act," said Professor Jabavu, "then South Africa has embarked upon a dangerous road for the future of the country, because the Natives are not of a more or less uniform social standing. I admit that there are still large sections of the Natives who are so backward that consultation with them on parliamentary affairs may not, perhaps, be the best policy, but, in view of the larger number of intelligent and educated Natives who are keeping abreast of the times, and who are the guiding influence on great masses in both urban and rural areas, the Government's action would be putting back the clock of progress at least a decade. Further, it will supply ammunition for the guns of the communists, anarchists, and others who are constantly preaching disrespect of European authority. It will also discourage us who have always been on the side of obedience to the Government and order in all our affairs, for we have become accustomed to act as a connecting link between the Government and our people on difficult legislation. This decision will, therefore, force us all into one camp as an opposition to the Government and European authority. It will further aggravate the colour question in the country, because we shall understand that the Government is not being run for the benefit of all the citizens but for the purpose of white dominating over the black by force of brute strength. I trust, however, that the authorities will reconsider their decision, and not deliberately and unnecessarily put the country into an undesirable state by encouraging anti-Europeans"

So far for Prof. Jabavu's candid opinion of what may be the outcome if the information were true. The fact however, that this conference has not been called for the last three years, and since (it must be carefully observed) it rejected the Premier's Native Bills affords good reason to make one believe that the conference is expected to respond to the policy pursued by the particular government in power. In 1920, when parliament passed the act in question, the object aimed at was purely to provide a channel of communication between the governing and the governed. We see no reason why the conference has been made a dead letter for the past three years.

It is heartening however to be authoritatively informed in a message of the Minister of Native Affairs to the Transkeian Territories General Council read at the opening session at Umtata last Thursday, denying the truth of the alleged statement of Government's intentions. The proof of the message will lie in the early resumption of the much-missed conference which we trust will receive the Government's attention.

Native Rights.

(By "Criterion")

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Continued.

Who does not remember that thirty years ago a short period in the life of a nation—but little could be said with impunity in these halls on the subject of slavery? How well do gentlemen here remember the history of that distinguished predecessor of mine, lately gone to his rest, who, with his forlorn hope of faithful men, took his life in his hand, and in the name of justice protested against the great crime, and who stood bravely in his place until his white locks, like the plume of Henry o Navarre, marked where the battle for freedom raged fiercest! 9-9-30

We can hardly realise that this is the same people and these the same halls, where now scarcely a man can be found who will venture to do more than falter out an apology for slavery, protesting in the same breath that he has no love for the dying tyrant. None, I believe, but the man of more than supreme boldness from the city of New York has ventured, this session, to raise his voice in favour of slavery for its own sake. He still sees in its features the reflection of beauty and divinity, and only he: 'How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! How art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations!' Many mighty men have been slain by this; many proud ones have humbled themselves at thy feet! All along the coast of our political sea these victims of slavery lie like stranded wrecks, broken on the headlands of freedom. How lately did its advocates with impious boldness maintain it as God's own, to be venerated and cherished as divine. It was another and higher form of civilisation. It was the holy evangel of America dispensing its mercies to a benighted race, and destined to bear countless blessings to the wilderness of the West. In its mad arrogance it lifted its hand to strike down the fabric of the Union, and since that fated day it has been a 'fugitive and a vagabond upon the earth' Like the spirit that Jesus cast out, it has since then, 'been seeking rest and finding none.'

It has sought in all the corners of the Republic to find some hiding place in which to shelter itself from the death it so richly deserves. It sought an asylum in the untrodden territories of the West; but, with a whip of scorpions, indignant freemen drove it from thence. I do not believe that a loyal man can now be found who could consent that it should again enter them. It has no hopes of

harbour there. It found no protection of favour in the hearts or consciences of the freemen of the Republic, and has fled for its last hope of safety behind the shield of the constitution. We propose to follow it there, and drive it thence as Satan was exiled from heaven."

During the same session the question of the reconstruction of the Southern States and the proper treatment of negroes was debated. General Garfield spoke earnestly on the subject, and on one occasion said: "We should do nothing for revenge, but everything for security; nothing for the past, everything for the present and the future, indemnity for the past we can never obtain. The four hundred thousand graves in which sleep our fathers and brothers, murdered by rebellion, will keep their sacred trust till the angel of the resurrection bids the dead come forth. The tears, the sorrows, the unutterable anguish of broken hearts can never be atoned for. We turn from that sad but glorious past, and demand such securities for the future as can never be destroyed.

"We must recognize in all our action the stupendous facts of the war. In the very crisis of our fate, God brought us face to face with the alarming truth that we must lose our own freedom or grant it to the slaves. (much as I shrink from the evils inflicted by bondage on the millions who bear it, I would sooner endure them than inflict them on a brother. Better be trampled in the dust than trample on a fellow-creature). "In the extremity of our distress we call upon the black man to help us save the Republic, and amid the very thunder of battle we made a covenant with him, sealed both with his blood and ours, and witnessed by Jehovah that when the nation was redeemed he should be free and share with us the glories and blessing of freedom. In the solemn words of the great Proclamation of emancipation, we not only declared the slaves forever free, but we pledged the faith of the nation 'to maintain their freedom'—mark the words, 'to maintain their freedom.' The Omniscient witness will appear in judgment against us if we do not fulfil this covenant. Have we done it? Have we given freedom to the black man? What is freedom? Is it a mere negation; the bare privilege of not being claimed, owned and sold, branded and scourged? If this be all, then from the bitter mockery, a cruel delusion, it may well be questioned whether slavery were not better.

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

COMMUNICATED.

All the journals published in the four British West African Colonies that have come to hand, written by different Editors, have agreed without any dissention, that the late Casely Hayford was an outstanding personality in the four Colonies and that his greatest achievement whereby he became known and whereby he immortalized his name in the four Colonies was his work in connection with the National Congress. He never spared himself in anything that concerned the welfare of the peoples of Africa, and the Congress stands as a lasting memorial to his genius and his unselfish patriotism. It is therefore fitting that every true hearted British West African in every British West African Colony should support the Congress not only for its aims and aspirations, but as a Memorial to a great African who loved his race.

A perusal of the objects of the Sierra Leone Public Welfare Association which has just come into being, alongside the able and instructive sermon of the Rev. J. O. E. Taylor on the life of Casely Hayford and the special article outlining the purposes, aims, and aspirations of the Congress which came into being in March 1920, as published in the WEEKLY NEWS, of the 6th instant will lead any thinking and reflective mind to ask, What object does the new Movement, some of whose leaders are members of the Congress, purpose to achieve which is not within the aims and aspirations of the Congress?

If the programme of the new Movement is to be found within the aims of the Congress, and the leaders of the Movement are impelled by genuine patriotism to promote the welfare of the people, are they indifferent to life's great lesson that Unity is Strength? If both have different aims, then let both grow together until the harvest.

It has been reported, but we know not how far the report is correct, that at an interview with the Acting Governor, to which some members of the Congress and of the new Movement were invited, on the Governor wishing to know whose representative a speaker was, he replied, "Both."

As there are some members of both movements whose objects appear to be the same, will it not be a saving of time and energy for these persons in dual capacity to endeavour to concentrate their efforts into one strong course? If there is no rival purpose, which at present does not appear to be, and no personal ambition or ends to serve, and no ulterior motives behind it all, the good sense of the members of the new Movement will soon direct them to the path of what is truly the Welfare of the people.

The enrolment fee of the Congress is one shilling and the enrolment fee of the new Association is one shilling.

"To solicit and persuade one another," says the late Mr. W. E. Gladstone, the Ex-Premier, "are privileges which belong to us all; and the wiser and better man is bound to advise the less wise and good; but he is not only not bound, he is not allowed, speaking generally, to coerce him."

The Native Problem.

Native Opinion

TO THE EDITOR OF "IMVO."

Kingwilliamstown, South Africa.

Concluded.

—9/30/30.

Owing to the anti-black policy of the Union Government which passed obnoxious laws, the Natives have been put to great expense to defend their rights in the courts and fighting against many disabilities. It should not be out of place for the unfortunate people to apply to the "Native Taxation and Development Fund" for contributions towards the costs of these actions which are the result of the policy of a Government that, apparently has no belief in that righteousness which exalteth a nation.

If time is money there is no need for the white man to waste his time and that of the black man, the former pressing down the latter, as the European has all the advantages to rise up to the blue sky and to allow the African below to follow up as best he can. Without equal opportunity for all South Africa we can never hope to enjoy the blessing of a happy, peaceful and contented population.

In many meetings of Europeans, in and out of parliament, the Native is discussed in various ways, and in view of the secession and republican aspirations, it is high time England, or the Imperial Government, made a declaration as to whether it has ceased or otherwise to be the protector of the weak and oppressed races, so that the Natives will know exactly where they stand. At present the Natives appear to be entirely at the tender mercies of "white South Africa," suffering all kinds of injustice, wondering what became of their protector and guardian. Whilst he is waiting for the declaration, with "the patience of a donkey," the Native is singing his song:

Tina bant' abamnyama
Sinegaz' elibi;
Zonk' intlanga zitsta ngati
Tina bant' abamnyama.

R. B. MLILWANA.

Native Opinion

Native Policy in Africa.

Kingwilliamstown, South Africa.

The British Government's reply to Northern Rhodesia's protest against the Government's policy as set out in a recent White Paper says, "The Secretary of State received and examined your representations and has come to the conclusion that it is unnecessary to discuss them, since the views expressed are wholly irreconcilable with the considered policy of His Majesty's Government, as the difference of principle is so profound and His Majesty's Government have no intention of departing from the general line of the policy laid down in the White Paper of 1923. In the memorandum, the Secretary of State is of the opinion that a conference could have no useful result. He therefore does not feel justified in charging the revenues of the Protectorate with the expense of a deputation.

9/30/30

Race Problem - 1930

Africa.
Native Opinion
Kingwilliamstown
South Africa

Natives' Urban Conditions.

We have pleasure in publishing hereunder a memorandum tendered to the Hon. Minister for Native Affairs by the President of the Location Advisory Boards' Congress of South Africa on behalf of that body. These were submitted to the Minister at East London on the 8th September, on the occasion of his visit to that centre. We recommend a thorough perusal of the terms of the memorandum by all urban Natives, municipal authorities and officials in urban administration, as the document is the authoritative ventilation of the point of view of urban Natives regarding past and current legislation affecting the urban Bantu.

9-23-30

Memorandum of the Location Advisory Boards' Congress of South Africa on the provisions of the Natives, (Urban Areas) Act, Amendment Act No. 25 of 1930.

Submitted by R. H. Godlo to the Honourable the Minister for Native Affairs on the occasion of his visit to East London on the 8th September 1930.

1. The Location Advisory Boards' Congress of South Africa has examined the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, Amendment Act, No. 25 of 1930 without prejudice or hostility, and regrets that it is compelled to view some of its provisions with disappointment.

Therefore the President of the Congress Mr. R H Godlo availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the visit of the Honourable the Minister for Native Affairs to East London, and submitted the following observations on behalf of the urban Native community.

2. The Act amends Act No. 21 of 1923 by giving urban local authorities additional powers to restrict the ingress of Natives into urban areas and to remove all Natives from European areas, save certain classes who may be exempted; to prosecute and to repatriate all Natives believed to be habitually unemployed; to prohibit the entry of female Natives into proclaimed areas and to tighten up the laws governing Curfew Regulations.

3. In the humble opinion of the Congress the foregoing provisions are altogether of a far-reaching character. The Congress has been, and still is under the impression that it was not the intention of the framers of the 1928 Act to unduly restrict the movements of Natives to industrial and commercial centres, but to regulate their ingress into such centres so that they will not become a burden to the urban authorities.

4. The Principal Act, according to the preamble was intended "to provide for improved conditions of residence for Natives in or near urban areas and the better administration of Native affairs in such areas; for the registration and better control of contracts of service with Natives in certain areas and the regulation of the ingress of Natives into and their residence in such areas; for the restriction and regulation of the possession and use of Kaffir-beer and other intoxicating liquor by Natives in certain areas and for other incidental purposes."

5. From the foregoing it would appear that the Congress is more than justified in coming to the conclusion that the Act goes farther than the Principal Act. In reality it touches the whole question of the relations between white and black in this country. For these reasons, the Congress is of opinion that the wise course for the Government would have been to consult both the urban local authorities and Native opinion before bringing the Bill to Parliament.

6. In dealing with Native legislation it should always be borne in mind that the Bantu people are almost entirely unrepresented in the Councils of State. They have no means of having their views put directly before the legislature, except in the Cape Province where they enjoy a modicum of representation. This brings us face to face with another phase of the Native complex, namely, the desirability or otherwise of consulting Natives on matters affecting their welfare.

7. Needless to say, the principle of consultation was accepted by those in authority more than ten years ago, and the matter was brought to its logical conclusion by being embodied in the Native Affairs Act of 1920. That Act lays down in unmistakable terms that Natives will be consulted on any legislation affecting them. But for nearly five years now the annual conference between the Government and representatives of Native organisations has ceased to function. As a matter of fact the failure of the Government to summon that conference for such a lengthy period was regarded as a strong argument in favour of referring the Bill to a Select Committee so as to enable the Natives affected to come forward and give evidence.

8. Therefore, it is not to be wondered at that some responsible Natives, rightly or wrongly, have been forced to the conclusion that the Government has abandoned the principle of consultation as far as Natives are concerned. However, it was gratifying to receive the assurance of the Prime Minister that the conference has not been abandoned, and we cherish the hope that the Honourable the Minister for Native Affairs will be pleased to summon another conference at his convenience and show the Natives that it is the desire of the present Government to take them into confidence in matters affecting their welfare.

9. Coming to the provisions of the Act, the Congress desires to make the following humble observations:—

I. Section 2 (b) which becomes (f) of sub section 1 section one of the principal Act, empowers urban local authorities to remove from the urban area every Native residing in but is not employed in such areas, save certain classes exempted under paragraphs (a), (b), (c) or (d) of subsection [2] of section five of the Principal Act.

As the Congress is not opposed to the principle of separate residence for Natives no exception is taken to the clause, but we fail to understand the reason why Natives employed as night watchmen and accommodated in or near the business centres of the towns are not included in the list of those exempted from the operation of the clause in the same way as domestic servants. Therefore the Congress humbly requests the Minister to re consider the question of amending the same so as to exempt this class of Natives.

II. Section 7 [a] which becomes paragraph [d] [1] section twelve of the parent Act, gives local authorities power to prohibit female Natives from entering proclaimed areas unless such female Natives obtain a certificate of approval from the local urban authority concerned, which certificate should be produced on demand by an authorised officer.

Whilst the Congress is not opposed to the regulation of the movements of unattached females and minors, the application of these restrictions to married women whose husbands are employed in these areas and unmarried daughters whose fathers are resident in the said areas, is viewed with alarm and disappointment, by the Congress. The enforced separation of married couples for a period of two years is calculated to shake the moral stability of the male Natives residing in such areas and is viewed by the Natives as an unnecessary interference with family life and the liberty of the subject.

Therefore the Congress would respectfully request the Hon. the Minister to exempt married women whose husbands reside in such areas, and in the case of unmarried daughters whose fathers reside in such areas, from the operation of the provisions of this clause.

III. Section 8 which repeals section 17 [1] of the Principal Act authorises the prosecution of Natives believed to be habitually unemployed, are leading idle or dissolute lives, etc, or have been convicted for contravening certain provisions of the Native Administration Act of 1927, or have committed any offence mentioned in the Third Schedule to the Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act, No. 31 of 1917 or some other offence mentioned in paragraph [e] of this section; or is a female contravening the provisions of the

preceeding section.

Whilst this Congress would not like to see the Location become a place of refuge for all sorts of degenerates and bad characters, we submit that some of these people have been forced to migrate to the towns by forces over which they have no control. Among them may be found honest and well-meaning Natives who are victims of the provisions of the Natives Land Act of 1913 and other who have come to the industrial and commercial centres for the purpose of seeking employment to meet the present taxation that is altogether out of all proportion to their means.

IV. This item again brings us face to face with other phases of the Native question, namely, scarcity of of land and disproportionate taxation. It may be argued that the provisions of the Natives Land Act do not apply to the Cape Province (which has admittedly the poorest Native community). We submit that that Act affects the Cape to the same extent as the other three provinces because eviction of squatters and labour-tenants from European-owned farms in the other provinces have led to the unprecedented drift to the towns noticeable in recent years. Moreover, there are certain areas in this province where the purchase of land by Natives is allowed only by special permission of the Governor-General. As to overcrowding in the reserves the fact that one and a half million Europeans own about 80 per cent of land and that five and a half million Natives own about 20 per cent speaks for itself.

V. We have trespassed on the land question in order to show to what extent the existing state of affairs in towns is depended on the question of land. The density of Native areas was once reported as follows:— Transkei 58.59 per square mile and in one district 102.91. In the Glen Grey there was in 1926 a list of 4000 Natives awaiting allotments, of course additional land has since been provided; but there is still a large number who remain landless to this day.

The compulsory repatriation of these Natives to the districts to which they belong is therefore regretted, and the Congress is of opinion that these provisions will be found unworkable as some of these people have no homes of their own except the European farms from which they were evicted and others were born and brought up in the towns and have never lived in the reserves.

It is therefore hoped that when the Commission recently appointed by the Government have submitted their report on the conditions of Natives, the Minister will see that the remedy is applied to the cause of the disease.

VI. TRADING: The Congress highly appreciates the action of the Government in realising the enormous difficulty experienced by Natives in obtaining trading rights under the 1923 Act. Trading by Natives in their own areas is one of the most important steps in their economic development, because some of them have completely outgrown tribal conditions and cannot possibly go back to them.

Trading facilities would enable them to live their lives and become an asset instead of a liability to the European community among whom they live. Wholesale business houses would extend their activities to Native shopkeepers and thus improve the volume of their trade.

VII. It may be interesting to know that in East London, where general trading by Natives in the locations is not allowed but are allowed only to run Fresh-Produce or Fruitshops and eating-houses, the number of these small shops and eating houses is 75 and they employ no fewer than 170 native assistants, bring in a total revenue of £375 in Government licences and £437 in Municipal fees. These figures show that if full trading rights were allowed to the Natives that step would help to solve the unemployment problem among them and would contribute to the industrial and commercial development not only of the Natives but of the country as a whole.

We therefore sincerely hope the Minister will excercise his prerogative of compelling dilatory municipalities to grant trading facilities to Natives and see that the same are not unduly withheld.

VIII. Regarding this matter there is one very important request the Congress would make to the Hon. Minister for Native Affairs. Experience has shown that the scale of trading licences laid down in the Second Schedule to the Licences Consolidation Act, No. 32 of 1925 is rather too high for people whose trade is confined solely to Natives. Therefore we would humbly urge the Minister to consider the advisability of amending that Act so as to make the scale applicable to the Native Territories apply to urban Native Locations as well, because the same consideration that prompted the framers of that Act to grant that relief to the Territories applies to the urban natives locations.

IX. NATIVE ADVISORY BOARDS: The Congress is pleased to note that both the government and municipalities are agreed that these Boards are working well and have justified their existence. But in our humble opinion it would facilitate their work and bring about more harmony and good understanding between them and local authorities if their functions were clearly defined.

At present although the phrase "functions of Advisory Boards" is made use of in both the principal and the amending Act, these "functions" are not defined or interpreted in either of these statutes.

X. CURFEW REGULATIONS: The Congress still regrets that it fails to appreciate the determination of the government in maintaining curfew laws in this country. The solid and undivided opinion of the Bantu people as well as enlightened Europeans is that these Pass Laws have completely outlived their usefulness.

However, while this opinion has not yet convinced those in authority, we would humbly urge the government to extend exemptions so as to include all classes of persons hitherto exempted from the operations of the Curfew Regulations under Sections 2 and 3 of the Location and Services Increased Powers Act, No. 30 of 1895.

Mount Coke Health Centre And Child Welfare.

(Umzi Zabantwana)

Natives Opinion
5-20-30

Report for January-April—1930.

Kingwilliamstown
South Africa.

During the period covered by this report one thousand three hundred and eleven Native people have received treatment: of this number 686 are heathen and the balance Christian. There have been prolonged cases of illness which have necessitated daily attendance. Compared with the corresponding period of last year there is a decline in numbers, largely owing to the fact that much sickness has been cleared up. There are fewer from the immediate vicinity of Mount Coke and adjacent locations, but there is a corresponding increase in those who come from afar. The numbers of people who have received help indicate that the work is appreciated and that the is fulfilling a useful purpo messages reach us of chr who had given up all hop now being completely cure to take up their duties in l The financial statemer debit balance on the per Grants have been receive the Tamara Local Council a Women's Auxiliary of the Wesleyan Church. In order to meet the present deficit and restock the institution with supplies, immediate support is necessary if the work is to be continued.

Race Problem.- 1930

Africa

West Africa

AFRICA AGAIN.

[REPRODUCED, BY PERMISSION, FROM THE "NEW STATESMAN," SEPTEMBER 27.]

A hundred years ago England was grappling with the problem of the relations in the Colonies between Europeans and Africans. Parliamentary reform alone was considered more important, and in the first Reform Parliament the question what social arrangements were to replace slavery was more debated than any other. For 20 years after the country recognised, by the passing of Canning's resolutions, that slavery would have to go, the best minds in politics—and there were giants in those days—were searching for the right alternative. The ultimate solution, the complete obliteration of all distinctions in the laws between Europeans and Africans, was resorted to only when compromises that would work without being partial slavery had been searched for in vain. In the West Indies this solution of the problem has proved to be the final one. In Jamaica, where with a population of a million the experiment has been tried on an adequate scale, there is a mainly African legislature and an overwhelmingly African electorate and civil service. The reason most people have no idea that all this is so, is simply that there are never any scare headlines about Jamaica. There is no "unrest," no raping of White women, no lynching of Black men. The rates of crime and pauperism are the lowest in the world. Five families out of six have land of their own. Nowhere in South or East Africa itself is there either the contentment or the prosperity to be found in Jamaica.

10-11-30

And yet we intended and attempted to enforce this very same policy of equal rights for all in all the Colonies. In Ceylon, as in Jamaica, there is no colour line in the franchise laws, and society is evolving into a democracy, whether too fast or too slowly the future alone can tell. But in Africa itself the early efforts to impose that policy have up to now been defeated in all the Dependencies to which Europeans have migrated in any numbers. In Cape Colony alone are any vestiges of it left. There, thanks to the much-abused Dr. Philip, a Nationalist Government has confirmed the franchise rights of the Hottentots; but the Bantu, now the great majority of the population, who were not under European government in Dr. Philip's day, are to be disfranchised. And in Rhodesia, granted responsible government only since the War, the Government recently proposed to raise the franchise qualifications in order to prevent a handful of Africans from getting on to the register.

To these and other consequent legal disabilities imposed on Africans in British South and East Africa no British Government has ever assented. Every British Government, in fact, has paid lip-service to the opposite policy of equal rights. When the Dutch were allowed to settle in Northern Natal it was only on condition that they consented to equality before the laws with the Native Africans. Again, when British sugar planters in Natal were allowed to import indentured Indian labourers, the British Government of the day guaranteed their rights; even so late as the time when Natal was granted responsible government the Governor re-enunciated the old formula. But when, a very few years later, the Government of Natal first effectively excluded both Asiatics and Africans from the franchise, and then subjected both to a succession of other disabilities, the British Government did not protest. The obvious moral is that it is something a good deal worse than foolish to make a pledge and then give other people over whom we have no control the liberty to keep it or not as they please. We know now, in plain words, that in a country in which there is a resident European minority the representatives of that minority will, if they are given the opportunity, exclude the Natives of the other continents from the franchise and subject them to what is more and more undisguisedly a new sort of slavery.

London, England

It is not too much to say that the present British Government is the first for at least 60 years to have realised these facts, to have faced up to them by refusing to the tiny European minority in Kenya the control of that country, and by requiring of its Government compliance with the old Whig policy of a century ago. Will it insist? We may confidently expect to read of sensational events in East Africa between now and Christmas, that will give us the answer. The Governor of Kenya has scarcely troubled to disguise his sympathy with the claims of the one-two hundredth of the population who are of European origin. On the other side the only two organisations that represent African opinion have both cabled to the Colonial Office asking that the policy it has expounded should be acted upon at once. The question is really whether East Africa is to share in the volcanic disturbances that are certain soon to break out in South African society, where the Government appears to be actively stirring up sedition. Its latest effort is to persuade the master bakers of Johannesburg to discharge their [illegible]n employees (there are about a thousand of these) [illegible]eplace them by Europeans, the difference between European and African rates of pay being met out of taxation, which, of course, is largely paid by Africans. Nothing in the future is quite so certain as the rebellion of the African majority in South Africa against injustices so deliberately provocative. Already many of these follies have, largely unknown to the public in this country, been perpetrated in Kenya. Just in time, but no more than just in time, the Colonial Office has awakened. If it is vigorously supported by public opinion, Kenya may still be made a free country like Jamaica.

GOLD COAST LETTER.

The Gold Coast Waterworks Ordinance.

The draft of the Waterworks Ordinance which appeared recently in the "Gold Coast Gazette" is certain to attract adverse criticism, like all Bills that make it possible to lay a fresh burden on the taxpayer. In essence, there is nothing wrong with the imposition of local rates to provide for an amenity of which the benefits are also purely local, and even Accra, accustomed to cheap water at the expense of the general revenue, could hardly find fault with the general principle. The new Bill, however, makes no provision for the people immediately concerned to be consulted at all, nor does it recognise any right of existing or future municipalities to a voice in the provision or control of their own services, but empowers the Governor in Council to declare any area a "water supply area," with a "water authority," or, if he prefers, the Director of Public Works, to construct, take over, or maintain any waterworks that may be needed. Even the water authority, however, has no say in the levying of water rates, which will be fixed by the Governor in Council at anything up to 7 per cent. of local rateable values, with such exemptions as he may think fit. It is true that premises under the gross annual value of £6 are to be exempt, but this is of little interest to those who already bear the chief burden of public expenditure, and who see new possibilities of local taxation without representation growing rapidly before their eyes.

The Gold Coast "Teachers' Journal."

Nature study is the special feature of the ninth number of the Gold Coast "Teachers' Journal" which contains useful papers by Messrs. J. M. Winterbottom and R. F. Irvine on the general teaching of the subject and on the study of leaves. In his insistence on the importance of direct observation, the former suggests that dissection should be practised by the scholars, but this is surely a case where, save in special advanced classes, the ordinary superimposed anatomical diagrams might suffice. The wider aspects of Nature knowledge are given in various sections of the paper entitled "Our Country." In one of them, Sir A. E. Kitson describes the principal Gold Coast minerals and their uses, Mr. J. R. P. Gent the forests and their effect upon atmospheric humidity, Mr. R. F. Irvine the local plant life, and Mr. J. M. Winterbottom the animal life, where, it might be worth mentioning, he has omitted from his general account of the insects the huge Goliath beetle that, without the strangeness of form of his rival, the rhinoceros beetle, yet demands chief attention by sheer bulk of body. A paper by Mr. A. Fuller on domesticated animals is deficient—in Belgian eyes, at any rate—from the absence of a note that these creatures are being trained in Africa, as well as Asia, to lighten human labour. Writing on "Sea Transport to West Africa," Mr. R. B. Paul describes some of the problems that have to be solved in following the shifting trade currents and providing the necessary services, and no teacher who reads his article should henceforth fall into the error of believing the task to end with the expenditure of capital upon a few ships and the selection of a route. In "Spirituals and Jazz," Mr. W. E. Ward gives as the principal reason for studying the former that the latter is a sham growth imitating the main characteristics of African rhythm, whereas the former is a genuine musical development brought about by special environment. This may be true of some spirituals, but it is by no means true of all in these days of wide commercialisation of art, and in his recommendation of special examples he is following, perhaps unconsciously, the process of natural selection by which all that is worthy, be it racially "real" or "sham," is enabled to survive. From a musical point of view jazz may be anathema, but it is neverthless a force which, quite apart from the conscious efforts of such composers as Constant Lambert to use it to enrich European music, is reacting through such agencies as the gramophone on musical evolution in Africa itself. The "Journal" contains a number of other articles, remarkable chiefly for the wide variety of ideas suggested to teachers, but among them, in an informative account of the rise and progress of railway travel, the error "guage" appears six times in two paragraphs of 11 lines in all. Such an error is serious in a paper devoted to the interests of readers who are peculiarly dependent on their visual memory, and through whom it may rapidly be passed to thousands of children.

NIGERIAN MINING LABOUR AND ACCIDENTS.

The total labour employed by the mining industry in Nigeria during 1929 was 281 Europeans and 38,678 Africans, 13,102 of the latter being tributors. The number of fatal accidents, 26, was somewhat higher than in the previous year, but the death-rate per 1,000, although it rose from 0.33 to 0.64, is considerably below the average of recent years, and since it is the result chiefly of falls of earth it can probably not be reduced further in existing conditions.

NIGERIA, PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE?

MORE PAGES FROM THE PAST.—ARE EXAMINATIONS THE BEST TEST OF ABILITY?—SOME GUESTS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

West Africa

[WRITTEN FOR "WEST AFRICA" BY DR. JOHN CURRIE, LATE OF SOUTHERN NIGERIA.]

It is a mistake to imagine that the best administrators of African countries are men of vast book-learning, or that they have shone in competitive examination. The Service has had its share of such men, but many have won credit and distinction without attaining a high place in the examination room, for they were never put to the test, and others never could have done so, but have equally earned their meed of praise. In illustration of this, an account of some of those in authority in the early days of Nigeria may be interesting.

London, England

Sir John Glover, whose name is perpetuated in a public hall at Lagos, was an officer of the Royal Navy, and I am sure that at the time when he joined that service no such thing as a competitive examination impeded his career. He, in 1874, organised "Glover's Hausas" for Ashanti, and led his men up the Volta and across to Kumasi to effect a junction with Sir Garnet Wolseley. The Ashantis knew nothing of Sir Garnet, but Glover they knew, with the result that they left an empty city for the British.

It was not until 1886 that a definite "Governor of Lagos" was gazetted, and the first holder, Sir C. A. Moloney, has left no tradition, save that of being a regular attendant at church. In 1891 Sir Gilbert Carter came to the Colony, and his era was marked by the cessation of internal wars and the opening up of the country. I believe I am correct in saying that Sir Gilbert's early training was also that of the Navy. The next Governor but one, Sir William MacGregor, was a doctor, and no competitive examination admitted him, although no competitive examination could have kept him out, for he was an extraordinarily able man.

10-11-30

The first Governor of Lagos and Southern Nigeria, on the other hand, was an examination man, and was, it must be admitted, perhaps the ablest administrator who has set foot in West Africa, or, at all events, the one whose genius was best fitted to his environment. By imagination and courage, Sir Walter Egerton raised Nigeria to be second among the Crown Colonies, and his system of roads remains a monument to his foresight, and in these days of motor transport is appreciated even more, perhaps, than his extensions of the railway and his improvements to Lagos Harbour.

He was succeeded by Sir Frederick (now Lord) Lugard, the record of whose achievements, and all that he has done for progress, remains to be written, but, indeed, cannot yet be set forth, for Lord Lugard's days of usefulness are by no means past. Of the beginning only is it safe to speak, and he was no examination man.

But it is not of Governors alone that I would speak. There was that Travelling Commissioner in the North who sent a rogue to prison for trespassing on the King's highway,—a curious conviction, but made with profound knowledge of African character, and the only excuse at the time for removing a danger to society. Then there was that great adventurer and one-time journalist, twice mayor of a city of Western Australia, whom the climate claimed so early in a promising career that he is chiefly remembered as one who wrestled successfully with two stout "Waff" subalterns at once. He, too, came not by examination. Another person of some notoriety, who, for the sake of my argument, I like to believe must have passed high in some competitive test, was that railway man who, proving too clever by far, was ultimately caught as he attempted to slip unostentatiously from the Colony and his creditors by lifeboat. Of "Rusty Buckle" it is hardly necessary to speak, for his deeds are known to all who have made the voyage to Nigeria. He was no scribe, and rarely answered the importunate minutes of the Secretariat, but his table became cleared at suitable intervals by a providential tornado or fire. Nevertheless he ruled his station well, and his district lived at peace.

There was, too, that man of Warri, of imposing physique and personality, who ruled with magnificence but who could no more have passed an examination than he could resist splitting an infinitive. To those who know their Warri he can be identified as the officer who, returning to the place after many days, was greeted with arches bearing the legend "Welcome to our Father." His literal claim to the title has not yet been settled among the more irreverent there. I remember another brilliant servant who, I think, could never have passed the Cambridge Local, let alone anything more difficult. He was the first Resident of a territory acquired by treaty, and was by no means welcomed. However, by unvarying patience and kindness, he came to be first tolerated by the African ruler, then trusted, and, finally, beloved of all, for he would bend justice neither to serve the interests of the local Administration nor those of Lagos. How real was his influence was seen in the trying days of the Great War, when but for the gravity of the world situation generally, whereby all local events became small, his achievements could never have been confined to the archives of the Secretariat.

It is as a meanderer, and not in the course of argument, that I mention that other famous man whose nick-name will remain in the Audit Department, a man of such shape that, as he added up figures in the Secretariat, it moved a young sprig of a later generation to bestow upon him the name of the "Puff Adder." That the lesser auditors should become "Young Adders" to all those whom they afflicted with their presence, followed of course.

Such pioneering days as those of the beginning of this century are practically over, owing to improved means of communication, and an officer now may not take so much responsibility upon himself as formerly, or in its new strength the Secretariat becomes disagreeable. The old men, however, had to be fearless and self-reliant, as well as wise and just. There was C. C., a mild man, who found himself surrounded by a hostile crowd in a market-place, and by setting the people to play football got out of what might have been a most awkward situation, and perhaps saved himself from an end like that of the doctor who, riding ahead of his column on his bicycle, missed his way, and was done to death in mistake for a much disliked official. But officials were by no means the only adventurers, for there were the old captains of hulks, who in turn gave place to the "captains" of beaches, still living on the "top deck" over their factories, and delegating authority to African clerks and Kru headmen. There were also the slavers, through whose unfortunate cargoes the New World received the "Uncle Remus" stories, and also, by a kind of grim justice, yellow fever.

Most of our ideas of slavery are formed from the horrors of the slave ship, and from the highly-coloured descriptions in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and it is well to note that these conditions were largely manufactured by the "civilised" European. Slavery still exists among Africans, and, I think, will continue, but it is a different thing, amounting to little more than a gentle and protective form of domestic service—which leads me to the subject of stewards.

The steward takes the greatest pride in his master, who, although he may be economical and careful, must not be niggardly. The cook is a most important personage, and it pays to employ a good one, even though his wages seem extravagant, for, as I found when I tried to get along with a promoted cook's mate, I lived abominably, and probably more expensively, than before, and although the preparation of, say, a couple of bricks weighing about 15 lb. from about seven pounds of flour does not seem an uneconomical result, it was not much solace for a hungry man, nor was I pleased when a long-anticipated ham appeared as a bare bone with a few shreds of overboiled meat. articles were recovered from Joe's town house, and a magistrate awarded him an official task that would occupy some years, so that I thought I had seen the last of him.

West Africa

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London, England

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(To be continued.)

NIGERIA, PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE?

MORE PAGES FROM THE PAST.—ARE EXAMINATIONS THE BEST TEST OF ABILITY?—SOME GUESTS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

West Africa

[WRITTEN FOR "WEST AFRICA" BY DR. JOHN CURRIE, LATE OF SOUTHERN NIGERIA.]

It is a mistake to imagine that the best administrators of African countries are men of vast book-learning, or that they have shone in competitive examination. The Service has had its share of such men, but many have won credit and distinction without attaining a high place in the examination room, for they were never put to the test, and others never could have done so, but have equally earned their meed of praise. In illustration of this, an account of some of those in authority in the early days of Nigeria may be interesting.

London, England

Sir John Glover, whose name is perpetuated in a public hall at Lagos, was an officer of the Royal Navy, and I am sure that at the time when he joined that service no such thing as a competitive examination impeded his career. He, in 1874, organised "Glover's Hausas" for Ashanti, and led his men up the Volta and across to Kumasi to effect a junction with Sir Garnet Wolseley. The Ashantis knew nothing of Sir Garnet, but Glover they knew, with the result that they left an empty city for the British.

It was not until 1886 that a definite "Governor of Lagos" was gazetted, and the first holder, Sir C. A. Moloney, has left no tradition, save that of being a regular attendant at church. In 1891 Sir Gilbert Carter came to the Colony, and his era was marked by the cessation of internal wars and the opening up of the country. I believe I am correct in saying that Sir Gilbert's early training was also that of the Navy. The next Governor but one, Sir William MacGregor, was a doctor, and no competitive examination admitted him, although no competitive examination could have kept him out, for he was an extraordinarily able man.

10-11-30

The first Governor of Lagos and Southern Nigeria, on the other hand, was an examination man, and was, it must be admitted, perhaps the ablest administrator who has set foot in West Africa, or, at all events, the one whose genius was best fitted to his environment. By imagination and courage, Sir Walter Egerton raised Nigeria to be second among the Crown Colonies, and his system of roads remains a monument to his foresight, and in these days of motor transport is appreciated even more, perhaps, than his extensions of the railway and his improvements to Lagos Harbour.

He was succeeded by Sir Frederick (now Lord) Lugard, the record of whose achievements, and all that he has done for progress, remains to be written, but, indeed, cannot yet be set forth, for Lord Lugard's days of usefulness are by no means past. Of the beginning only is it safe to speak, and he was no examination man.

But it is not of Governors alone that I would speak. There was that Travelling Commissioner in the North who sent a rogue to prison for trespassing on the King's highway,—a curious conviction, but made with profound knowledge of African character, and the only excuse at the time for removing a danger to society. Then there was that great adventurer and one-time journalist, twice mayor of a city of Western Australia, whom the climate claimed so early in a promising career that he is chiefly remembered as one who wrestled successfully with two stout "Waff" subalterns at once. He, too, came not by examination. Another person of some notoriety, who, for the sake of my argument, I like to believe must have passed high in some competitive test, was that railway man who, proving too clever by far, was ultimately caught as he attempted to slip unostentatiously from the Colony and his creditors by lifeboat. Of "Rusty Buckle" it is hardly necessary to speak, for his deeds are known to all who have made the voyage to Nigeria. He was no scribe, and rarely answered the importunate minutes of the Secretariat, but his table became cleared at suitable intervals by a providential tornado or fire. Nevertheless he ruled his station well, and his district lived at peace.

There was, too, that man of Warri, of imposing physique and personality, who ruled with magnificence but who could no more have passed an examination than he could resist splitting an infinitive. To those who know their Warri he can be identified as the officer who, returning to the place after many days, was greeted with arches bearing the legend "Welcome to our Father." His literal claim to the title has not yet been settled among the more irreverent there. I remember another brilliant servant who, I think, could never have passed the Cambridge Local, let alone anything more difficult. He was the first Resident of a territory acquired by treaty, and was by no means welcomed. However, by unvarying patience and kindness, he came to be first tolerated by the African ruler, then trusted, and, finally, beloved of all, for he would bend justice neither to serve the interests of the local Administration nor those of Lagos. How real was his influence was seen in the trying days of the Great War, when but for the gravity of the world situation generally, whereby all local events became small, his achievements could never have been confined to the archives of the Secretariat.

It is as a meanderer, and not in the course of argument, that I mention that other famous man whose nick-name will remain in the Audit Department, a man of such shape that, as he added up figures in the Secretariat, it moved a young sprig of a later generation to bestow upon him the name of the "Puff Adder." That the lesser auditors should become "Young Adders" to all those whom they afflicted with their presence, followed of course.

Such pioneering days as those of the beginning of this century are practically over, owing to improved means of communication, and an officer now may not take so much responsibility upon himself as formerly, or in its new strength the Secretariat becomes disagreeable. The old men, however, had to be fearless and self-reliant, as well as wise and just. There was C. C., a mild man, who found himself surrounded by a hostile crowd in a market-place, and by setting the people to play football got out of what might have been a most awkward situation, and perhaps saved himself from an end like that of the doctor who, riding ahead of his column on his bicycle, missed his way, and was done to death in mistake for a much disliked official. But officials were by no means the only adventurers, for there were the old captains of hulks, who in turn gave place to the "captains" of beaches, still living on the "top deck" over their factories, and delegating authority to African clerks and Kru headmen. There were also the slavers, through whose unfortunate cargoes the New World received the "Uncle Remus" stories, and also, by a kind of grim justice, yellow fever.

Most of our ideas of slavery are formed from the horrors of the slave ship, and from the highly-coloured descriptions in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and it is well to note that these conditions were largely manufactured by the "civilised" European. Slavery still exists among Africans, and, I think, will continue, but it is a different thing, amounting to little more than a gentle and protective form of domestic service—which leads me to the subject of stewards.

The steward takes the greatest pride in his master, who, although he may be economical and careful, must not be niggardly. The cook is a most important personage, and it pays to employ a good one, even though his wages seem extravagant, for, as I found when I tried to get along with a promoted cook's mate, I lived abominably, and probably more expensively, than before, and although the preparation of, say, a couple of bricks weighing about 15 lb. from about seven pounds of flour does not seem an uneconomical result, it was not much solace for a hungry man, nor was I pleased when a long-anticipated ham appeared as a bare bone with a few shreds of overboiled meat. articles were recovered from Joe's town house, and a magistrate awarded him an official task that would occupy some years, so that I thought I had seen the last of him.

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London, England

Alas, only a part of him reached camp, and that part which, since it was to them apparently chiefly for was offered to the headman as his customary share breaking camp, seemed a hard one. of extra rations. The headman told the carrier officer, *(To be continued.)* who in turn passed the news to the O.C. Column, and the sad result was a trial by court-martial, and a death

Race Problem - 1930

Africa

THE RACIAL MENACE IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE NATIVE AFRICAN is the most patient of all people, but imposing white civilization on him, says Gen. Jan Christian Smuts, former Premier of South Africa, can only result in bolshevizing him and making him a menace to the rest of the world.

Digest 3-15-30 Vol 104, No. 6 New York, N.Y.

And from another source comes word that this is actually taking place. In an address before the Natal Missionary Conference, quoted in *The South Africa Outlook*, Ray E. Phillips declares that a large number of native South Africans are becoming communistically minded and are increasingly feeling that the wrongs done to them by the white man can not be righted by peaceful means alone. They are rapidly losing their faith in the Government, says Mr. Phillips, who is a missionary of the American Board, specializing in Christian social service work in South African industrial centers. They feel that the missionary has betrayed them, or at least stood silently by while the unscrupulous white man has grabbed their land and driven them to work; they see the wide discrepancies in wages paid white and black workers for the same work; they see the utter cant and hypocrisy in the liquor laws, which grant to the white man unlimited rights, and prohibit liquor to the natives in towns."

All down the line, especially in the economic field, says this worker, the native feels that he is being unjustly discriminated against by the white invader. "Rebellion and revolt are not natural to the native people. They hesitate to join formally an organization such as the Communist party. But," the missionary warns, "the general attitude which the Communists stand for is growing and is becoming increasingly vocal." He gives us this vivid picture:

"Attend a meeting of natives held on the Market Square, Johannesburg. Perhaps a thousand native men are present. The speaker is a young native man, who speaks perfect English. Through interpreters he enumerates the wrongs of his race in South Africa. He attacks the employers and the Government, mentions the low wages and the color bar. Then he pours scorn on the missionary and the clergyman—white and black. 'Comrades,' he cries, 'we must kick out the missionary and the clergyman. I know, because my father is a . . . clergyman. I know what I am talking about. What is the missionary doing for us? Nothing! He educates us and leaves us to starve! He points up to the sky and tells us, by and by, after you're dead, you'll have enough to eat and fine clothes to wear! That's not good enough for us! We want food to eat and clothes to wear to-day! Am I right?'

"Back comes a thunderous response, 'Right you are!' 'Then kick out the missionary and the missionary's God.'"

"Are you happy?" asks a white speaker at another meeting, says Mr. Phillips. "Have you got all the freedom that you want?" "No," comes the answer. "We are not happy!"

"Well," says the speaker, "if you will do what the Russian workers have done, and what the Chinese workers are doing, you will be able to secure freedom. We have got to be prepared, not merely with demonstrations, but also, if it proves to be necessary, with far more drastic action. Build up your organizations so that you can take possession of this country."

The only man in South Africa who has taken the time and energy to look carefully into the native economic situation, with its accompanying social effects, observes *The Congregationalist*, is Dr. Henderson, and he states that "the situation is anxious, and there are some who fear it is passing out of our control." And so *The Congregationalist* asks:

"Shall the next few years witness the wholesale desertion of the Christian Church by the native people? Shall they be forced to join the Communists, or similar organizations, to find that understanding of their great human needs, that practise of brotherhood, which they have heard so much of and seen so little practical evidence of in the Christian Church? If this occurs, a suitable epitaph to be placed over the grave of the institution which called itself the Christian Church might be the despairing words of Christ—'They said, but did not!'"

General Smuts, to return to him, would leave the native African to his own system. In speaking in New York recently on racial problems in Africa, he maintained it is wrong to make "an inferior European" of a native who is justly proud of being an African. As quoted in the New York *Times*, General Smuts went on:

"There is a great deal of good in the African culture and system. For one thing, the African is a Socialist. All land is owned in common, as are most of the cattle, and each tribe is run by a council of elders and a chief. If you try to break down this system, it is very easy to do so, but it is impossible to substitute a European or any other system in its stead. By doing so you bolshevize the most docile being on the face of the earth, the African negro, and you make him a menace to the rest of the world.

"Why should we standardize humanity? That may be a fine thing in the United States. You want to make a great nation, and you are succeeding; but you can not do that with the human race. In Africa you must build on the African foundation. It has been created in hundreds and thousands of years, and I have a very high respect for any system of time, as I have for all natural facts. Let there be differences in type as long as they are ethically sound.

"Leave them their villages, their dancing and their songs. In the past we have gone astray in South Africa. There have been misguided efforts on behalf of governments and missionaries, altho I do not in the least wish to condemn the latter, with whom I heartily sympathize, and we now have perhaps millions of Negroes who have lost their native contacts, and no longer belong to their old tribes.

"Our system is individualism; theirs is socialism. The result of trying to Europeanize them has caused so many to be lost to their own people."

Any change in the African cultural system, General Smuts warns, should be made without violence. He advises that the native laborers in the copper mines of Rhodesia, and other parts, be not allowed to take their womenfolk and children with them. "Let them remain in their tribal areas," he urges. "Do not bring them to be contaminated by white civilization, which, after all, is perhaps only an experiment. When we reflect a little on our own foibles, our wars, our tremendous losses of human lives, it may not be so fine. At any rate, the black soon learn the vices of white civilization, and they soon degrade him."

THE CASE OF THE NON-EUROPEAN.

African World 3-1-30 Vol CX No 1427 Africa

The native question in South Africa continues to loom large on the political horizon, and until a courageous, sincere effort is made to find a satisfactory solution to this most complicated and delicate of all problems in the sub-Continent there can be no hope of permanent harmony between the races of different colour in that part of the globe. In latter years native opinion has become more enlightened and the time is fast approaching when it will be possible no longer to procrastinate and shelve legitimate native demands with vague promises of redress. The present Government appears to be alive to the situation that is developing, and seeks to find a basis of solution on the lines of the Premier's Native Bills, which will shortly occupy the attention of politicians throughout the Union and whose progress will be watched with intense interest in England and other countries far afield. Those Bills have already been peppered with criticism, but we would urge the critics to withhold judgment till the Bills appear in their final form. It is certain that they will be substantially amended in many directions, for General Hertzog will not, we are sure, adopt an uncompromising attitude, but will readily consider any suggestion which, if carried out, will result in the greatest good to the greatest number. At the same time the Premier would be well-advised not to ignore the grievances set forth by such leaders of non-European opinion in South Africa as Dr. Abduraham and Professor Jabavu, both men of culture and of reasonable views. These two men have shown clearly that in many respects the non-European suffers great disadvantages and that the industrial and political colour bars impose big handicaps on a very important section of a community which feels that instead of being regarded as forming part of a nation they are treated as unwelcome guests. Dr. Abduraham and Professor Jabavu's case for the non-European is at least worthy of most careful consideration, and the Premier's task will be lightened if he does not blind himself to this aspect of this all-important problem of the non-European in South Africa.

EGYPT DRUG REVELATIONS.

So far as Egyptian affairs are concerned, it is not Cairo or London but Geneva that has been full in the limelight during the past week. General Russell Pasha's revelations of the appalling magnitude of the dope traffic in Egypt have astounded the world in general—they have even surprised some of those who know Egypt well, and were therefore prepared to hear that things were pretty bad, yet had not suspected that the evil was quite so widespread as it is now known to be. It is curious and interesting that just at a time when Egypt is apparently so anxious to rid herself of British officials and all British influence, it should be an English official in the Egyptian service who should cause Egypt's name to ring throughout the world as a leader in the crusade against this horrible and nefarious traffic in narcotics. Russell Pasha at Geneva put up the bold front that all those who are acquainted with him would have expected, and there is no doubt that the work of the Cairo Narcotics Bureau under its fearless, tireless, and indomitable English director is going to have an enormous effect in putting a stop to a scandal that has attained almost incredible proportions. It was charac-

teristic of Russell Pasha to name his chief subordinates and pay a tribute to their assistance before the Advisory Committee at Geneva, and indeed it is evident that he must have had willing and able help in his arduous task, but we are convinced that without his inspiration, his firmness, his persistency, his unswerving high purpose, and his notable personal courage, little could have been accomplished. The English Commandant of the Cairo City Police enters history as the champion of the Egyptians against the fiends who would ruin and corrupt them body and soul, and while there is breath left in him he will not give up an inch of ground. It is good to find that the best type of British official, he who cares for the Egyptians as though they were his brothers and renders them the best service that lies in his power, it not extinct—as some have alleged him to be—and since the Egyptians are not slow to recognise high qualities, we believe that they will not fail to appreciate Russell Pasha's worth and be grateful to him for the prestige that he has brought in so short a time to the Central Narcotics Bureau of the Egyptian Government.

PRIVILEGES OF THE PRESS.

Once more the question of the freedom of the Press has been strikingly brought into the forefront of public attention by the conviction of a South African journalist—a member of the editorial staff of the Rand "Daily Mail"—who, having given his word of honour not to divulge the source of certain information upon which an article had been published, remains silent in the face of extreme pressure on the part of the authorities, and prefers to submit to incarceration rather than jeopardise a principle which he deems sacred to the highest standards of journalism. The courageous stand by the Johannesburg journalist has, we are not surprised to see, been whole-heartedly approved by journalistic institutions in all parts of the Empire. An action of this character strikes, in our opinion, at the root foundations of the freedom of the Press, and we await with interest—and, we might add, with confidence—the result of the appeal which the convicted journalist is taking to a higher court. As the matter is *sub judice* it would be impolitic for us to make any further comments at this stage, but we are at least able to extend our sympathy with and congratulations to the spirited journalist who is making so brave a fight for the honour of the Press.

UNDER THE FRENCH MANDATE.

THE minutes of the Fifteenth Session of the Permanent Mandates Commission (Constable and Co., Ltd., 10, Orange Street, W.C.2) need, as usual, to be read in conjunction with the official reports received from the various Mandatory Powers if they are to be of real use to the general reader, but their 300 foolscap pages show that the Commission is doing quiet, if often undervalued, work in influencing administration in the mandated areas. The part of West Africa dealt with was French Togoland and Cameroon, and the constant references to Prof. R. L. Buell's "Native Problem in Africa" gave the Commission a new value as a body able to demand an official reply to any criticism of weight, and to point out that in ignoring such criticism an official report may seriously harm its own future credit. Sometimes, however, the official extracts may be a little misleading, for while for example Buell's account of excessive labour exactions by Chiefs on their private lands may be true, it is easy for headquarters to state, with equal truth, that such exactions have no official sanction. There is also the question of migration to British territory. The causative effect of taxation was easily given a wrong value by mentioning it in conjunction with such minor factors as greater economic activity and higher pay in British territory, yet in the Togoland Chamber of Commerce last April an African member stated that the *first* step needed to check migration was the abolition of the capitation tax, with the mistakes in assessment and abuse in collection that followed in its train. The real cause of trouble seems to be less the tax itself than the whole French administrative outlook, for direct taxation is equally well known in British territory. The difference was particularly noticeable when Lord Lugard suggested the payment of a salary to Chiefs, with the implications, to a British mind, that these should be trustworthy individuals, protected from excessive temptation by the opportunity to appeal given to their subjects by the local publication of all assessment lists. The French view was that their present more centralised system was better, with the good faith of the Chief guaranteed, not by his known personality and the power of appeal given to his people, but by making it mechanically impossible through a system of token checks for him to hand over *less*, although he might collect *more*, than the amount demanded by the Government.

It is obviously difficult for the Commission to handle land questions, but of two petitions on the subject, that of a village in French Togoland separated from its farms by an international boundary seems likely to be settled, temporarily, at any rate, by the guarantee of the British that the farmers should not be disturbed, while that of Joseph Bell in respect of land taken for the development of Duala in German days and used in 1922, is one of those problems that only time can solve. Prof. Buell's criticism regarding concessions granted in the Cameroon to French companies was explained away by the French Government, but, combined with the fact that reserves have been formed in connection with lands on the Northern Railway to draw people toward less populated areas, and that smaller concessions held by Europeans increased in 1928 from 18 to 50, one feels that the subject needs to be discussed as a whole, and not merely by question and answer on separate points.

The status of the people of Togoland and the Cameroon seems still to be indeterminate, and the Commission showed some fear that the educated community might become French citizens. Actually, only three have become so, one in the Cameroon and two in Togoland, but the Commission missed the opportunity to enquire exactly how full French naturalisation is acquired in a territory that is technically not French. At the moment, however, the matter of nationality is not an important one, for in reply to a petition by the "Bund der Deutsch Togoländer," complaining that only one of 14 members of the Lome Council of Notables was a Togolander, the French Government showed that the present Council, at any rate, contains five Gold Coasters, chosen, presumably in preference to their countrymen, by the local electorate. In the Cameroon, the Councils of Notables are still nominated, because, it was said, the population was less advanced than in Togoland. In regard to the administration, and the existence of the "Indigenat," or summary punishment of "subjects," mentioned by Prof. Buell, it was stated that the conditions described in the book have been changed by a new edict.

Public health problems produced relatively few questions, but an enquiry is to be made among the Mandatory Powers as to their views on the employment of qualified foreign (including African, we hope) doctors, or, if such doctors should not be available, on the payment of increased grants to medical missionaries. Another subject on which the Commission is amassing information is the liquor traffic, and it is hoped shortly to publish a memorandum. In reply to Lord Lugard's suggestion for the equalisation of duties on liquor in French and British territories, a new reason was advanced in support of the present state of affairs when it was claimed that the duty paid by an inhabitant of the French Cameroon is as high already in comparison with his wages and expenses as that of his brother across the border.

A word of warning is necessary in regard to the reading of the minutes of the Commission. As will be seen from what has been written above, the principal points touched upon are controversial matters or subjects of criticism, and it is easy to infer from them that the Commission examined the reports of the French Government in an atmosphere of suspicion. That this is not so may be deduced, even if the reader does not see the original reports, by the obvious lack of need to question the main services of health, education, and agriculture, on all of which satisfactory progress continues to be shown.

Xosa Doctors.

Native Opinion
1-7-30
(By "Dankbaar")
Kingwilliamstown,
South Africa

The above is the subject of which Rev B J R s h d a monopoly in the "Daily D spatch" of 15th July 1929. Of corrse he knew many Xos doctors and discussed many subjects with them and so d d h s father before him, but they nev r knew or once heard of a witch d ctor No such thing exists he affirms, or ever did exist among the Xosa. When you come to think of it, what is a witch doctor, or what could he be? Any number of Nativ s profess to know; but it is hardly possible to get three of them to agree about three things. Hence the impossibility of making a sound classification from information got from present day Natives. Hence too the superficial knowledge that leads the ignorant to speak of witch doctors

It seems quite clear that a hundred years ago the doctors were divided into classes clearly distinguished from one another, each being specialists in their own lines. The thinking Xosa knew two classes of expert men: (1) doctors—amagqira—men of good character, held in high repute, who preserve life; and (2) evil men—amagqwira—who ape the doctors, and destroy life.

Here we have something like what we know in Israel. There you had also two classes of prophets and false prophets The latter aped the prophets, and no doubt at times really believed that they were prophets. It was hardly possible for the simple to know the difference between the true and the false, so it was with Xosa doctors and those who aped them.

In the first place let us take into consideration the fact that Rev. Ross is favourably disposed towards Natives hence the nickname "Zamukulunxis." But his attempts in this direction will not go unchallenged. He cannot speak of Natives as one speaks of extinct races like Bushmen and American Red Indians. Therefore Natives are entitled to have a say on the matter The amagqwira are never known to Natives as doctors or to imitate or ape the doctors Ofcourse there is a similarity of "igqira" doctor to "igqwira" witch or wizard in spelling and pronunciation but not in functions. There is no gqira gqwira doctor witch or witch-doctor in the Xosa language but the herbalists "amaxwele or izinyanga" were known to heal and to poison or charm. The Xosa doctors are rightly called witch doctors in English to distinguish them from Christian doctors. According to Webster's Dictionary p. 1659 Witch n. one who practises the black art, or magic; one regarded as possessing supernatural or magical powers by compact with an evil spirit, esp with the Devil; a sorcerer or sorceress, now applied chiefly or only to women, but formerly used of men as well. "There was a man in that city whose name was Simon, a witch Wycliff (Acts, 9, "doctor n one duly licensed to practise medicine; a member of the medical profession; a physician.

Xosa doctors (amagqira) are men who have spirits of divination or familiar spirits as the author of "The Story of a Century p 4 says "Terrible is the awful power of the witch doctor Witchcraft pervades everything in the life of the people. Sickness in man and beast, storms, locusts, accidents, strange and tragic events are all attributed to witchcraft.

Race Problem - 1930
Africa

Miscarriage of Justice.

Court
8-6-30

(By Mfochane)

'Metla Khola, in the "Mochocho-nono" of the 23rd July, has fittingly asked "Who is to blame?" It is the fervent desire of the writer of the article to apply the question to some of the Government officials stationed at Maseru Who is to blame that there is so much miscarriage of justice in this district? Is it the Assistant Commissioner or is it the Police Officer or the Police generally or all or one or other of the above groups of persons? The answer lies somewhere, somehow between these given groups of persons. An instance may here be given. About the beginning of June 1930 we heard that one Esa Sekonyela of Morija had been run over and killed by a motor car owned by Samuel Matsela and driven by his driver near Masite Nek store. Has any inquest been held on the death of this poor victim? No, none that we know of. There is information on authority that apart from sending a Private Policeman (a man who is not in the slightest degree qualified to hold inquiries of this nature) to inspect the locus in quo no further steps have been taken by the authorities to ascertain if and whether the man met his death by accident or if not by accident to bring the culprit to justice. This is a grave miscarriage of justice People's lives are too valuable and precious to be merely brushed aside.

Masaru

It is the duty either of the Assistant Commissioner or Police Officer to hold an inquest on the dead body of any person supposed or suspected to have come to his end by violence, or otherwise than in a natural way. And the case of Esa Sekonyela is a case in point.

It has also been authoritatively given that the investigation has been abandoned (or delayed we don't know which) because there was a rumour to the effect that the deceased met his death through being drunk. Rumours establish no facts in so far as the law is concerned. It is the duty of the functionaries mentioned above to investigate thoroughly into the death of the deceased, and if the Assistant Commissioner (or Police Officer) does not see reason to believe that the deceased person came by his death in a manner which would afford ground for instituting proceedings against any person he is at liberty in so far as the law is concerned to arrive at that conclusion; but particulars of such conclusion and enquiry must, we believe, be transmitted to the higher authorities for their information.

We also hear, but don't believe that half a dozen idle and disorderly persons were indicted, a few weeks ago, for some offence unknown to the writer and that before they could be arraigned the Assistant Commissioner inquired as to whether there was sufficient evidence to warrant their conviction On the Police Sergeant being unable to say whether or not there was sufficient evidence (as of course he could not possibly say, he not being a judge) the case was dismissed without further hearing. Is it not the function of the Assistant Commissioner to adjudicate fairly and without prejudice upon cases and to discharge the accused if the prosecution fail to prove their case? What will the effect be if the Assistant Commissioner assumes the position of Prosecutor and only adjudicates upon cases which he is already certain will obtain conviction? If this is not a grave miscarriage of justice I am yet to learn what it is.

Let us wait and see.

FINGO TREATY CASE.

Supreme Court Judgment

Concluded.

8-12-30

I CONFESS THAT I FEEL SOME SYMPATHY WITH THESE MEN.

As pointed out by De Villiers, C.J., in the case of Blanckenberg v. the Colonial Government (II S.C.R., p. 92), Crown land is but too often regarded as a kind of no man's land upon which it is permissible to the neighbours to squat to their heart's content. But in the present case the officials in control of Pato's Kop Location and of the Crown land on the Wooldridge commonage may have thought at one time that some of the huts, which are now shown to be on the commonage, had been erected on land reserved for the location, and, in respect of the occupiers of these huts, I think it would only be equitable that the authorities in charge of the location should make some provision for the accommodation of the defendants, who must now remove elsewhere. As to the claim for damages, it is admitted that the defendants have grazed their cattle on the commonage and have cut wood, but no substantial amount of damage has been proved to have been sustained, and, as Mr. Lewis states, the main claim is in regard to the claim for ejectment.

It is true that the evidence shows that for many years numbers of cattle from Pato's Kop Location and from other neighbouring locations grazed on the land which is now the commonage. But I understand the evidence as to the grazing of cattle was not called with the object of establishing a servitude of grazing rights but in support of the claim to ownership of the ground in question. And in respect to the evidence it seems clear that the cattle of the defendants grazed on portons of the commonage in common with the cattle belonging to the European and native occupiers of Wooldridge and with cattle belonging to natives in adjoining locations. There is no suggestion in the evidence of the defendants that they treated the land as their own. They never attempted to impound the cattle belonging to other persons grazing upon the land, or raised any objection to such grazing. (See Smith and others v. Martin's Exec.; 16 S.C.R., p. 148). For these reasons I think that the plaintiffs have succeeded in establishing their claims, and there is no substance in the defence raised to the action; and the defendants' claim in reconvention also fails.

As already stated, the conclusions arrived at in this judgment relieve the Court from the necessity of deciding upon the other issues raised in this case. Mr. Lewis, however, requested the Court, in view of the importance of the issues involved and the fact that it is said that this has been a

MATTER OF AGITATION AND UNREST

amongst the Fingo people for many years, and that they have been labouring under a sense of grievance and injustice which it is highly desirable should be disposed of finally, to give a final judgment on all the remaining issues. Had it been necessary for the purposes of our judgment I would have been inclined to hold that the treaty of 1845 was invalid ab initio, on the ground that the Fingoes at this date were British subjects. I did not understand Mr. Stuart to contest the legal proposition stated by Mr. Lewis that contracts entered into between States and private individuals are not subjects of international law, a treaty being regarded as an international contract between two States. See Hall, Internation Law, 4th ed., chapter X, and footnote at page 339.

The evidence that the Fingoes were British subjects prior to 1845 is very strong. Sir George Cory, vol. III, page 164, of the work already referred to, states, in referring to the departure of the Fingoes across the Kei on May 11, 1836 :—

> "Now, however, they were out of the land of bondage, were become British subjects, and were to take their part in the making of history of the Eastern Provinces."

At page 372 of the same volume he again refers to the Fingoes as British subjects.

Under cross-examination, at page 128 of his evidence, Sir George also admits that from the evidence put before him, Sir B. Durban in 1835 undoubtedly "recognised in the clearest way that the Fingoes were British subjects" And on page 129 of his evidence he states that he is satisfied that there is no warrant whatever for Mr. Kidwell's statement to the effect that at that date the Fingoes were not British subjects. In coming to this conclusion I have no doubt that Sir George was influenced by the letter addressed by Sir B. Durban to the Rev. John Ayliff, T. M. Bowker, Captain Halifax, and Lieut Moultrie, dated the 13th July, 1835, in which His Excellency states, inter alia, in informing these gentlemen that they have been appointed joint commissioners "for the management of the Fingo nation, lately rescued from slavery, brought into the King's Colonial Dominions, and become His Majesty's subjects" Indeed, the mass of historical evidence put in by Mr, Lewis, including the memorial of 1906 of the Fingoes themselves presented to Sir W. Hely-Hutchinson, influenced Mr. Stuart to admit "that the Fingoes were treated as British subjects at that time." Not alone were they treated as British subjects, but I am satisfied that the Fingoes in 1836 were de facto British subjects, and have so continued to be. Mr. Kidwell's evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Assembly in 1865 is of no value, as his reasons for arriving at a contrary conclusion are of no weight in face of the strong evidence to which I have already referred.

On the somewhat belated contention

that the treaty of 1845 constituted a contract I have little to say. The rights, if any, acquired by the d fendants under such a contract are personal rights which could only be enforced against the parties to the contract, and if an action for breach of contract was instituted the Government, as representing the Crown, must be a party to the action.

On the issue as to whether the treaty of 1845 was revoked by Sir H. Smith" Proclamation of 1847, there is much to be said in favour of the plaintiffs' contention. To begin with, the terms of the Proclamation are very wide, as will be seen by reference to the Proclamation published in the Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette of the 23rd of December, 1847, and signed on the 17th of December of that year. It is contended that the Proclamation refers only to the Kaffir tribes, and that the reference to the abrogation of the treaties with them and "all others" was not intended to include the Fingoes, inasmuch as the latter had been

Forced Mine Labour.

To the many colour bars introduced by the present Government yet another has been added against Natives. It is stated that Government intends subsidising the employment of Europeans in jobs at present held by Natives. This scheme is regarded as a definite solution of the unemployment problem. A start will be made with industries dealing purely with the production of foodstuffs, and already Government has made overtures to the proprietors of large bakeries. It is reported that the intention is to kill two birds with one stone, viz. to augment the mine labour supply and Native labour in agriculture. A more preposterous scheme adopted by the State is difficult to imagine. From the standpoint of economics, and humanity it is a disgraceful proposition to suggest to sensible industrialists. Justice is an unknown quantity with the present Government when it comes to the legitimate avenues of employment by Natives. If whites starve the Native must be penalised even though he be not responsible for the unemployment of the former. The black man is at his wits ends to provide a living for himself and his family, but now he must be robbed of the miserable pittance with which he has been ekeing out a living. If the Native in despair and exasperation becomes a professional highway robber and criminal will the Government admit the responsibility of its sordid manufacture? Why must the public be exposed to the dangers of designed criminality by order of the State? South Africa is truly heading for the rocks in the policy of robbing Peter to pay Paul. Natives have been long-suffering to a fault with recent anti-black legislation; but there must be a limit some day. The policy of treating the black as a separate entity to the rest of the citizens of South Africa will be found impracticable. The existence of a Native Affairs Department with no Treasury of its own is only a form of legalised misappropriation of Native taxation without representation. The Minister of Justice and the Minister of Labour in an endeavour to settle problems in their spheres do not consult or even obtain the consent of the Minister of Native Affairs before interfering with the rights of the proteges entrusted by law to the latter. The Native Affairs Minister dare not even raise his voice to call a halt where Native privileges are being ruthlessly massacred by his Cabinet confreres. Why have a Native Affairs Department at all in the circumstances? Come to cattle dipping regulations and the opprobrious permit system of cattle removals by Natives, the Native Affairs Department partially functions. The Minister of Agriculture is lord of Natives in that respect, and so the ridiculous state of affairs continues. To-day the Minister of Labour has a brainwave of solving the white unemployment problem by kicking out Natives of jobs, and driving one and all to the mines and farms. What wages will the Natives previously employed in bakeries receive at the mines, with no previous experience of mine labour? No! that matters nothing with our Government so long as the white unemployed are well provided for in their new jobs. The Minister for Native Affairs will be touring the Native reserves shortly, and Natives will expect him to make a statement regarding the havoc played by the Labour Minister in the spheres of Native labour employment. Such havoc strikes at the root of the economic welfare of Natives for which a Commission has been appointed and is now taking evidence throughout the country. Employers were enjoined officially to co-operate in the endeavours to be made by that Commission. Government takes the lead in foredooming the hoped—for good relations between employers and employees by proselytizing industrialists to throw justice to the four winds and rob Natives of jobs to provide unemployed whites. We had suspected that the appointment of the Economic Commission was a farcical camouflage to circumvent the Wage Act determinations where Natives would benefit. The latest attack on the rights of Natives to sell their labour where they want, and at a price they desire, seems to justify our suspicions.

NATIVES AND THE LAW.

NAIROBI, August 24.

The Commission of Inquiry appointed by the Government of Kenya is investigating the circumstances of what is known as the Wagishu murder case, in which four natives who were sentenced to death by the Supreme Court in 1928 were retried on the instruction of the Appeal Court and eventually acquitted after spending a year and a half in gaol.

It may be recalled that the reopening of the case is due to the unremitting labours of accused's employer, Mr. Oswald Bentley, a settler, at whose farm, near Kitale, the murder occurred.

Mr. Bentley, in a long detailed statement to the Commission, stated that the system of administering justice in vogue in Kenya, and especially the procedure connected therewith, though probably suitable in European cases, was quite unsuitable where the accused were primitive Africans. Both police and judges should have knowledge of native languages and native mentality, which, Mr. Bentley states, is not the case at present. He alleges that in the case under review the police started on the assumption that the natives were guilty, and therefore, consciously or unconsciously, they excluded evidence in their favour. Thus, says Mr. Bentley, the magistrate's attention was directed to the fact that blood-stains on a vest of one of the accused were circumstantial evidence of guilt, but no steps were taken to prove that it was human blood, and in fact it was, Mr. Bentley adds, that of an animal.

Mr. Bentley also alleged that native witnesses were ill-treated and intimidated by the police, especially the wife and child of one of the accused, who were called as witnesses against him. He thought it should be the duty of the police and judges to assist Africans in disclosing the possible lines of their defence instead of, as at present, being concerned mainly with the prosecution.

Mr. Bentley is claiming compensation for the natives and also the refund of his expenses. The inquiry is continuing.

In this connection an important step was recently taken by the Kenya Government by the introduction of legislation for the purpose of creating Native Tribunals, which are to be given wide judicial powers over native cases. The main purpose is to maintain the prestige of native authorities among their own people.

Race Problem - 1930

Africa

FOURTH SESSION OF NATIONAL GONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA HELD IN LAGOS NIGERIA.

Weekly News

ADDRESS

Delivered at the Preliminary Public Meeting of the National Congress of British West Africa, held at Glover Memorial Hall, Lagos, on Tuesday, December 31 1929, at 4.30 p.m.

2-8-30 2-9-30

Chairman:

Hon. CASELEY HAYFORD, M.B.E.

Freetown Sierra Leone

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

Mr. Roberts, Mr. Peter Thomas, White Capped Chiefs and friends—I thank you very much for the reception you have given me this evening and for the kind words that have been said by Mr. Roberts in introducing me to you. I take the opportunity of introducing to you my fellow delegates on on the platform. We sit as a delegation of the National Congress of British West Africa, of which I am a humble member, and if you will look round on the platform you will see the gentlemen who compose this delegation. First of all there are from the Gold Coast my humble self, my friend Mr. Wood the General Secretary, Mr. Abiola Akiwunmi, Mr. Cudjoe Bruce and Mr. Kitson-Mills, who is one of the Financial Secretaries of the Congress. Then I present to you our esteemed countryman, Mr. Peter Thomas, Mr. I. J. Roberts and J. C. Zizer as Sierra Leone delegates. Mr. Roberts has told you what others have done for the oCngress, but not what he has done. In 1926 when we held the Session at the Gambia, he was the President there. Since then he has come to live among the Nigerian friends, and you will be surprised to know that owing to his presence here we have been encouraged to come among you on this occasion. When we started this Congress, Nigeria was fully with us; we have on the platform to-day representatives of the Calabar Section, they are in the persons of my friends Mr. Esin and Mr. Ekpo, and there are men here representing the Ebute Metta Section of the Congress. There used to be a Lagos Section, but somehow, it is moribund at present; we hope with your help to re-establish and revive it.

I come here to speak to you to-day as an African upon matters African. GOD in His wise providence has sent us into this world in families aud groups. However much I might pretend to have an interest in my neighbour's affairs, in my neighbour's family, I cannot have the same interest as I have in my own family.

The same applies to races. God in His wisdom has ordained the White man, the Black man, the Yellow man, and the Brown man. I cannot pretend to have the same interest in the affairs of the White man; if I did I would be untrue; nor can I expect the White man to have the same interest in my affairs as an African; if he tells me so, he is deceiving me. To put it shortly, I may have some interest in his affairs, but if he pretends that he has the same degree of interest in my own, it cannot be correct. The same applies to the Brown man, the Yellow man, and men all over the world, each seeking his own interest. Years ago when we in Gold Coast, were thinking of beginning a nation our friends in Japan contemporaneously were thinking out and seeking for means of becoming a nation. They were alive to their interests, they took their burdens upon their own shoulders and helped themselves, and so must we, black people in the world take our burdens on our shoulders, if we wish to become a nation, a people.

We have not come here as a delegation to meddle in your local affairs, or to interfere with your local politics. There are certain matters that concern you specifically, domestically and individually, and at the same time others that concern all of us as Africans. Now I will explain what I mean. Supposing you were considering in Nigeria whether you should put 3d. stamps upon your letters sent abroad or whether you should not, that is your local affair; but if, for instance, there was in contemplation a law by which our white-Capped Chiefs would lose their position and Government would appoint them as we have hitherto appointed them, then that is my business, and here let me say, in passing, that my friend Mr. Roberts has referred to the London delegation. I rejoice to see in this room here to-night my friend Chief Oluwa sitting in front of me. I am glad to see him Why I am glad in seeing Chief Oluwa in this room to-night? In London he was one of our delegates; in all our deliberations he was present, and his advices were most valuable. We should not think that when we are dressed in European fashion we have the maximum of wisdom, and that we should not seek wisdom from others not similarly dressed. Often knowledge comes but wisdom lingers. We have come here therefore not only to address ourselves to the educated class, but also to the whole people of the country to ask them to take part in our endeavours so that the salvation of British West Africa may be assured.

Now opinions are bound to differ in this world of ours. There are some who think that God still rains manna from heaven, that is not true. There are some who are afraid of their own shadows and think that all they require will come easily without being worked for. We must as a people learn to speak out, we must tell our needs. The saying is true that they who seek will find, without seeking we cannot find, without knocking the door will not be opened to us. And therefore it was that in the year 1920 the whole of British West Africa, having thought the question out carefully, decided that we should have a conference at Accra in March of that year, At that conference the Gambia was represented. I forgot in passing to mention that Gambia is here represented to-day by Mr. I. J. Roberts. Sierra Leone was represented fully at Accra. Nigeria was also represented fully. As I look round the platform I see my friend the Very Revd. Patriarch Campbell; he was one of them. I want to remind you particularly that what we did in March of that year was not only for the Gold Coast but also for the whole British West African Colonies.

Now there are some who think that the Congress is antagonistic to the Government, that is not true and is not correct. When we opened the Conference at the first meeting at Accra the Acting Governor was present with us; and we took care then and have since taken care to be in touch with Government. Whatever we do we communicate to Downing Street and the several Governments of British West Africa. When we subsequently held the session at Freetown Sierra Leone, His Excellency the then Governor, Sir Alexander Ransford Slater now Governor of the Gold Coast, was very kind to us. My friend Mr. Wood and Mr. Kitson-Mills. were there with me throughout and will bear witness that the Governor took interest in our deliberations and invited us to tea. He also gave all Government Officials permission to attend our meetings throughout at the time. The Clerk of Council was Mr. Miller; he was an Officer of the Congress, and I remember he attended our meetings.

In 1926 we held our third session at the Gambia. The Governor then was Captain Sir Cecil Armitage. He placed at our disposal the Governor's own car to take us through the country. He gave us special facilities. He caused the Director of Agriculture to take us round to the plantations. He invited us as a body to an At Home. He gave us an interview on which occasion we were able to lay before him some of the pressing needs of the Gambia, and last but not least he invited us to Dinner, our worthy Secretary sat on his left hand I then as Vice-President on his right (applause). All these show that we are not antagonistic to the Government. Those who are afraid of their own shadows and those who have no backbones may think and say so, and if they think and say so they do so wrongly. Our Financial S'tary reminds me that at the Gamoia we had the honour of receiving a cablegram from the Governor of Nigeria regarding our activities. Now why do I say that Government cannot be antagonistic to, but move with, us? Because in England, in Britain, which to-day is the greatest Empire in the world, they have advanced in nationhood, and this has been through strife and struggle for their own individual rights. They cannot mean well by us if they expect us to put our hands in our laps and expect God to rain down manna for us.

Now when we met at Accra one of the first things we did was to pass a resolution, which I will read to you, showing that we have nothing in our minds against the Government. One of these resolutions was in these words:—

"That this conference desires to place on record the attachment of the peoples of British West Africa to the British connection and their unfeigned loyalty and devotion to the Throne and person of His Majesty the KING-EMPEROR, and directs that copies of these resolutions be forwarded in due course to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies and to each of the Governors of the several Dependencies."

Weekly News

The second resolution was of great importance. It read as follows:— 2-8-30

"It is hereby resolved by the Congress that its policy is to maintain strictly and inviolate the connection of the British West African Dependencies with the British Empire and to maintain unreservedly all and every right of free citizenship of the Empire and the fundamental principle that taxation goes with effective representation,"

We meant every word of that resolution then and now (applause).

Freetown Sierra Leone

After all the British are not a bad people at all. On our way here we had occasion to land in a French Colony; we were able to compare the life of the Africans in that Colony, and I speak sincerely here to-night when I say that we as Africans cannot do better than to seek our salvation under the ægis of the British Flag. At the same time in our country, the Gold Coast, we have a proverb to the effect that "if you see meat and do not ask for it, you will end in being treated to a bone."

This resolution says that effective representation goes with taxation. The people of British West Africa, have they effective representation in their affairs or not? I reply emphatically they have not. To-day there is a tendency now and again when laws are brought forward and we say we do not want them, they are withdrawn for a while and after a year or two they are brought forward in another form. If we in West Africa have not got effective representation, we are far

from being safe or becoming a nation, and that is an important reason why we should join this great Congress movement, so that when we move we shall move together and present our troubles for immediate remedy.

Now co-operation is the great word of the age. Those who can read between the lines know that our friends, the Europeans, are very anxious for the Africans' co-operation, and I say it is necessary for us to work with them; but I put it to you, supposing a man is asking me to co-operate with his family, but there is no co-operation between the members of my own family, what sort of co-operation is that? If we are asked to co-operate with them, with our masters, but they divide and rule what sort of co-operation is that? First there must be co-operation between us as a family, and then we can come down and work together with others for our common good.

Once upon a time there was a great flourishing city whose commerce ruled the world, but there was one great drawback in that city, and that was that every year a plague occurred among the people and swept off thousands of men and women. The King and his Councillors put their heads together to consider the ways and means of combating the plague. Someone said, "I know a little city where we can procure a remedy for this plague and all the people were very glad at these tidings Another one said, "I can find out the remedy that can cure the malady," and they quarrelled among themselves. At last one of them set out to look for remedy, and even then because the others were afraid if he brought the remedy he would get the glory, they resisted him, but he was brave, he was strong, and went and brought them the remedy; but still the people were suffering from plague. Why? Because they were still hesitating whether they should apply the remedy or not; because they thought if they were healed somebody will get the glory.

Weekly News

I have told you that I have come here to speak to you as an African upon matters African; and the great curse and trouble of our race in years gone by, and at the present moment is that in trying to arrive at nationhood those who go up to bring the cure are pulled down by their fellows. I send forth a warning, wherever African may be, the time has come for Africans to pull together in order that Africa may rise.

2-8-30

Time will fail me to tell you of what the Congress has done, but I will tell you some in a few words. It was the Congress that brought British West Africa the Franchise. We met at Accra in March 1920. You in Nigeria may think that God rained manna from Heaven that time. But do you know what happened? Shortly after the Conference at Accra, we went to England on a delegation. We had a meeting with the League of Nations Union which is the great Union in England connected with the League of Nations which control affairs all over the world. We were enrolled as members of the League of Nations Union, so that this Congress to-day is a member of that body through its delegation.

We had the honour of being received by the Committee of the League of Nations Union. Chief Oluwa was present. After hearing us patiently and fully, Sir Willoughby Dickenson said: "I never readily listened to more interesting speeches than the two we have heard and I can only reiterate what Professor Gilbert Murray has interjected that a great deal of this is new to me. I would wish that what you have said to us might be said to the whole British people, who are under the impression that the principles of the British Government which you have referred to still guide our method of Government in the Colonies." Later he said, referring to the speakers: "They have showed themselves to be of quite equal mental calibre to the inhabitants of European countries. Therefore I think the British Government ought to make the fullest use of the high intellect and character which undoubtedly exists among these races whom Europeans are apt to regard as incapable of self-government." And that is how the Franchise was obtained; while we were labouring in England we pressed for your rights with the result that before we knew where we were, you had obtained the franchise. We appealed for equal opportunity for Black and White in respect of service. At the time we were making this Appeal Mr. Woolhouse Bannerman of the Gold Coast was the Congress Secretary for the Gold Coast and Mr. Leslie M'Carthy was the Congress Secretary for Sierra Leone. Within a very short time Mr. Bannerman was made a Police Magistrate at the Gold Coast. He has since then acted on more than one occasion as Puisne Judge of the Gold Coast. He is acting at this moment as Puisne Judge, and there is every possibility of his being made a permanent Puisne Judge of the Gold Coast Colony, (applause) Mr. M'Carthy wes shortly made Crown Counsel of the Gold Coast and since then he has acted several times as Solicitor-General of the Gold Coast. When we were at the Gambia an African was acting as Assistant Colonial Secretary, and we have Africans holding European appointment in British West African Colonies as Assistant Treasurer and Supervisors of Customs. That is the work of the Congress. (applause.)

I spoke of Education, but I am sorry there is no time to launch upon that important subject. We have now the Achimota College on the Gold Coast with a view to making it the University of West Africa, if they work it properly. I have nearly come to the end now. One word more and I shall be done. I want to say a word upon service, the importance of service to our race as Africans. You know why the other race has got on is because they have among them men who are willing to serve for the sake of service and helping their fellow people, not for the sake of self-aggrandisement and self-praise. And before you serve you must feel a call for it, we must not go into service with the idea of getting reward or glory, nor that it will bring wealth to your account, but simply for the sake of service. You know the grand old story of the child Samuel. He is asleep when he hears somebody calling him; he runs to Eli and says "Here am I" "I did not call you, go and sleep," said Eli. At the second time he hears the call and goes up to Eli and says "Here am I, for you did call me." "What is the matter, go and sleep" said Eli. At the third time he hears again the call and attends. Eli says Now I perceive that it is God calling you and then you know the sequence. And you know that incident in the life of Christ. At supper he took water and began to wash his disciples' feet. One of them impetuously asks Him "Why are you washing my feet? He replies "He that is greatest among you let him be the servant of all." We are going to found in Lagos Nigeria, a Section of the National Congress of British West Africa (hear hear.) The Congress is not Mr. Casely Hayford or any other person in this room. The Congress is something greater and it has come to stay. We want pioneers who will go forth and work for the cause of Africa. I have done. Is there any man or woman in this room to night who will refuse our appeal to enroll under the banner of the National Congress of British West Africa? I now call upon our General Secretary, Mr. Samuel R. Wood to say a few words.

(Time did not allow Mr. Wood saying a few words, but instead, enrolment forms were distributed, which were eagerly signed.)—*The Nigerian Daily Telegraph*, January 5, 1930.

Disputes in Chieftainship.

Native Opinion
1-28-30
Kingsmen Quarterly

That the section in the Native Admistration Act (38 of 1927) empowering the Governor-General to appoint or depose a Native tribal chief as he pleases is one fraught with grave danger has been repeatedly brought to the forefront in the columns of this paper, and by resolutions of various Native organisations. Government is acting conscientiously in applying this section, maintaining that the law is for a tribe's own protection. The authorities however have totally failed to grasp the procedure adopted by Native tribes in appointing or deposing chiefs; and we are not surprised that they have, when we remember that when the law was framed the black experts (who are the only people in a position to explain the intricate procedure) were never consulted. The wide experience of officials in Native administration, we aver, can never substitute the knowledge of Native law by the Natives themselves. The unpleasant episode of Sekonela, the claimant to chieftainship of the Mpfuri tribe in the Northern Transvaal is only a forerunner of many similar incident to follow in the various parts of the Union at some time or another. The use of the police force, æroplanes, tear gas bombs and possibly resultant bloodshed is by far not the remedy to settle Native unrest under this law. An unwanted Government—appointed Native chief will never carry the favour nor confidence of a tribe, and once such an appointment is forced upon a people, the Government must be prepared to keep a strong force to quell the endless train of tribal risings.

Be it remembered also that these official appointments to chieftainship are a strong encouragement to usurpers who, aided by favouritism in official circles, habitually indulge in fomenting tribal unrest to cause the downfall of the rightful heir to chieftainship. We still insist that the best adjudicators on whose advice the Government can act are the tribal counsellors themselves in their customary tribal procedure of selection, if any lasting peace is to be maintained within a tribe.

Race Problem - 1930

Africa

WEST AFRICAN SECRET SOCIETIES: HISTORY, OBJECTS, MEMBERSHIP.

MOHAMEDDAN SOCIETIES, MOHAMEDDAN-PAGAN SOCIETIES AND PAGAN LAW-GOD SOCIETIES.

[By Captain F. W. Butt-Thompson.]

Sirri. The "Society of the Magicians," is claimed to be the most ancient Mohameddan secret society in Africa, and one of the oldest in the world, the legends of origin stating that its officials, after the order of priest-prophet-physician-pharmacist, were known two to three thousand years B.C., and that there is a reference to it in what is known as the "Lesser Berlin Papyrus," that dates from about 1600 B.C. "Sirri Men," magicians and sorcerers, are found amongst the peasants of most of the northern States from Egypt to Morocco, the Sudan, Rio de Oro, Senegal, Gambia French Guinea, and as far south as Nigeria, mostly amongst the Fula, Hausa, Handingo and Susu peoples Its officials claim to have occult powers and the inherited secret of making medicines from precious stones, emerald, lapis lazuli, sapphire, from jade and certain porcelains, and from glass. There seems to be no organisation as such, but local members hold meetings, ceremonious and deeply mysterious, and use passwords that are said to be words of ancient languages, and signs for mutual recognition. Occasionally women are found amongst the initiated, but the majority of the members are men.

Javia Kartas, influencing the Berbers of Morocco and some of the Western States, is said to have been founded by Al Kahina, Queen of the Berber Djeraous tribe of the Aures Mountains, a people that had adopted Judaism and therefore were opposed to the invading Arabs from religious as well as patriotic motives. They were without success until led by Al Kahina, a woman of old Berber stock, with a masculine instinct and a feminine charm. She was at last betrayed by a youth she had saved in battle and adopted, and was slain in defending herself. With her died Berber independence but, according to the legend, her followers continued the organisation she had formed and it, through persecution, became a secret society. Its Head, although a man, bears the title *The Kahina*. It is of male membership, admitted at any adult age, and very exclusive.

Qaïrowan (Kairoüan), influencing the Tunisians, and Berbers in Algeria, Tekna, Rio de Oro, Senegal and other Western States, is said to have been founded by Ogbar-ben-Nagi in the first century, and to owe a great deal to the after leadership of a Ben Aïssa, by whose name the society is sometimes known. Some of its legends are similar to those told of Masubori. Members gain merit by refusing all earthly comfort and happiness that bar the path of spiritual purity. They perfect their indifference to pain by torturing their bodies, sometimes making a show of their sufferings. They use passwords, and obey a code of rules that prescribes severe penalties for lapse of obedience. It is of male membership, very selective and it is said that there is always a long waiting list of those who desire admission.

Masubori, influencing the Hausa peoples of the north and north-western States, means "spirit-possessed." All the members are said to be good mediums. The head of the society, a woman, is called the Arifa, Prinstess, or *Sarauniya*, Chieftainess. The office is said to be given to a widow or a divorcee.

Mori, influencing the Fula, Mandingo, and Susu peoples, is a powerful religious organisation of wide-spread influence and of priestly caste. In some districts it is of adult mixed membership and in others admits males to full membership and females to an honorary branch.

Bori, influencing the Nupe, Igbiri, and other Hausa tribes of Southern Sudan and Northern Nigeria, means "after-death spirit." It has many branches and continues to flourish although condemned and forbidden by the stricter Mohameddan authorities. The head of the society, the *Sarakin Bori*, lives at Jega.

Mahammah-Jamboh (the "Mumbo-Jumbo" of the early explorers of the Niger) influences chiefly the Mandingo peoples. There are branches wherever this spirited and industrious people have founded colonies. Traces of it may be found as far north as Fez and as far south as Loanda. The members claim it as the supreme secret society of Islam. It is protective and has purification rites. It is of male membership, admitting at any adult age.

Kongcorong, influencing both Mandingo and Susu peoples south and west of the Sudan, is highly exclusive, admits only male adults, but holds training schools for the sons of its members.

MOHAMEDDAN-PAGAN SOCIETIES.

Penda-Penda, influencing the Baga and other Pagan tribes of French Guinea, and the Susu of that and neighbouring States uses ritual suggesting contact with Si'mo and Mahammah-Jamboh. Claims great age, and is looked upon as the mother society of its kind. Its head is known as the *Juga-Nkah*. It is of male adult membership, but there is an honorary branch for selected women and a training school for youths. Three of its branches have become separate societies of some importance, these being Dou of Senegal, Aïa of Dahomey, and Sindungo of the Congo.

Katahwira, influencing the Aku (Yoruba) peoples of the Gold Coast, was originally a phallic cult, and retains some of the ancient signs. These may be seen in the mural decorations of the society houses.

Katahwiriba, the women's branch of the above, said to have been modelled on an ancient association of Ashanti women, admits its members through a puberty school.

Belli-Paaro, influencing the Gbandi and Kpwesi, and other tribes, of Liberia, is said to have been founded by an old-time king of the Gbandi, whose trained and disciplined bodyguard became its first members.

Boviowah, influencing the Basa, De, Gibi, Grebo, Nifu, Putu, Sikon, and other Kru tribes of Liberia, and having lodges wherever these industrious tribes have settled, was originally a war band of Basa. It has a dual headship, both males, one known as the *Worabanh* or war king and the other as *Bovio* or peace king.

Jamboi, influencing the southern Mende of Sierra Leone, is one of several societies said to have been founded by early slavers settled in this land, as protective and recruiting agencies. It has elaborate ritual and secret speech, and a much-feared protective fetish medicine. It is of adult male membership, but holds occasional training schools.

Nanam, another society influencing the Kru tribes of Liberia and Sierra Leone, claims age, guards well its secrets, has a carefully arranged ritual, and exercises protective and purification influence over a large number of people. It is of mixed membership.

PAGAN LAW-GOD SOCIETIES.

Si'mo, the chief society influencing the Baga and the paganised Susu of French Guinea, and sharing with Oro the honour of being the oldest foundation of its kind on the West Coast of Africa, is said to have been founded by a family or sept of priests, and it remained for centuries the soul of the Baga fighting legions. Its priests, themselves as fierce warriors as any, accompanied these armies as far south as Angola. The society now holds but the shadow of its former power, but the prestige of the name is undiminished. Tens of thousands of people revere it, and its members find a ready welcome when visiting districts influenced by more modern associations.

Oro, the oldest society indigenous to Nigeria, is now found only amongst the Egba and Oyo peoples. It may have been an ancient phallic cult with *Oloron*, whose voice is the thunder *Oke*, who rules over mountains and hills, and *Olokun*, the lord of the sea, as the trinity of gods worshipped. Its head is the greatest high priest of his land, but the society over which he presides is now little more than an inner council of Egbo, and it is best known by its annual festival, *Orodoko*. Its influence, coupled with that of Poro, has spread over almost every part of the West Coast.

Poro, the mightiest son of Si'mo, and one of the greatest of the African secret socieites, influencing many thousands of the Fula, Kafu-Bullom, Koya, Mende, Sherbro, Susu and Temne peoples in Sierra Leone and other States, has its name "invoked as a witness to covenants between neighbouring tribes," and serves as "the best emphasis known for individual oaths." "An oath taken under the solemn term by Poro I swear is unbreakable." It claims French Guinea as its birthplace, the Kafu-Bullom district of Sierra Leone as the site of its first lodge, and unbroken activities for many centuries. Although its members now represent so many nationalities and although there is a Mende claim to its foundation, the evidence shows its beginnings as a work of the Temne people.

Amongst the Mende people it is still a tribal crime to interfere with or to intrude unauthorised into a Poro ceremony.

The names of the officials vary according to locality, but the supreme head of "Grand Poro" is the *Grand Tasso*. There are *Tasso* deputies in most of the districts influenced.

Egbo, a great organisation influencing the Efik, Ekoi, Ibadan, and other peoples of Southern Nigeria, like Si'Mo and Poro, was founded by a legion of fighting men, and the fact that "every Egbo sound must die, when is heard the Oro cry" suggests that it was once a branch of Oro. Its head, who ranks as a High Priest, is the *Grand Egbo*, and his deputy is sometimes known as the *Idem*. There are a great number of officials, many of them ranking as priests.

Mungi, influencing the Duala and kindred tribes of the Cameroon, is known all along the Coast, and acknowledged and served by many who have no tribal affinities with the district of its headquarters. Its ritual is tinged with survivals of Mohameddan ceremonies, and its head, ranking as a high priest, is said to be chosen from a family that has long professed that faith. Like the other older societies, it has thrown out many strong branches.

Nkimba, the greatest of the Bakongo societies, ex-

ends along both banks of the Congo river upwards of 300 miles inland.

Ogboni, influencing the Yoruba peoples of the West Coast, with headquarters at Abeokuta, and a sacred place within the shadow of a large boulder, called *Olumo*, on the summit of a hill near Lagos, was originally an early branch of Oro-Egbo, and has great senatorial, political, social and secret influence. It is more progressive in policy than most of its brethren. Its head, ranking as high priest, is known as *The Ogboni*, and his deputy as *Alafiu*. There is a treasurer *Olowu;* an arbitrator, *Alakatu;* and an executioner *Awaijale* (he who shows mercy in death). "The *Ogboni* council is the electoral college of the Yoruba people for village headmen, who are not only chosen and stooled by the councillors of the society, but are responsible to them for personal conduct. The power of this council is known and feared, for it is as quick to degrade the unworthy as to promote the worthy.' The society possesses a great deal of property in buildings, the *iga*, house, being known by the name of the family in whose charge it is, as the *Iga Eletu Ijebu* of Lagos, that is claimed to be the private property of the Eletu Ijebu family.

Bundu, the women's society associated with Poro found amongst the Mende and Temne tribes of Sierra Leone, in the Koranko, Limba, Sherbro and Kafu-Bullom districts, also known in Liberia and the Gold Coast, used to be co-extensive with Poro, of which it was originally the female section, but has been much divided, some of its branches, like Ankoi, Sandé and Yassi, being now as powerful as the original society.

Ampora, the distinctive society of the Mende peoples of Sierra Leone, may have been the first Poro lodge to become a society. It is also said to have originated in a scheme for the preservation of the Mende nation, started on the death of a king to prevent his kingdom going to pieces.

USE OF SLAVE LABOR LAID TO AMERICANS

Times

Protests Lodged With League of Nations Against Firm in Abyssinian Project.

8-16-30

ACCUSATIONS DENIED HERE

Men Yorkers.

President of J. G. White Engineering Corporation Also Says Work Has Not Even Started Yet.

GENEVA, Aug. 15 (AP).—Protests have been received at the League of Nations against certain conditions said to be attached to a concession held by the J. G. White Engineering Corporation, a New York concern, for the construction of public work in Abyssinia. According to the protests, the construction of these works by the American company will involve the use of slave labor.

The protests received here have come from the British Anti-Slavery Society at London, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom at Geneva, and certain individuals.

The communications to the League call attention to the fact that the United States is a party to the anti-slavery convention concluded under League auspices. They recall also that the Washington government, in approving the convention, made a declaration which went further than the terms of the treaty itself in taking a positive stand against slavery and forced labor.

The matter also is understood to have been brought to the attention of the State Department at Washington by one or more of the objecting parties.

Abyssinia has signed but not ratified the anti-slavery convention.

Charge Denied Here.

Gano Dunn, president of the J. G. White Engineering Corporation, denied last night as "unfounded" the charge that his company would use slave labor in the building of public improvements in Abyssinia.

"A statement appeared recently in Baltimore," said Mr. Dunn, "that we were going to use slave labor and that the King would provide it. It looks to us like propaganda. We have not done any work there yet. Surveyors are going over there but that does not involve any construction work as yet. If these chargesing of slavery are repeated, we will have something more to say. But I may point out that we are an American company, working with American money. That being so, you can see us using slave labor, can't you! That's the answer."

Mr. Dunn's formal statement on the matter was as follows:

"The J. G. White Engineering Corporation has been employed by the Emperor of Ethiopia (Abyssinia) to make a survey and engineering report on certain main highways in Ethiopia and a dam and control works at Lake Tsana, the source of the Blue Nile in Ethiopia, preliminary to construction work at the lake.

"The dam and control works are for the delivery of a larger volume of water to the Sudan for the irrigation program of the Sudan Government above Khartoum. The survey will occupy for a year or more the engineers who are about to leave for Ethiopia.

"The Emperor has formally informed the J. G. White Engineering Corporation that it is his intention to have it construct the dam at Lake Tsana and the roads.

"A vice president of our corporation has twice visited Ethiopia and had many conferences with the Emperor and with the officials of his Ethiopian Government. From his reports and from all the other information we have obtained, we are convinced that the Emperor is radically opposed to slave labor and is doing everything in his power to eradicate every form of slavery in his kingdom, and we believe also that the employment of slave labor by us or by any other foreigners contemplating work in Ethiopia would be obnoxious to the Emperor.

"The missionaries stationed in Ethiopia are devoting particular attention to the medical and sanitary phases of their work. We have consulted them and they are prepared to welcome our cooperation.

"When the J. G. White Engineering Corporation undertakes any construction work in Ethiopia, it will certainly treat as free men all natives that it employs and will, by proper construction camps and sanitation, introduce conditions of working and well-being that will meet the approval of enlightened humanitarians in the United States and elsewhere.

"We anticipate that the Emperor will not only insist on but will cooperate with us in bringing about these results. Our interest in the Ethiopian work is conditioned upon such cooperation."

CONFIDENT SLAVES WILL NOT BE USED

Times

State Department Expresses View After Reassurance From New York Company.

8-17-30

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 16. — State Department officials today indicated they had no apprehensions that any work to be done in Ethiopia (Abyssinia) by the J. G. White Company of New York would be done by slave labor. No formal complaint has been made that such labor is being used by the American company in exploration work incident to the eventual construction of a dam on the upper Nile, near Lake Tsana, as suggested in press dispatches from Geneva stating that the matter had been laid before the League of Nations.

It was explained that some time ago the department received a letter from an individual, who had read in a book on Abyssinia, suggesting that the American company probably would use slave labor. The matter was called to the attention of the department merely as a matter of information, it was stated, and the department passed it on to the J. G. White Company.

The anti-slavery convention mentioned in the Geneva dispatches, officials pointed out, has to do with the suppression of the slave trade by the high contracting parties "each in respect of the territories placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection, suzerainty or tutelage," and Abyssinia comes under none of these categories. However, the department is confident, in view of the company's statement, that no slaves are being used or will be used

LATE DR. JAMES HENDERSON.

Native opinion

The news of the sudden demise of Dr. James Henderson of Lovedale at Hogsback on the 19th inst. came as a shock to the Native community. The deceased gentleman was held in high esteem for his life's noble work of uplifting the black masses of Africa in all spheres. A missionary of untiring zeal, an educationist of rare ability, a diplomat endowed with keen initiative, a tender-hearted sympathiser with the cause of the weak and oppressed; are only some of the talents that characterised the great man the late Principal of Lovedale was. As successor to Stewart of Lovedale he filled the office with marked distinction, and without hesitation, he kept up and developed the high standard of work set him by his predecessor. The two men seemed to have envisaged their calling in the same vista; with the result that Lovedale to-day has about trebled its size and enhanced its reputation considerably. Dr. Henderson's services to the Bantu race were carried beyond the precincts of his Institution. The S.A. Native College in the immediate vicinity of Lovedale owes much of its growth and splendid development to the Chairman of its Governing Council—late Dr. Henderson. The Fort Hare College was as dear to him as the educational centre directly under his control, and this alone proved his greatness of mind. The policy of moderation, justice and equity were marked features of the "S.A. Outlook," the Lovedale newspaper, during his twenty-four years' term of office. The economic problems of Natives were discussed in its columns with expert knowledge that could be gained only by investigation involving devotion and personal self-sacrifice. The Bantu have reason to be abundantly thankful for the informative researches made by the late Dr. Henderson, which have fortunately been recorded in newspapers and in official reports as evidence before Government commissions. The natural gifts of oratory and moral uprightness of the deceased, earned him the highest regard among the Native people, and his passing into the Great Beyond is widely mourned.

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Africa

THE UNREST IN SOUTH-EASTERN NIGERIA.

A further telegram received at the Colonial Office from the Governor of Nigeria states that in Calabar province the situation is steadily improving and the work of pacification proceeding.

There is still some unrest at Aro and Umon on the left bank of the Cross River, but all roads in the province are safe, and latest reports say that the province is quiet. Reports from Owerri say that North Owerri and South Okigwi are restless. Some looting in Owerri division is being dealt with. Nguru has been occupied without opposition; elsewhere all is quiet. The troops, which have been moved from Port Harcourt, as all is quiet there, are concentrated at Ahoada to check the southern movement. The general situation is satisfactory.

A statement issued at Lagos on December 28 by the Nigerian Government reports that the casualties among the rioters during the disturbances were as follow:—Abako, six women killed, an unknown number wounded; Opobo, 19 women and one man killed, 10 women died of wounds, eight women drowned. During rioting at Aba a nursing sister received a serious wound in the head. Two other European ladies were attacked at Aba, and one at Imo River. There were minor assaults on Europeans.

According to a "Nigerian Daily Times" report, the taxation troubles in the Bende Division arose through the extortion of income tax from women. At date of the report, December 5, it is stated that the conduct of the crowd, composed of 20,000 women, was orderly but determined.

NEGROES FIGHT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Daily Worker
1-15-30
New York, N.Y.

CARNAVON, Cape Colony, South Africa, Jan. 13.—Natives, revolting against being swindled out of holdings in the communal lands, today engaged in a battle with the local police and guards, who were led by Colonel Van Zyl, mayor of the town.

Van Zyl was seriously injured, and several of his followers were wounded in the fighting.

The natives held a series of meetings at which speakers denounced the oppression of the government of the South African Union, and made plans for determined resistance. It is not known how many of them were murdered by the mayor's forces during the struggle.

There had been much unrest and a growing spirit of revolt among the South African Negroes, both those living on the land and the workers corraled in compounds and forced to do contract labor in the mines. Many recent uprisings were caused directly by heavier taxes, or other increased exploitations.

NEW YORK WORLD

JAN 10 1930

LET NEGRO ALONE, SMUTS COUNSELS

He Calls Their Exploitation by Whites in Africa Harmful

A plea to the white races that, in their further exploitation of Africa, they refrain from efforts to impose their own civilization on black natives, was made yesterday by Gen. Jan Christiaan Smuts, former Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, speaking in Town Hall under the auspices of the Civic Forum.

Gen. Smuts said that millions of Negroes have lived in happiness many years under the Socialistic and paternalistic government and social order they have established for themselves, and that attempts to Europeanize them result only in detribalizing them, leaving them a prey for Bolshevism and other disruptive influences.

"I take my hat off to the African form of civilization, because it suits the African," he said.

One remark made by Gen. Smuts in the course of his enumeration of the many virtues of the Negroes aroused exception from Dr. Robert R. Moton Principal of Tuskegee Institute. Dr. Moton a few days ago received the Harmon Foundation's gold medal and $1,000 biennial award, and was seated in a place of honor on the platform yesterday.

Gen. Smuts had referred to the great patience of the Negro natives of South Africa, describing them as "next to the ass, the most patient of creatures."

Dr. Moton, during the question period that concluded the program, objected to this comparison. Gen. Smuts apologized, explaining he had spoken with no intention of implying disrespect, and Dr. Moton went on to praise Gen. Smuts for the work he has done in South Africa.



INTERNATIONAL NEWSREEL PHOTO

NEW KING OF ETHIOPIA—Former Crown Prince Tafari Makonnen, who has ascended the throne as the new king of Ethiopia (sometimes known as Abyssinia) and whose succession to the crown is the occasion of much rejoicing. The royal family claims descent from Menelik, the son of King Solomon and the queen of Sheba.

NEW YORK SUN

JAN 2 1927

NEGRO CHALLENGES SMUTS TO DEBATE

Asks ex-Premier to Discuss Races With Colored Editor.

A challenge for a debate on the relations between the white and black races in South Africa and the future of Africa was issued today to Gen. Jan C. Smuts, formerly Premier of South Africa, as a result of the latter's statement that the South African negroes were, "next to the ass, the most patient of animals."

The statement was made yesterday at a Civic Forum meeting at Town Hall, and Walter White, acting secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, telegraphed a challenge to Gen. Smuts to meet Dr. W. E. B Du Bois, prominent negro leader and editor in a debate. It was proposed that the debate be held either in Town Hall or Carnegie Hall, and Gen. Smuts was invited to confer at the association's office on the details of the debate.

Gen. Smuts called at City Hall this afternoon and was received by Mayor Walker in connection with the tenth anniversary of the League of Nations. Gen. Smuts was accompanied by Charles C. Bauer and Philip C. Nash of the League of Nations Association, and the former Premier was presented by Major William F. Deegan, representing Police Commissioner Whalen.

South Africa Teems With Mysteries for Visitors

Miss Zonia Baber, noted Chicago educator and student, was among the large crowd that attended the meetings of the British association at Cape Town, South Africa, the past summer. While there, she divided her time between attending sessions of the association and learning some facts about that country. Her story has been prepared for The Chicago Defender in six sections, of which this is the fourth.

INSTALLMENT IV

THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF SOUTH AFRICA

SOUTH AFRICA is sorely troubled with four major social problems: The "Boer-English controversies, the "Poor White," "Indian" and the "Native Question."

The trouble between the Dutch and English began in 1659, eight years after the Dutch arrived at the foot of Table mountain to establish a "revictualing" station for the ships of the Dutch East India company. This was due to the unsuccessful attempt to seize a vessel in Table bay which led to the immediate expulsion of the English and Scotch settlers who were considered to be chiefly concerned in the plot.

In those times nationalbrigandage was the order of the day. One nation would grab a spot on the earth's surface and the competing nations would covet the same spot. In 1806 the British took Cape Colony which has remained a British dependency. Then the Cape population was 26,700 whites, holding 17,650 slaves and 17,650 Hottentots.

The Boer trekked and continued to trek whenever the English came too near. The discovery of gold and diamonds on territory claimed by the Boer greatly added to the friction between the two groups of settlers. Gold was discovered in 1854 on the present site of Johannesburg. The space-loving Boer would not have near neighbors, so he placed many obstacles in the way of prospectors; for this reason mining in that region did not really begin till the early '70s. The thirst of the gold hunter could no longer be restrained and the quiet pastoral life of the Boer was then destroyed in that area. Troubles grew larger and larger till the Boer war resulted in 1899-1902.

Wars always leave great bitterness. Each party to the quarrel justifies its position by reason and perpetuates it in history.

The Boer when asked, "What is the Boer-English problem?" replied, "When the British came to our country they were better educated than the Boer and they looked down on us and treated us as inferiors. They held all the offices and they tried to make this an English colony by substituting English in the place of our language and by making all our institutions British. This is our country; the British have never become South Africans. They always claim to be British and talk of Great Britain as home. Is it surprising we dislike them?"

Another Side

The English reply to the same question was, "The Boer, except for a small minority, is uneducated and reactionary. We have made all the improvements in this country, yet he gives us no credit. He has forced that impossible language of his—Afrikaans—upon us. Now our children must learn this tongue which has no literature and is only spoken by a handful of people. They must spend their valuable time in school trying to master this language which has never been heard outside of this small area. Were it Dutch we would not object." Now all signs must be in Afrikaans and English; all public notices must be in both languages as well as public documents.

"He is trying to take the vote from the natives in the Cape Province who have had suffrage since 1853. He has always been unjust to the black peoples. If he persists in this policy the natives will arise and we shall have a terrible war. The Boer is a hindrance to the progress of South Africa."

For nearly two centuries South Africa was cursed with slavery which produced the inevitable effect of sapping the energies and morale of the master class. The one hundred years that have elapsed since slavery was legally abolished have not been sufficient to erase the slave psychology or eradicate the habit of indolence and distaste for manual labor. Dr. E. G. Malherbe, a South African of Dutch descent, who studied in the United States, in a remarkable paper on the "Poor White," given at the British association meeting in Cape Town, admirably illustrates the "slave psychology." He said in part:

"It is often said that the poor white is lazy. Yes, he is, but he is lazy for the same reasons that many a well-to-do man is lazy. It is the absence of a specific stimulus to work. If he can have the work done while he looks on, why should he worry? The prosperous business man who sits at his office desk and rings the bell for Jim Fish, who is working in the yard, to bring him his spectacles which lie just a little beyond his reach on the desk, and his wife, who, while sewing, drops her thimble and halloes in shrill tones for the little pickanniny on the other side of the house to come and pick it up at her feet, are lazy in exactly the same way as the poor white whom they despise as an indolent scoundrel is lazy.

The "Poor White"

"In one of the recent public examinations in Natal a schoolboy in a science paper was asked a question on the principles of a lever to show how he would make use of a crowbar to move a rock on the roadside. After explaining how he would adjust the fulcrum so as to get an adequate leverage, he added, 'And then I would get a native at the other end of the bar to lift the rock.'

"These illustrations are symptomatic of the energy-sapping process that is going on among all classes of our white society, due to the fact that we are a white aristocracy on a big black foundation of helots."

The Union statistics show that one-tenth of the white population belong to the "poor white" class.

Dr. M. L. Fick, in a paper, "A Comparison of the Intelligence of Poor White, Colored and Native," defined the term, "poor white," as denoting an economic misfit, irrespective of the causes. The maladjustment might be due to the inferior innate "make-up" of the individual or to the inadequacy of the education and training the individual had received, or to causes that had a purely economic origin. The degree of maladjustment that constituted a "poor white" was not definite. In some cases individuals became "poor whites" only when they acquired a family. Scientific data regarding the mentality of the "poor whites" did not exist.

Dr. Malherbe gave as one of the causes for the "poor white" that the first settlers had very large farms and very large families also; that their children and grandchildren had very large families; the original large estate was divided and subdivided until the resulting farms were too small to support a family, so producing a landless class without education or training sufficient to compete with the skilled city laborer. He said further:

"Now when a certain portion of this white civilization (say 8 to 10 per cent, according to a survey made by the minister of agriculture in 1915, making the number of poor whites from 100,000 to 150,000) sinks below the level of civilized standard of economic efficiency and it comes into competition with the native, we are told by the politicians that we have a native question. This is all nonsense. The native question which the politician has in mind is in essence little more than the poor white question. To call it the native question is just one of those little tricks of human nature which psychologists call 'projection.' It is one of the ways in which a real inferiority complex manifests itself. It is an unconscious feeling of weakness (if not fear) on the part of the white man to face the facts which causes him to project the blemish on to the black fellow.

"What it boils down to is the fear that the upper 50 per cent of the native race will oust the lower 10 per cent of the white. And under the influence of this fear the white man resorts to measures which will jeopardize the whole of South Africa's economic future and that of the white man in particular.

The Color Bar

"I refer to the color bar in particular and to all measures which check the natural growth of the native so as to give an unfair advantage to the ruling race.

"Such measures will in time rob the dominating race of the virility bred from the buffetings of stern competition and will render it soft and weak when the Nemeses comes."

It has been stated that in Europe the standard of wages of skilled and unskilled labor is as 7 to 5 so that a man temporarily dropped from the skilled to the unskilled level could yet have a living wage. But in South Africa due to the low wages paid the native for his work the relation of skilled and unskilled is as 7 to 1. The poor white could not compete in this market. To better the condition for the poor white it was decided to make legal a color bar, which had already been in force in the Transvaal mines, without legal sanction. In 1926 an act was passed at a meeting of both chambers of the legislature which reserves all skilled work to the white worker. This restriction was absent south of the Orange river until the act was passed. It is said that the reservation is general in all the large towns in the Union. However, some said the law was not being enforced.

Such an unjust law with a false economic basis must fail. Fear or greed keeps the majority of the white South Africans from accepting the truth of the closing remarks of Dr. Malherbe's excellent paper: "History has amply shown that nature and economic forces select the coddled, privileged class of any society for destruction. And unless we cease to think that the population of South Africa is 1,500,000 and realize that it is 7,000,000 and unless we realize the good of the whole is best served

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by serving the good of all the parts, the outlook will be black indeed for the whole of South Africa.

"Even looking at it from the white man's point of view it will be in his interest to give the native the best education he can so as to improve his standard of living and make him a better consumer of white man's produce."

Defender

Severely Criticized

Some of the South African papers criticized Dr. Malherbe severely for "airing our social closet skeleton before distinguished guests."

The Cape Times commended it in the following terms: "The paper which Dr. Malherbe delivered yesterday on 'Education and the Poor White' is so healthy for all of us. It is a douche of the coldest of cold water thrown on the shivering back of our national pride.

"If Dr. Malherbe's paper is a sample of the effect of the work that this research committee has been doing, then the work is good to a masterly degree and South Africa owes the Carnegie corporation an enormous debt of gratitude for having selected its members and sent it here. A not unnatural cynicism might suggest the comment that South Africa has characteristically waited for America to prove to her that the poor white deserves a research committee to inquire into his state, which is true, but hardly as just as it may sound. Anyway, the present government has shown its appreciation of Dr. Malherbe's qualities by creating a national bureau of education for South Africa and by appointing him as the first director of it. But for goodness sake let not either race section try to use Dr. Malherbe's paper as a weapon of offense against the other. We are all to blame and our ancestors before us for the poor white. He is our brother, she our sister, and we have all scandalously cried out that we must not be expected to be their keepers."

NEW YORK
MIRROR

JAN 11 1930

DR. MOTON, NEGRO principal of Tuskegee Institute, challenges General Jan Christian Smuts, Boer League of Nations propagandist, who says that Negroes are "next to the ass, the most patient of all animals." In a country which spilled blood over Negro slavery and ended the evil, that sort of talk is just about enough to send the general back where he came from. It is not only offensive to the Negro but to all fairminded white people. Dr. Moton showed a fine example of patience by refraining from taking the general by the collar.

The Incentive To Improvement.

General Smuts says the African Natives "have no inward incentive to improvement" The heathen, it is true, have not. A Christian education gives that incentive. The thing that keeps the South African Christian Natives back is their poverty. Their standard of living would rise rapidly if a general rise of wages took place.

General Smuts says the Africans have no literature and no art. How could they, with the Sahara and two great oceans between them and the great pioneer civilizations of the old world? But he might have mentioned, if he had known the facts and had cared to say a good word for them, that in their primitive state the Native Africans could smelt and work iron, could weave cloth and were among the world's best basket makers. He might have mentioned, if he knew or cared, that already in South Africa a quite promising indigenous Bantu literature is springing up; that there is good reason to anticipate that the race, if given a chance, will contribute notably to the world's music, and that in this country the mere elementary school plastic work has sufficed to prove the existence of individuals with high artistic talent, while a West African school, after a very few year's work has been able to stage an Art Exhibition in London that was good enough to be opened by the Colonial Secretary further that both from among the chiefs and the commoners there have arisen in this country individual leaders who have shewn that they possessed the qualities of real statesmanship.

The African race is worth developing for itself and not as a mere labour reservoir for a great White African Dominion.

"S.A. Outlook."

NEW YORK AMERICAN

JAN 9 1930

SMUTS REBUKED IN PUBLIC BY NEGRO LEADER

Moton Resents General's Comparing African Natives With Beast of Burden

Dr. Robert Rossa Moton, noted Negro educator, publicly deplored an utterance by General Jan Christian Smuts at a meeting attended by 1,600 persons in the Town Hall yesterday.

General Smuts was in the midst of a speech on "Europeanizing" of Negroes in Africa. Smuts referred to the race as "next to the ass, the most patient of all animals."

QUESTIONS SMUTS.

Dr. Moton, gray-haired head of Tuskegee Institute, was seated on the stage. He waited until the former South African Premier had finished. Then Dr. Moton asked and gained the floor. He queried pointedly:

"I would like to ask what General Smuts meant when he associated the Negro with the jackass, what he meant when he called us docile animals. I do not think he meant it. I almost know he did not mean it...but it cut like a two-edged sword through the heart of every Negro in this audience."

MEANT NO OFFENSE.

General Smuts instantly stated he meant no offense and that he had spoken the words "in a spirit of admiration." Smuts went on:

"I have all respect for the patience of the negro race. I think it something we white people might learn from the negroes. We would be much happier if we did."

Previously General Smuts had said:

"By trying to Europeanize the black man you make a Bolshevik out of an orderly and obedient native. I take my hat off to the African form of civization, because it suits the African."

Millions of people have lived happily in Africa under a socialistic government, said General Smuts. He thought it a great loss to destroy it.

NEW YORK HERALD

JAN 10 1930

Tuskegee Head Confronts Smuts On Racial Views

'Most Patient of Animals, Next to the Ass,' Spoken in Admiration, Says General

General Jan Christian Smuts, once a Boer leader and former Prime Minister of South Africa, offering a solution to Africa's color problem yesterday afternoon in Town Hall, drew a rebuke from a leader of the Negroes in America when he described that race "as, next to the ass, the most patient of all animals." General Smuts used the words in a spirit of admiration, as he later explained, but the expression was resented for the moment by Dr. Robert Russa Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute at Tuskegee, Ala.

Warns of "Bolshevized Negro"

General Smuts, speaking at the Civic Forum meeting and referring only to the Negroes in South Africa, advised their development along the race's historically socialistic lines and warned against the attempts to Europeanize them. He said the latter policy would "bolshevize the Negro" and become as disastrous as the attempts to enslave him.

Following a period of questions from the floor, Robert Erskine Ely, chairman of the meeting, recognized Dr. Moton, who, except for General Smuts, occupied the seat of highest honor on the stage.

The robust, gray-haired Negro arose. Only two days ago he received the Harmon Foundation's gold medal and $1,000 biennial award. He was as tall as General Smuts but much heavier.

Dr. Moton praised General Smuts for his work in South Africa. He lauded him for his peace activities. He nominated the general for another term as Prime Minister.

Comparison Hurt, Says Negro

"I know I ought not to say this, and I know that my wife would tell me not to," he continued. "I wish I did have patience, but I haven't, and the habit has become ingrained in me through my sixty-three years, no, sixty-two and a half years.

"But what I want to ask General Smuts is what he meant when he associated the Negro with the jackass. What he meant when he called us docile animals. I do not think he meant it, I almost know he did not mean it. But when he said those words about our being animals, 'next to the ass, the most patient of ani[illegible] hurt.

(Continued from page [illegible])

It cut like a two-edged sword through the heart of every Negro in this audience, and also through some of the white people. General Smuts, you are a cultured and refined gentleman, but I would like to ask you about those words."

Mr. Ely started to offer an explanation, but General Smuts cut him short.

"I used those words, Dr. Moton," he said kindly, "in the spirit of admiration. I have all respect for the patince of the Negro race. I think that it[illegible] might learn from the Negroes. We would be much happier if we did."

General Smuts had used the phrase in the opening of his address. The Hampton Institute Quartet had just completed a Negro spiritual, through which rang the words, "We ain't goin' study war no mo'."

"When I heard those four gentlemen singing I heard once more the voice of Africa. It's a great voice, singing contentment amid suffering and amid tragedy.

"I thought of Negro villages in South Africa, hundreds of black men singing in the night. I remembered tales of travelers who had seen hundreds chained together, singing as they were marched toward the sea. They are patient animals. The Negroes are, next to the ass, the most patient of all animals."

The difference in the mental and physical characteristics of the Negro and the European is the reason why the Africans should not be Europeanized, General Smuts said.

"The African Negro is a socialist," he

added. "He has a thorough-going system of Socialism. All the land is owned in common. The cattle also. The property is the property of the tribe.

"It is easy to break down this system but practically impossible to substitute the European for it. You only Bolshevize the Negro. You make of the most docile, loose, noble, disorganized native a half-European.

While General Smuts, during the question period, advised the same course for the natives of India and Asiatic countries, he declared that the Negro in America presented an entirely different situation in his having lost his racial characteristics.

General Smuts declared that the wealth of African resources, witnessed by recent discovery of copper fields in northern Rhodesia, would hasten the development of that continent and thereby accentuate the conflict between the civilizations of Europe and of Africa.

NEW YORK TIMES

JAN 14 '30

SMUTS'S TALK STIRS ANGER OF NEGROES

Du Bois Challenges Him to Debate Race Views, but General Ignores Controversy.

PICKENS CRITICIZES HIM

Allusion to the Africans as "Most Patient of Animals, Next to the Ass" Is Cause of Indignation.

General Jan Christiaan Smuts, former Premier of South Africa, refused yesterday to be drawn into controversy or engage in debate with American negro leaders on the status of the African negro. His allusion in his Town Hall address on Thursday afternoon to the native African as "the most patient of animals, next to the ass," aroused a protest and prompted Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, negro leader and editor of The Crisis, to challenge General Smuts to a debate on the relations between the whites and the natives of South Africa.

While awaiting Mayor Walker yesterday afternoon in the City Hall General Smuts was informed of the challenge.

"I had not heard of it until now," he replied. "But I shall most certainly ignore it. Why, I am not here to advertise Mr. Du Bois. Life is too short. What I said in my address was entirely misunderstood by those who are complaining. I was complimenting the negroes, the natives of Africa, and praising their facility for happiness and their contentment. I was supported to an entirely different outlook on life."

Pickens Assails Smuts's Views.

The first objection, voiced at Thursday's lecture by Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, was mild in comparison with protests from several negro leaders in New York. One of the strongest came from William Pickens, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who, in a written statement, dealt with "the amazing philosophy of General Smuts."

In discussing the race problem of Africa, said Mr. Pickens, General Smuts was "about as logical and as impressive as the average politician from Mississippi would be if he were talking to an audience in Harlem on the political and social privileges of American negroes."

He upbraided General Sumts for talking "like a representative of some travel agency bidding for American tourists." Also he criticized the South African statesman for lack of logic.

"When General Smuts speaks on the League of Nations," he commented, "or some other non-provincial question, his logic is sound and his language lucid. But on such general topics he is a man of the world, while on the question of the negro he is a man of South Africa. While General Smuts represents the best that is in the South African system, his social mind shows very plainly that no man can rise above the system in which he was born and nurtured and in which he continues to live. He may rise to the top of his system; he cannot get above it. The system of South Africa is a system of the exploitation of black uncivilized or civilized natives in the interests of the whites of European extraction. Mr. Smuts is the most 'benevolent' and humane exponent of this terribly cruel system."

Smuts Again Speaks on Africa.

An audience of 1,200 men and women heard General Smuts speak yesterday on "Africa and the United States" at a luncheon sponsored by the Foreign Policy Association in the Hotel Astor. His address touched on Africa's fauna and flora, climate, natural resources and beauties. He again warned against attemping to force white civilization on the African natives, declaring that the result would be disastrous and lead to a racial problem so tremendous that it would be well-nigh impossible to cope with it.

General Smuts characterized the negroes of Africa as "child peoples." They are happy, he said, and do not feel the burden of life like the white man; neither do they brood over their grievances.

"They are not so oppressed with the discontent which makes us such unhappy creatures," added General Smuts. "They are one of the most curious types of humanity, living their lives immemorial. I have been struck somewhat by what I have seen of the colored people here. I have been impressed by the change that has taken place in their transference to the new conditions and environment in the United States, their education and their living here among the whites.

"If you go to Africa you are transported to an entirely different world. You have there hundreds of millions of natives living an entirely different life, with different ideas, a different mentality, and you will see there a condition which in many ways is one of the most interesting human situations today in the world—the negro at home, the negro in Africa."

After praising the military qualities of the blacks, from the time of Hannibal to the last war, General Smuts urged that something be done to regulate the racial contacts.

"Unless we are wisely guided in our relations to Africa," he warned, "the civilized world may find itself up against a most dangerous economic and social situation in the generations to come."

After the luncheon General Smuts called on Mayor Walker at the City Hall. They chatted informally and were photographed together.

Last night General Smuts was the guest of honor at the tenth anniversary dinner of the League of Nations Committee at the Hotel Commodore.

BOLSHEVIST AFRICA FEARED BY SMUTS

He Warns of Dangers of Trying to Impose White Civilization on Native Population.

WOULD KEEP OLD SYSTEM

Hundreds of Thousands Now Are Wanderers Through Loss of Tribal Contacts, He Says.

Efforts to impose the civilization of the white race upon the aboriginal population of Africa can result only in bolshevising the native and making im a menace to the rest of the world, General Jan Christian Smuts declared yesterday afternoon while speaking under the auspices of the Civic Forum in the Town Hall.

The former Premier of the Union of South Africa contrasted the African system with the European, warning of former failures and pointing out that hundreds of thousands of South African negroes have become unhappy wanderers, having lost contact with their tribes and their native discipline.

"There is a great deal of good in the African culture and system," said General Smuts. "For one thing, the African is a Socialist. All land is owned in common, as are most of the cattle, and each tribe is run by a council of elders and a chief. If you try to break down this system, it is very easy to do so, but it is impossible to substitute a European or any other system in its stead. By doing so you bolshevise the most docile being on the face of the earth, the African negro, and you make him a menace to the rest of the world.

"Why should we standardize humanity? That may be a fine thing in the United States. You want to make a great nation, and you are succeeding; but you cannot do that with the human race. In Africa you must build on the African foundation. It has been created in hundreds and thousands of years, and I have a very high respect for any system of time as I have for all natural facts. Let there be differences in types as long as they are ethically sound."

Would Maintain Native System.

If the blacks are to be dealt with in a fair and honest manner, he said, the old system must be maintained. It is meant for the African, and while certain good things in white civilization should be afforded to him, it is wrong, he maintained, to make "an inferior European" of a native who is justly proud of being an African.

"Leave them their villages, their dancing and their songs," he said. "In the past we have gone astray in South Africa. There have been misguided efforts on behalf of governments and missionaries, although I do not in the least wish to condemn the latter, with whom I heartily sympathize, and we now have perhaps millions of negroes who have lost their native contacts and no longer belong to their old tribes. Our system is individualism; theirs is socialism. The result of trying to Europeanize them has caused so many to be lost to their own people."

Any change in the African cultural system, General Smuts warned, should be made without violence. The native laborers in the copper mines of Rhodesia and other parts should not be allowed to take his womenfolk and children with him.

"Let them remain in their tribal areas," he urged. "Do not bring them to be contaminated by white civilization, which, after all, is perhaps only an experiment. When we reflect a little on our own foibles, our wars, our tremendous losses of human lives, it may not be so fine. At any rate, the black soon learns the vices of white civilization and they soon degrade him."

The racial problem of Africa is perhaps the biggest in the world today, declared General Smuts. He appealed to all, and not least the universities, to study all its phases and to "maintain the African culture, one we should respect in every way, tested, as it has been, through a long span of time."

Answers Pointed Questions.

A negro quartet had sung spirituals and had provoked the applause of General Smuts, who spoke of the Africans as singers. He recalled the slave gangs of old, trudging across a continent singing their songs, and referred to them as the "most patient of all, next to the ass."

When time came for questions following the lecture, a negro in the audience expressed the hope that this was not meant as an insult. General Smuts immediately explained that this was the furthest from his mind. His comparison had been unhappy, perhaps, but well-meant. Another negro interrogator wanted to know: "Can the natives continue to sing and dance while the whites gather diamonds and copper and rubber?"

The General replied in the affirmative. He also said "yes," when a third questioner wanted to know if an American negro could go to South Africa, buy a residence and live there freely.

Last night General Smuts was the guest of Thomas W. Lamont for dinner.

FIGHT SMUT'S LIES ON NEGROES

Point to Attack on the African Workers

Every Negro newspaper in the country was called on today by the International Labor Defense to join with the radical working class press to militantly expose the imperialist role of General Jan Smuts, former premier of South Africa, now touring the United States, spreading lies about the toiling masses of South Africa.

The I. L. D. also cabled to its connections in South Africa, the International Class War Prisoners Aid (the I. L. D. in the British Empire) telling of Smuts' poisonous campaign on behalf of British imperialism against the fight of the Negro workers for independence. Many African workers are members in the South African I. L. D.

Part of the statement sent out to the Negro press and to the South African workers declared "At a meeting in New York last week, General Smuts, agent of imperialism declared that the African is the most patient of all, next to the ass."

The I. L. D. makes a sharp protest to the general's campaign of vilification in his evident role of publicity agent for the British empire. The I.L.D. hails the struggle of the African workers to reach independence, and declares that only through a union of white and Negro masses of workers, can imperialism and race prejudice be destroyed.

The I. L. D. demands the end of imperialist exploitation and butchery.

Down with agents of imperialism—whether Yankee imperialism which murdered Negro workers in Haiti and upholds lynching in its own homeland, or British imperialism which slaughtered Negro workers in Africa and Hindus in India.

Africa.

WILLOWVALE

Native Teachers' Association.

Will'owvale Branch Teachers' Association will hold its Quarterly meeting at Cnko (B.P.C.) on the 20th April promptly at 9 a.m. All those concerned are asked to attend.

E. B. MTAMTI,
Secretary.

Before the Hon. Justice De Villiers (Chief Justice) and Justices Wessels, Curlewis, Stratford and Roos, the appeal of Hezekiah Ndobe was heard on the 10th. and 11th. April 1930. Advocate Will Stuart of Grahamstown applied for leave to appeal upon the following grounds:—

a. That it was clear that indirect disfranchisement of persons owning the vote, and/or the prevention of enfranchisement of persons capable of becoming voters was taking place or had taken place or could take place under the circumstances revealed in this appeal, and that such was the result of their race and/or colour only.

In the result either:—

b. The fact that Act 38 of 1927 does not purport to interfere with the electoral laws does not exclude it from the operation of Sect. 35 of the Act of Union, in whole and/ or in part, or

c. The fact that no direct interference of a certain type can be made by the subordinate legislature known as the Union Parliament with certain matters, implies that no Acts involving indirect interference or offending against the intention or spirit of the Act of Union can be passed by it, but only by the higher type of legislature specially convened for that purpose under the same Act and voting with a 2/3 majority or

d. The fact that a special power has been reserved in an Act of delegation (in this case the Act of Union) implies necessarily in law that the power to do all acts incidental or necessary or preliminary or preparatory to the exercise of such a power are also reserved, alternatively the Union Parliament being a subordinate body cannot by a side-wind or a round about way nullify results contrary to the intention of the Act of which it is itself the creature, or

e. The Appellate Division being the creation of the Superior Legislature will prevent any infringment by the Union Parliament (itself another such creation) of the intention of the Superior Legislature whether such intention is violated directly or indirectly, in the letter or the spirit. or

f. In any case, and alternatively, the Supreme Legislative body, even if now no longer supreme by virture of the Declaration of London in 1926, has left the following position in South Africa. The points above taken were accurate prior to that Declaration and the Union Parliament is still subordinate on reserved matters to the Super Union Parliament consisting in operation of a 2/3rds. majority of the members of both Houses sitting together, and as such exercising supreme legislative powers (even if no longer delegated legislative powers) over the matters so reserved. And the Union Parliament is therefore subordinate to the said joint sitting of the two Houses, and the Constitution upon this point is rigid, and has not been altered by law or force which alone can be recognised by this Court, or by the said Declaration.

9. The other grounds of appeal from the Magistrate's Court are also relied upon, i.e. as set out in "Imvo" edition of the 18th. February 1930.

Mr. Stuart was stopped in argument and Mr. Hoal K.C. Attorney General of the Free State who appeared for the Crown, in reply to the Court said that he could not deny the importance of the constitutional issue raised. Leave was then given to appeal, and both sides being ready, argument was taken forthwith.

Adv. Stuart pointed out that the facts were all clearly and precisely stated in the judgment of the Judge President of the Eastern Districts Court at Grahamstown. Sir Thomas Graham had been sympathetic but, had refused to regard Act 38 of 1927 as falling within the purview of Section 35 of the Act of Union and had said that the bare suggestion was startling.

WESSELS J. "But is it not startling?" MR. STUART. "There is nothing startling in keeping an inferior legislature in its place unless one is obsessed with the importance of the legislature. The Union Parliament had not the power." If he (Mr. Stuart) could protect the Native vote from a gross illegality he would sing 'Nunc Dimittis.' WESSELS J. "No politics now, only law." MR. STUART. "Only what your Lordship has asked for, and only that one statement." WESSELS J. "Is it your contention that the Act of Union deprived the Union Parliament of the power to touch the vote?"

MR. STUART. "No, not "deprived." The Union Parliament never had the power, so it was never taken away. Simultaneously with the creation of the Union Parliament the two thirds Parliament was created. It received the power, and it only. The Union Parliament never had it." DE VILLIERS C.J. "This is a matter of very great importance, Counsel must take all the time that is wanted and elaborate his argument in full."

Mr. Stuart then analysed the law relating to the electoral qualifications in the Cape, beginning with Section 8 of the Constitution Ordinance, its amendments, Act 14 of 1887, the Glen Grey Act and the Act of the Imperial Parliament commonly known as the Act of Union. Mr. Stuart contended that the "startling" proposition was openly accepted by the Union draughtsmen and Government and Parliament itself when reserved clauses were put in, in the Natives' Land Act of 1913 and the Natives' (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, and should have been put in, in the Act in dispute. Numerous authorities were quoted in this portion of the argument.

Continuing in the afternoon Mr. Stuart took the point that sections 5, 7, 23, and 25 clearly tended to disqualify voters or to prevent further persons capable of obtaining the vote from getting it, and analysed

First: the words of section 35 of the 1910 Act. Second: the probable results of sections 5 and 7 of the Act of 1927 with special reference to the proposed Proclamation recently circulated in the Cis-Kei, The attack on the remaining registered voters in Glen Grey was direct and all others indirect, but none the less deadly.

MR. HOAL, K.C. having objected to the Proclamation being referred to as not being yet proclaimed.

STRATFORD J. "I understand that Mr Stuart is using it to show the possibilities that might arise if Natives handed in their titles."

MR. STUART "Yes! Hypothetical but highly probable."

Mr. Stuart was allowed to proceed. He contended that any [illegible] might lose a man his vote.

ROOS J. "That seems clear" Mr. Stuart then proceeded to discuss the Transvaal cases on the Colour Bar

DE VILLIERS C J "The Court is aware of those cases and will take cognisance of them."

Mr. Stuart concluded his argument in the afternoon and the Court adjourned.

On the second day Mr. Hoal K.C. argued first that the Act 38 of 1927 having been filed of record in the Appellate Division as prescribed by the Act of Union it was not open to the Appellate Division to question its authenticity. It must be presumed that every thing essential must have been done.

DE VILLIERS C.J. "Cannot we enquire as to how it was passed?"

MR. HOAL K.C. "No!"

WESSELS J. "But if it is passed as a joke or by fraud must we acquiesce with folly or fraud?"

MR HOAL K.C. "The Speaker

would guard against that."

MR STUART, "What if the Speaker is a party to the perpetration?"

CURLEWIS J. "Surely your (Mr. Hoal's) contention is untenable."

MR HOAL K.C. then argued that Section 5 of Act 38 of 1927 was only the natural corollary of Section 1 which made the Governor General the Supreme Chief of all Natives in the other three Provinces. Section 5 gave similar powers in the Cape. Mr. Stuart later in reply said that this indicated beyond redemption that Section 5 was aimed at the Cape.

MR. HOAL K.C. then added that the effect of Section 7 was too remote.

ROOS J. "If your new title reduces the value of a property for electoral purposes from £75 to £50 do you seriously contend that that is too remote?"

MR. HOAL K.C. "Yes! Also the Union Parliament is paramount and can do what it likes."

DE VILLIERS C.J. "But is that not the absolute despotism or "unfettered Parliament" stated in the Sigcau case in 1897 not to exist in a subordinate legislature and to which Mr. Stuart referred yesterday?"

MR. HOAL K.C. "I submit the Union Parliament is absolute As to Section 23 this has not yet been proclaimed."

MR STUART interrupting referred the Court to the Proclamations mentioned under the signature of Mr Herbst which purported to be proclaimed under section 23. These were dated 1928 and 1929. His learned friend was wrong.

MR HOAL K.C. "I will find out,"

DE VILLIERS C.J. "The proclamations speak for themselves."

MR HOAL K.C. "The draft proclamation on the conditions is not going forward. Substantial alterations are being made by a draft dated 10th February 1930.

MR STUART "That draft is not in. I object to it going in unless accompanied by the original draft of which I have not been able to secure a copy. That draft directly attacked the qualification for the vote, but was scotched by certain Native Commissioners.

STRATFORD J. "These drafts are only possibilities let us keep to the law."

[illegible] reserved judgment.

ABYSSINIA.

KING TAFARI IN POWER

THE REBELLION AT DESSIE.

(By "The Times" Addis Ababa Correspondent.)

King Tafari of Abyssinia, who has already been proclaimed Emperor or King of Kings (Negus Negusti), will, it is thought, not be crowned Emperor until after the rains, which begin in June and last till September. The period of mourning for the late Empress Zauditu, who died on April 2, will last forty or fifty days, and the King may wish to have time for greater preparations and ceremony than the short interval before the rains would allow. October 7 is mentioned as a possible date, being the anniversary of the coronation of Ras Tafari as King.

The rebellion which went on in the North-East of Abyssinia near the town of Dessie for some months was at first not serious. It seems to have originated in the refusal of some of the local inhabitants to pay the Government taxes, and the insurgents were assisted by brigands, who fished in the troubled waters. Such disturbances are not uncommon in Abyssinia, where communications between the capital and outlying provinces are deplorable, and at first little general attention was paid to the revolt. It soon became apparent, however, that matters were getting more serious, and the Abyssinian Government mobilised large bodies of troops and dispatched them to Dessie.

Few announcements are issued by the Abyssinian Government, and for some time it was not possible to get definite news as to what was going on. Rumours were current that the rebels were being joined by several important chiefs, including Ras Gugsa, husband of the late Empress Zauditu and Governor of the Provinces of Begemder and Beyamedar. It will be remembered that following on the revolution of 1916, in which Lij Yasu was deposed, Zauditu, the daughter of Menelek II., ascended the throne, Ras Tafari being made Regent and heir to the throne. As part of this arrangement, Ras Gugsa, the husband of the Empress, was not permitted, for political reasons, to live with her, and he resided away from the capital, in the north.

It was no secret that Ras Gugsa has always been most dissatisfied and has been a constant source of anxiety to the central Government. When the rebellion near Dessie began to assume serious proportions, it was assumed that Ras Gugsa was behind it and might at any moment openly join the rebels.

The King's Aeroplanes.

For some time the Central Government negotiated with Ras Gugsa, with the object of arriving at a peaceful settlement. The negotiations were much facilitated by the aeroplanes which King Tafari bought about six months ago. The journey from the capital to Dessie by road takes three weeks, and negotiations would normally be difficult, if not impossible. Constant communication was kept up by aeroplane, and the Government was also kept fully informed of what was going on.

In March Ras Gugsa, who had succeeded in mobilising a large force, broke off negotiations and openly joined the rebels, and the Government decided to take vigorous action. On March 31 there was a big battle between the insurgents and the Government troops, in which the insurgents were routed and Ras Gugsa was killed. Clear reports of the battle are not available, but it would appear that the casualties among the insurgents were about 6,000, against only 300 on the side of the Government. The Government troops were commanded by the Minister of War, Dejamatch Mulu Geta, in person. Two French aviators, MM. Maillet and Corriger, in the service of the Abyssinian Government, took part in the battle, and in addition to dropping bombs, kept the Government troops fully informed as to the dispositions of the rebels. It is reported that the Minister of War, though entirely unused to aeroplane reconnaissance, profited with great ability by the information thus received.

The news of the victory was received in Addis Ababa on April 1, and was announced by the firing from the Palace of thirteen guns. A small incident took place in the market, where a rumour went round that the Government had been defeated, and that the rebels were about to enter the capital. There was a panic and some looting, but order was quickly restored. The news was brought from the front by M. Maillet, who was received by the King and decorated with the collar of Commander of the Order of Menelek. The trouble at Dessie then died down.

Death of the Empress.

Meanwhile the Empress Zauditu was suffering from paratyphoid. The Empress, who was very religious, observed strictly all the fasts of the Church, particularly Lent. In spite of her illness she refused to depart from the strict Lent regimen, which includes abstention from milk, butter, and eggs—in fact, from almost everything which is usually prescribed for typhoid. In consequence the illness gained a thorough hold, and she died at Addis Ababa on April 2.

The dual form of Government of Empress and Regent was not altogether a success. King Tafari, supported by the more educated elements in Abyssinia, has always wanted to develop Abyssinia on modern lines. The older school in Abyssinia, which favoured the continuance of the status quo, found a rallying point in the Empress, who, strongly supported by the Church, showed herself by no means favourable to the progressive schemes of King Tafari. Plots against the King, who at that time held the titles of Ras, Regent, and Heir to the Throne, occurred from time to time, culminating in a plot in September, 1928, to kidnap him. The Regent, however, succeeded in turning the tables on the conspirators, and on October 7 of that year was crowned king.

This ceremony was performed by the Empress, who at that time greatly extended the powers of the King, and expressed the hope that one day he would assume the Imperial Crown, as he has now done. It is hoped that the uniting of all the powers of Government in the hands of King Tafari as Emperor, or King of Kings, will greatly improve the present system of government.

Race Problem - 1930

Africa

S.A. BANTU BOARD OF MUSIC.

[Continued from issue 4th Feb.]

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On Tuesday 2nd July, 1929, th S.A.B.B. of Music resumed its sittings The minutes of the previous day were read and confirmed. Professor D D T Jabavu thanked the conveners, and mentioned that the A.B.M.A. were the pioneers in this work. He also suggested that this conference should be linked to the C.A.T.A. conference so as not to lack vitality. He made it plain that Lovedale and Fort Hare were in need of a music teacher, and that any one who took up this position would be well supported. He drew the attention of the members that our concerts wanted more care to be paid to variety as this lacks very much in them.

The chairman Mr. F H M Zwide thanked Prof. Jabavu. At this juncture reporters to newspapers were elected, and Miss M T Soga was instructed to send a summary of the minutes to the "Imvo" and Mr. M R Masabalala was instructed to send the minutes to the "Umteteli". Again the constitution was continued

4. Finance. (a) The affiliation fee shall be 5/- per constituent Association.

(b) The annual subscription shall be :—

1. 10/6 for class C, this class being entitled to two representatives at Conference
2. £1/1/0 for class B. this class being entitled to three representatives at Conference.
3. £2/2/0 for class A, this class being entitled to five representatives at Conference,

(c) Interested sympathisers may join as patrons or as associate members subscribing an annual donation to the funds of the board.

Officers. The officers of this board shall be

(1) President; (2) two Vice Presidents; (4) General Secretary; (5) Assistant General Secretary; (6) Treasurer; (7) One committee members. These shall form the Executive Council.

Duties of officers: (a) Next conference shall define the duties of the officers. (b) the quorum and the amendment clause and have these defined in the constitution.

Principle: The principle of the board shall be that the travelling expenses of the executive of the board shall be paid when the conference judges that funds permit for the carrying out of this principle; the preference of expenditure shall be as follows :— The travelling expenses of the President next the Secretary next the Assistant Secretary next Treasurer next others at the discretion of the conference.

The Board shall constantly keep in view the laying aside of funds to finance the following objects namely: (a) Subscription to the "Umteteli wa Bantu" and the "Imvo" for the propose of officially disseminating its news and special articles on music, [b] The financial assistance of Bantu pupils who show extraordinary ability in music. [c] The encouragement and if possible the promotion of Sunday School Unniversaries, school musical competitions and eisteddfodeau.

Officers: The office bearers were elected as follows :—President Mr. F H M Zwide, Vice Presidents Messrs M Radebe and B Tyamzashe A.T.S.C General Secretary Mr. H M Masizi A.T.S.C. Asst Gen. Sec. Mr. M R Masabalala Treasurer Professor D D T Jabavu B.A. [London] member of committee Miss M T Soga.

It was decided that the place and time of conference shall be decided at each conference or by the Executive Council. At this juncture the venue for the next conference was fixed for Johannesburg in June 1930 during the winter vacations. Mr. M Radebe was instructed to make all necessary arrangements for this conference.

Professor Jabavu proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the conveners and this was seconded by Mr. Tshangana and also to the ladies for the refreshments. Letters were read from the Rev Calata, Mr. G Motsieloa and Mrs Rubusana stating that they were unable to attend the conference. The conference then closed.

M. R. MASABALALA,
Assistant General Secretary.

Union Law and the Native.

PROF. BROOKES' CRITICISM OF ACT OF 1927.

2-25-30

Dangers of Legislation by Proclamation.

From the "Cape Times."

Kingwilliamstown South Africa

The danger of legislation by proclamation, the need in Native affairs for some legislative authority other than that of Parliament, and the far-reaching interference of South African Law and the Native Administration Act of 1927 with the rights of the Native individual were fully analysed by Professor Edgar Brookes in his second and third lectures on "Official Powers and Common Law Rights" delivered at the University yesterday.

"A reasonably good case has, I believe," he said, "been made out for supplementing the legislative powers of Parliament. There are after all, degrees of ineptitude in the world, and if our civil servants are sometimes inept, it follows that Parliament is often worse, because its members have had no special incentive to study Native affairs. In fact, it seems to be merely a happy accident if we get a Native Minister who has made a special study of Native affairs or has in some degree particular qualifications for his job.

LEGISLATION HELD UP.

"Anyone who has gone into the history of Native legislation in this country must be struck by the extraordinary amount of really necessary legislation that has been held up, merely because it happened not to be spectacular or likely to win adherents for party policies."

The Native Administration Act of 1927, which he, personally, viewed with a very critical eye, Professor Brookes continued, was in many ways a great advance, on the unsatisfactory and anomalous legal situation, which had existed in the attitude of the Courts to Native Law, before and even after Union. Yet it legalised a change which was unprecedented in the history of the British Empire. Obviously, neither before nor after Union could a proclamation repeal, amend, or run counter to an Act of Parliament applying to Native Territories.

The Act of 1927 changed this drastically, for it gave the Governor General power to repeal or amend Acts of Parliament, past or future, by proclamation.

"INADEQUATE SAFEGUARDS."

The only safeguards that were devised for this unprecedented reversal of legislative power, Professor Brookes declared, were quite inadequate. One safeguard, for instance, was that, save where delay would, in the opinion of the Governor-General be prejudicial to the public interest no such proclamation should be issued, unless a draft of its principal provisions should have been published.

The omission of such publication, however, would not invalidate the proclamation, and only an extremely alert and pugnacious member of Parliament could, by raising the matter in the House, secure a chance of holding it up, let alone destroying it.

"All sorts of things can now become law," Professor Brookes stated, "without anybody even knowing anything about it. For the people who are likely to be affected by these proclamations very rarely read the Government Gazette. We may say of course, that there always is the Native Affairs Commission. But the Commission, as it often happens, does not always agree, and its intervention may not therefore always be as effective as we might wish it.

ELEMENT OF PUBLICITY.

"Hence, I want to show you that

this Act is destroying what has always been an extremely valuable element in democratic government—the element of publicity. It is something often forgotten by critics on democracy, that it enables the Government to have fair opportunities of discussing, criticising and understanding contemplated legislation.

"Under the Act of 1927, however, legislation can be imposed on a people, without their knowing in the least what it is about, and it will have to be more and more the duty of Native welfare institutions to study and to protest against unjust legislation of this kind."

Dr. Loram, a member of the Native Affairs Commission: Do you, then, know of any other way in which this should be done?

"My own opinion," Professor Brookes replied, "is that any law by proclamation should come up in the ordinary way in Parliament, and be formally validated by a resolution of both Houses, instead of being left to an individual to raise it."

RIGHT OF VETO.

What the Native Administration Act of 1927 had actually done, Professor Brookes continued, was, apparently, to cut out entirely the legislative power of Parliament. Under it the legislative authority was not Parliament, but the Governor-General-in-Council, who might by proclamation make laws for the peace, order and government of the territories concerned.

Parliament did, it was true, retain a veto on proclamations, but it was, apparently not intended to have any positive power of legislation.

If these particular objections were removed, however, it seemed that the Act of 1927 had solved the problem of legislation by proclamation, as it had to some extent that of the recognition of Native laws.

Was it necessary, though, he asked, to go further, as the Act did, and interfere with other rights and with the constitutional safeguards of British subjects generally, and to fortify and consecrate the already bureaucratic tendencies of Native administrators?

RIGHTS OF PERSONAL FREEDOM

The rights of personal freedom, he stated, which prevented the State from interfering with the individual, except in definite breaches of law, were in South Africa, even for Europeans, less than in Britain. For the Natives alone, the Pass Law, whether justifiable or not, created an enormous inroad into the common law right of personal freedom.

"We are daily sending hundreds of our Natives," he declared, "to prison, not for moral or criminal offences, but for purely statutory offences."

Similarly, the making of a criminal offence of striking (Native Labour Regulation Act) seemed to be a definite statutory departure from the common law.

So also was the tendency to make matters which give rise to a civil action against Europeans, matters of criminal procedure against Natives, as, for example, in the non-payment of taxes.

"The Native Administration Act," Professor Brookes said, "is a locus classicus for this kind of interference with personal freedom."

He proceeded to cite that clause of the Act which empowered the Governor-General, whenever he "deems it expedient in the public interest," to order the removal of any tribe or any Native from any place to any other place within the Union. Any Native who objected to this removal, in any except certain exceptional circumstances, would be held guilty of an offence. In case the whole tribe objected, however, the order of removal would be subject to the approval of Parliament.

FEAR OF TROUBLE?

"Why does this apply to tribes alone?" Professor Brookes asked. "Is it through fear of trouble so far as they are concerned but not as far as individuals are concerned? A worthy attitude for Parliament!

"Natives have no longer a right of personal freedom, but a privilege of personal freedom, to be held until the Governor-General deems it inexpedient in the public interest.

"In other words it is held at official discretion.

"Their substitution of privileges held at official discretion for common law rights is the fundamental principle of the Act. I want you to note the phrase 'whenever he deems it expedient in the public interest.' It is pure 'droit administratif' and it is the sort of thing our courts with the best will in the world cannot get around.

"The courts look with natural and merited suspicion on this kind of thing and try as far as possible to avoid it. In the Transvaal, for instance, they found a temporary way out of the difficulty by interpreting 'from place to place' as not meaning from province to province. But this subterfuge was soon destroyed by an amendment of Parliament."

ARREST WITHOUT WARRANT.

Yet, he declared, the Act made further and even more serious inroads into the Right of Personal Freedom. He cited the right of arrest without warrant, curtailment of the right of freedom of discussion under which any person who utters any words or does anything with the intent to "promote any hostilities between Natives and Europeans" was guilty of an offence.

"These are glorious words," he said, "but if the law were applied to the letter we should not have a quorum in Parliament."

Professor Brookes illustrated his allegation by concrete cases and what he called the abominable administration of the Pretoria pass raids. What was needed, he declared, was vigilant public opinion, constant protest, and test cases wherever possible so as to secure at least the full protection of the law such as it is.

Abyssinia.

NEGUS TAFFARI OF ABYSSINIA.

Dr. Garabedian's Absurd Charges.

A Reply to "Gross Misstatements."

African World
3-15-30

(By Mr. R. S. Fraser, in the "Sunday Times.")

Sir,—Referring to the lengthy report appearing in your issue of the 2nd inst. as to an appeal on the part of Dr. Garabedian, stated to have been "submitted by Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League of Nations, to the members of the Council and to Dr. Nansen, the League's High Commissioner, who is responsible for the interests of Armenians who have no other Government to which they can appeal," I must protest, as one familiar with the actual facts as communicated to me by Dr. Garabedian, against the "gross misstatements which the appeal is stated to contain.

The "Daily Mail" as far back as October 24, 1928, contained a considerably shorter report of the allegations made by Dr. Garabedian, whereupon I communicated with that journal, with the result that the charges fell into deserved obscurity. Their present revival, as reported in your issue of the 2nd inst., calls for a corresponding confutation.

The readers of the "Sunday Times" will judge of the inaccuracy of the statements appearing in the appeal when I mention that it is news to the Ethiopian Government that Dr. Garabedian was formerly physician to the Court, or that he ever became personal physician to Ras Taffari, or wrote him letters of protest against carrying out his directions to poison his relatives, or that the Empress Zaouditou is now dead, or that Dr. Garabedian had ever possessed a hospital at Addis Ababa, or elsewhere—unless, maybe, he refers to a small dispensary in the market—or was personally refused permission to leave the country. The doctor speaks to his exile in the desert 500 miles from Addis Ababa. If he refers to his stay in the City of Diri Daoua, I can but envy him his experience.

A City of Culture.

The medical profession practising in Addis Ababa in the spring of 1928 included men of eminence, and one would be interested to learn how the gentlemen referred to will characterise Dr. Garabedian's statement that "poisoning is generally regarded as being one of the principal duties of all physicians." Let me recall to the doctor's recollection that Addis Ababa is a city—peopled by many men of culture—in addition to the Ministers accredited to the Ethiopian Court by European Powers and the U.S.A., and including the cathedral clergy.

I confine myself to the graver charges contained in the appeal, but there are others which call for and should receive attention.

The gravamen of Dr. Garabedian's complaint to myself at or about the time when the incidents he mentions took place was that the campaign conducted by the Ethiopian Government against the sale of poisons was carried to excess, and that he had unjustly fallen under suspicion at the instance of an unqualified medical competitor in practice, with the consequence that his surgery had been raided by the police under a search-warrant, with negative results, but that this notwithstanding, an order for his expulsion from the country, made concurrently with the issue of the search-warrant, remained in force. The doctor, however, should recall that there were other grounds which doubtless influenced the making of the order.

Expulsion Order Suspended.

The occasion for a Nansen passport, for which I applied through the post on the doctor's behalf, was to admit of Dr. Garabedian travelling through French territory between the Abyssinian frontier and the coast.

It was to secure the suspension of the order of expulsion that I received Dr. Garabedian's instructions to appeal from the order of the Municipal Tribunal to His Highness Ras Taffari, which appeal succeeded. The doctor's stock of drugs was taken over by one of the hospitals at a valuation.

Dr. Garabedian's appeal to the League of Nations, as set forth in the "Sunday Times" of the 2nd inst., is based on statements so dissimilar to his instructions to myself as to render them incredible in the absence of verification. Men acquainted with His Majesty King Taffari will reject even the suggestion that he would be capable of inciting anyone to commit the crime which his Government has spared no pains to suppress.

141, Moorgate, E.C. R. S. FRASER.

[The report from Geneva was supplied by the British United Press, who now inform us that they were in error in stating that Dr. Garabedian's petition had been submitted by Sir Eric Drummond to members of the Council of the League of Nations.—"Sunday Times."]

Race Problem - 1930

Africa

Death Takes Empress of Ethiopia

Defender 4-12-30



Empress Zauditu, coruler of Abyssinia and direct descendant of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, who died at the palace at Addis Ababa, Abyssinia, Wednesday, April 2, after a prolonged illness. She was 54 years of age. The empress was the daughter of Emperor Menelik II, who died in 1913. She is shown at the extreme left. Raz Taffari Makonnen (center), regent and real ruler of Abyssinia for years. His queen is shown at the right.

Kadel & Herbert Photos.

Chicago Bee

PORTUGUESE AFRICA.

ALL QUIET IN ANGOLA.

LISBON, April 7.

All is now quiet in Angola, and the troops which were in readiness to proceed to that colony have been sent back to their respective units. The High Commissioner for Portuguese West Africa, who had been ordered to remain in Benguella until the recent unrest had subsided, has now left by the S.S. "Africa" for Lisbon, while General Tristão de Mendes, who is to make enquiries into the mutiny which broke out some time ago in the Loanda garrison, is not leaving Lisbon until April 20.—Reuter.

African World 4-12-30

The Frontier Commission.

The Commission entrusted with the duty of marking the frontiers of Angola has left for Lourenco Marques via Johannesburg and Victoria Falls, and will meet the South African Contingent at Catima Novilo.—Reuter.

No Tobacco Tax.

It is announced that the manufacture and sale of tobacco is now free to all in the colony of Angola.—Reuter.

PORTUGUESE NATIVES TO BE REPATRIATED.

No More Houseboys.

Portuguese natives are soon to disappear from domestic service in the Union under the new Mozambique Convention.

The Native Affairs Department is now getting busy, and it will not be long before there will be a complete "combing" out in the towns of this particular type of houseboy. It is understood that immigration officers are being appointed, and shortly prohibitive notices will be served.

Under the new Mozambique Convention, the Union is required to treat all Portuguese natives, other than those employed on the mines, as prohibited immigrants. For the information of employers, however, it should be pointed out that any of these natives already working in South Africa will be granted a temporary permit to complete the unexpired portion of their contract, but not for a longer period than six months.

Mozambique Co.'s Territory.

SUCCESSES AT SEVILLE EXPOSITION.

Many Medals Won by Products of Manica and Sofala.

Numerous awards were gained by the products of the Territory of Manica and Sofala at the Seville Exposition, where a comprehensive exhibit was shown by the Companhia de Mocambique. The medals received were as follows:—

Gold Medals.—Wood, minerals, objects of gold, objects of gold and buffalo horn, objects of gold and ivory, objects of gold and elephant hair, silver and ivory.

Silver Medals.—Objects of ebony, ivory tusks, heads of game and skins.

Bronze Medal.—Alcohol.

Honourable Mention.—Wax.

Dry Season.

The hopes entertained earlier in the year that the farmers of the territory would enjoy a favourable season have again proved illusory. The summer has been exceptionally dry, and by the middle of March the rainfall was at least 20 in. below the average—in some districts even more. The climatic conditions of the past five or six years have been very disappointing with either an excess or a deficiency of rain, and the present price situation does not improve matters. For those who have courage and patience the tide must turn before long, but it is a weary business awaiting the end of such an unusually protracted period of ill-fortune.

New Station.

Plans for the new railway station at Beira have been made public. The "Beira News," which mentions the fact without giving further details, says that it is evident that Colonel Birney's prophecy that the town would be provided with a modern and well-equipped station will be thoroughly justified.

In the second week of March fifteen steamers, including the new "City of New York," were due to arrive in the Pungue, so that the slowing down which was in evidence in the first two months of the year was evidently drawing to a close. One of the Clan Line vessels went alongside the deep-water wharf to discharge a number of railway saloon coaches, involving 28-ton lifts by the ships' derricks.

Lions have again been active in the neighbourhood of Chimoio.

PORTUGUESE AFRICA.

PORTUGUESE NATIVES IN THE UNION.

New Repatriation Regulations.

The Government has issued a communique stating that as a result of the negotiations which took place recently in Lourenço Marques regarding the interpretation and execution of some of the dispositions of the Convention of 1928, which regulate the employment of natives of this colony in the gold and coal mines of the Transvaal, it was decided that Portuguese natives in the Union who are not working in the mines are to be declared prohibited immigrants.

African World 3/27/30 Defender 4-4-30

Those who are unemployed can go to work in the mines, but should they not wish to do so they are to be summarily repatriated. Those already employed elsewhere than on the mines can be conceded a provisional pass to enable them to complete the period of service for which they were engaged, this period not to exceed six months. For those who enter the Union after March 1 next this period cannot exceed three months, and is allowed only in order to enable them to earn sufficient money to pay the cost of their repatriation.

Repatriation Costs.

Employers of natives who have been conceded a provisional pass are to deduct from the wages of such natives the amounts necessary to pay the cost of repatriation, the deductions to be notified to them by the Union Immigration Department.

Natives contracted after May 1, 1927, are to be re-contracted, but in terms of the Convention of 1928, i.e., they can remain on the mines only eighteen months more, counting from the termination of their old contracts, it being obligatory to repatriate them at the end of this period, while from the first day of the new contracts they are to come under the deferred pay system. The repatriation of all natives contracted under the 1909 Convention will be made on the same terms as in the case of those contracted under the 1928 Convention.—Reuter.

NEW PORTUGUESE LOAN.

LISBON, March 14.

At a Cabinet meeting to-day the Government approved the decree authorising an internal loan of 100,000 contos, bearing interest at 6¾ per cent., to be utilised for the construction and equipment of Portuguese ports. The loan is to be guaranteed by port dues and State revenue; it will be exempt from the stamp tax due on securities and from all taxation, present and future, on interest.—Reuter.

PORTUGUESE PREFERENCE FOR COLONIAL SUGAR.

A decree has been published in the "Official Gazette" increasing the duty on sugar imported into Portugal from non-Portuguese countries by 10 centavos per kilogram. Under the decree, Mozambique and Angola are given an undertaking that they will be permitted during the next fifteen years to supply one-half of Portugal's total demands in sugar, but conditions are imposed in regard to the re-equipment of refineries and the cultivation of cane which are designed to ensure the stability of the industry.—Reuter.

New Abyssinian King Accused; Routs Rival's Army

Defender

[Chicago Defender Foreign News Service]

GENEVA, Switzerland, April 11.—Charges of sinister intrigue and royal poison plots by Emperor Ras Taffari of Abyssinia against the life of Empress Zauditu, coholder of the empire's throne, who died on April 2, made to the league of nations here by Dr. Alexander Garabedian, former physician to the Abyssinian court, have been revived.

Dr. Garabedian, in petitions to the court, accuses the new emperor of having twice urged him to poison the empress, her niece, Waiziro, and Taffari's mother-in-law.

The physician, on his refusal to take part in the death plots, alleged he was persecuted, thrown in chains and exiled. He also alleged raids were made on his hospital at Addis Ababa.

Dr. Garabedian, in his petition, asks the court to force the Abyssinian government to pay him $180,000 damages. He supports his claim with 300 pages of documents, including letters written to Taffari, in which he refused to take part in the killing of members of the royal family.

ADDIS ABABA, Abyssinia, April 11. — Empress Zauditu, who was the nominal ruler of this country, died April 2 at the age of 54. She was a descendant of a royal line which traced its ancestry back to King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

Her enthronement took place in 1916, at which time she succeeded her nephew, Lij Yasu. Her father, the Emperor Menelik II, died in 1913. The empress will be succeeded by Ras Taffari Makonnen, great-nephew of Menelik, who has been the real ruler of the country for a number of years with the title of regent.

The unexpected death of the empress was reported to have been caused partly by shock on hearing that her former husband, Ras Gugas Olie, had been slain in a battle between his rebel force and the imperial troops. Empress Zauditu was in ill health when the news reached her.

A fierce battle was waged March 30 near Zebit between 10,000 rebels, equipped with field pieces and machine guns, and the imperial army, numbering 20,000 soldiers. The rebels were routed in a surprise attack on Ras Taffari Makonnen's forces by a counter maneuver after Olie was killed by a bomb thrown from an imperial airplane.

Ras Taffari, a slight man, possessing modern ideas and a vast knowledge of warfare and feasting, immediately after the death of Empress Zauditu, became absolute ruler of 10,000,000 subjects in a kingdom nearly the size of Texas and New Mexico combined. Abyssinia has an area of about 250,000 square miles.

Provincial war lords of the kingdom assembled here for the funeral rites for the empress proclaimed Ras Taffari sole ruler of the empire. Taffari's first act as emperor of Abyssinia was to announce that elaborate rites and honors would be observed for the late empress. Tribesmen from throughout the empire are flocking to the capital to take part in the ceremonies. It is estimated that at least 50,000 cattle will be sacrificed.

History verifies the fact that Empress Zauditu was descended from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. A book from the chronicles of "Fikrh Nagas" ("The Glory of the Kings"), which is said to have started as a poem when the world began, and to have become a history of the Ethiopians.

4-12-30

According to the book which is still in existence, Queen Magda of Sheba heard of the wisdom of the great black king, Solomon. Curious as to this illustrious man of her own color, she paid him a visit and was received with honors so splendid at the court of Israel that she was lost in admiration.

Chicago

For six months she is said to have partaken of the hospitality of the great Solomon. When she left for her own Ethiopia, Solomon showered her with gifts and costly presents.

Nine months after her return she gave birth to a son whom she called "Son of the Wise Man."

This son, when a youth, paid a visit to Solomon, who was so pleased with the boy that he offered to share half the throne of Israel with him. He refused, and returned home accompanied by priests from Solomon's temple. These priests, knowing of the power of the "ark of the covenant" stole it and carried it back to Ethiopia.

While the modern Nordic races are looking down on the black men in this country, Abyssinia is still a kingdom with an unbroken line which extends farther back than history. Its glorious heritage is one of great splendor in which black kings have conquered and ruled large kingdoms. The Ethiopians are credited with having given the Egyptians their culture, and it is certain that they were a highly cultured and intelligent race while the white races were forest-bound savages.

Besides Ethiopia, Liberia is the only state in Africa not ruled by white men. Liberia was settled as a free country by members of our group from America not over 100 years ago but Ethiopia has the distinction of always having been ruled by its own native people.

Nobody knows how old it is, or who its earliest rulers were, as records do not reach back that far into the mysterious past of the period before history, even biblical, began.

The country is said to have been a highly civilized kingdom centuries before the birth of Christ. Once it had an ample seacoast, and was powerful at sea, but now, owing to the encroachments of European powers, it does not own a single mile of seacoast.

According to the Bible, Ethiopians are descended from Ham, son of Noah, and also from Arabians who crossed the narrow strait of Bab-El-Mandeb.

The government, the supreme authority, is vested in the king, who is a descendant of the royal line. In the provinces he appoints nominal heads who rule under him.

In 1923 the country feared that the ambition of Italy would jeopardize its independence and so sought and gained membership in the league of nations.

Besides Ethiopia, Liberia is the only state in Africa not controlled by foreign powers, and Ethiopia has the distinction of always having been ruled by its native people. It is a proud race, and one whose royal lineage puts to shame the claims of modern races toward ancient family history.

Rambling Ruminations

News

A REVIEW BY J. A. ROGERS

CAPE COLONY, South Africa.

GENERALS SMUTS and Hertzog were burnt in effigy at Johannesburg at a demonstration in which 20,000 Negroes participated. The object of the meeting was to protest against the increasing number of unjust laws.

1-9-30

At a similar demonstration in Natal there was a clash with the police, and at Potchefstroom (Transvaal), where another meeting was held on the same day, the Negroes were attacked by a band of Europeans, in which several on both sides were wounded. One of the natives, Hermanus, is dead as a result of injuries received. Three Europeans were arrested, one of whom has been held in $5,000 bail.

At East London the native railway workers are on strike after the company had refused them a minimum salary of $1.75 a day.

At Carnarvon, Cape Colony, there was a demonstration of natives before the Town Hall. A clash resulted when the police attempted to disperse them, in which the mayor, several white persons and natives were injured.

Natives of all factions are being called on to unite. New Africa, organ of the I. C. U. Independent, carries an article by Clements Kadalie, leader of this organization, and another by Champion, leader of the I. C. U of Natal, in which all are called on to unite against "the increasing terror being shown by the South African government."

According to information received from the Cape by The London Times, the South African party led by Smuts, who is in opposition to the government party led by Hertzog, has voted to let each member of Smuts' party vote according to his own will on the new laws directed against the Negroes. This decision is said to mean that the Hertzog government will have a free hand against the natives.

There is in Parliament a Riotous Assemblies Act, which calls for stringent methods, and it is believed that this will become law. Under its provisions every individual, Britsh or otherwise, who is found guilty of carrying on agitation among the natives will be at once deported; entry into native reserves by other than South Africans will be illegal; further, all gatherings of natives will be forbidden, and it is hoped that the law will make it possible to prevent the circulation of all newspapers and magazines among the Negroes.

Another law is the Masters' and Servants' Act, forcing all male Negroes between the ages of 18 and 60 who do not work at least three months in a year to pay an additional tax of $25 a year. To the penalty already provided by this law will be added not less than five lashes. Naturally, the term work is meant employment by a white person.

It is announced that the Governor-General, the Earl of Athlone, in his opening speech to Parliament declared that the existing law against the exciting of the natives to revolt was not sufficiently strong and needed revision. As to the question of political representation by the natives, which has long been stubbornly fought, it is expected to be decided by the present session.

White Workers Against Black.

At a Workers' Congress held at Johannesburg, the South African Workers' Party discussed as its principal topic how to guarantee a higher standard of living among the white workers. One delegate, who dared to raise the question of the treatment of the natives, was roughly treated himself.

In order to have more natives to exploit, the Hertzog party is trying to bring the three protectorates of Swaziland, Bechuanaland, and Basutoland under white rule. This will mean not only taking away their goods and property, but forcing them into the ranks of poorly paid workers. These three black protectorates have prospered well under their own government, which is supervised by whites.

Slavery in East Africa.

The Star of Johannesburg carries the following story:

"Some time ago the Anzeiger of Windoek published a sensational story of alleged slavery in the district of Gobadi, where it was reported a number of farmers had surrounded a tribe of Bushmen and forced them to work for them.

"As a result of this report, three Europeans, the brothers, Theron, and a farmer named Brand, were brought to trial on three charges, namely, armed attack, trespass and forced labor. It is alleged that the three white men attacked the Bushmen, burned their huts and took the men of the tribe prisoners to a farm, where they were divided and sold to work in different farms."

Race Problem - 1930

Africa

Ethiopian Defender Army in Parade

7-5-36

Chicago, Ill

U. S. May Send Envoy to Emperor's Coronation

[Chicago Defender Foreign News Service]

WASHINGTON, July 3.—The state department is considering sending a special representative of President Hoover with the rank of ambassador to Addis Ababa for the coronation of Ras Tafari as emperor of Abyssinia Nov. 2. The prince of Wales or the duke of York, it is understood, will probably attend the coronation, while Italy, France and the vatican are expected to send representatives.

Addison E. Southard, American minister to Abyssinia, recently reported to the state department that extraordinary opportunities for American commerce, finance and engineering skiil were to be found there.

"Their country is rich," Mr. Southard said. "Its ruler is determined upon development along modern lines and he has decided preference for the United States."

By W. A. JACKSON

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia, June 10.—With the passing of the Empress Zauditu, Ras Tafari now ascends the ancient throne of Ethiopia. Already Negus (king), to distinguish him from all other rases, now becomes Negus Nagasti (king of kings) and emperor of all Ethiopia.

Upon the receipt of the news that the empress had died, Tafari, by a masterful stroke of organization, concentrated 10,000 picked troops on the palace grounds of the late empress before his strongest rival, Ras Kassa, seized the reins of government and proclaimed himself emperor. Since his ascendency to the throne Tafari has shown such great determination and strength of character that he has gained the respect of even his enemies.

Although the government of Ethiopia is in the hands of Tafari and his conservative party, the new emperor is faced with many grave problems, both from within and without. The old party, which was headed by the late empress, continues strong, and the resentment against the many radical reforms which Tafari has instituted since his return from Europe some five years ago still lingers on.

The growing resentment against the presence of Europeans is one of the major problems which confronts the new emperor. However, for the present, Tafari is master of the situation and the Europeans are hoping that he will be able to overcome everyone who now impedes his plans for reform.

Several months before her death, the late empress gave full expression to her growing anxiety regarding the welfare of her country by calling Ras Kouksa, a powerful leader in the North, to assist her in displacing Tafari from the throne, for she and her party had never accepted him as the rightful heir.

In the quarrel that ensued, Ras Kouksa succeeded in enlisting the assistance and support of other followers of the empress and as a final break, civil war broke out. Tafari, with characteristic calm and determination, met the situation with a firmness that surprised the entire country. He immediately dispatched the minister of war, Bletan Geta Bulnenguetta, with a large force of troops to the revolting province. Later powerful chiefs or rases from Gondar, Harra, Tigre, joined him with their armies and in a suprisingly short time had succeeded in surrounding the forces of Ras Kouksa. Modern Browning machine guns and cannons were used by the rebel forces. For a while, the outcome seemed doubtful on the part of the government forces, but with reinforcements from the loyal provinces a decision was soon reached.

Tafari, at the critical period seeing that a prolonged civil war would be both embarrasing and expensive, dispatched two airplanes, piloted by French and German aviators. Despite the fact that the revolting forces succeeded in bringing down the German plane which resulted in the death of the king's uncle; the French plane succeeded in dropping several well placed bombs, which frightened the revolutionists and dispersed their fighting units. Hostilities ended shortly after the death of Ras Kouksa, who was slain in the battle.

With the restoration of peace in the revolting provinces and the end of the mourning period for the late empress, which lasted for 40 days, the emperor ordered the victorious armies to return to Addis Ababa for a final review before returning to their respective provinces.

As a part of the plans for the welcome for the returning armies, 6,000 bullocks were brought in from the surrounding country to be slaughtered near the palace grounds. Native wood carriers brought wood in on their heads from great distances.

Women and children brewed tej or native beer and carried large earthen jars on their backs to the palace to serve to the soldiers. During the meantime, thousands of soldiers, many of whom had served under Menilik in previous wars, marched overland, across high mountains, through deserts and tropical jungles, subsisting, for the most part, on a few handfuls of parched grains and a draught of tej.

After weeks of slow marching and indescribable hardships, these armies began to approach Addis Ababa, but none entered the city until the last of the stragglers and wounded had arrived. The wounded were the first to be carried in for the new emperor is ever solictious for the welfare and comfort of his fighters. After the wounded had been properly cared for, the main body of troops entered by different routes. There was no noise, no shouting or loud outcry from the people. The returning soldiers entered from almost every direction and unless one was familiar with the daily doings around the palace, the presence of almost 50,000 troops would scarcely have been noticed, so quietly did the troops filter into the city.

After a rest of two days, the emperor ordered that the review of the army would take place at the race track.

Early on the appointed day, thousands of natives gathered along the roadside approaching the race track and within the grounds. Promptly at 10 o'clock the royal car approached, there was no blare of trumpets or unnecessary herding of the crowd at the intersections of the streets as the royal party approached, only the honking of horns and the emperor had passed. Upon his arrival at the royal stand, he immediately alighted, accompanied by his staff and ministers, entered the stand and took his seat. Friends and visiting rases took up their position around the emperor and empress, later the diplomatic and consular corps joined the royal party and by 10:30 the big parade was under way.

The first troops to pass in review were the irregular infantry which were commanded by their own chiefs. The troops marched in groups of about 200. The commanders rode mules that were covered with beautifully designed coverings inlaid with gold and silver. These commanders retained almost perfect control over their commands despite the fact that there were no orders given. As the various units passed the reviewing stand, the men who had actually killed their enemies, threw bits of clothing in front of the emperor to prove to His Majesty that they had served him faithfully. As the units moved past the emperor, they would burst forth into song, they waved their rifles above their heads and shouted at the tops of their voices. The song leaders would jump and turn completely around while in the air. This continued for more than an hour.

Interspersed between the marchers, bands of native players strode by playing their queer-looking instruments of reeds that resembled oboes and saxophones. These players of wind instruments were followed by drummers mounted on mules with large leather-covered drums tied on the sides of their mules with a smaller drum securely fastened on the pommel of their saddles. These drummers kept up a continuous beating which was not unpleasant to hear. The irregular cavalry, mounted on mules and Arab ponies, followed the drummers. These men were excellent riders. They would stand in the stirrups and wave their double-bladed swords or draw their spears as if they were about to make a charge. Many of the riders carried, in addition to their own rifle, the rifle of the men whom they had slain in battle.

When the last of the mounted and unmounted irregular troops had passed, another group of unmounted men passed. They were armed only with swords. These men had distinguished themselves during the war by having slain their enemies in hand-to-hand encounters. In order to distinguish them from the lesser heroes the minister of war had personally decorated them by placing upon their heads minature crowns of green fir twigs. As they approached the reviewing stand His Majesty rose and made a graceful bow in acknowledgement of their salute. While the emperor stood, one grizzled old warrior walked up to the reviewing stand and addressed him. "Oh, master, I have fought under four kings before you, and now I have fought for you. Look at these brave men. Who would defy you? Who would dare invade our land?" Standing for a moment, then making a bow, he resumed his place with the marchers and marched away.

The distinguished service men were next followed by the Imperial guards, mounted on Arab ponies. These men wore natty uniforms of khaki with red epaulettes on their shoulders, while their officers wore the regulation Sam Brown belt. They marched in troop formation and presented an appearance that would have done credit to our own Ninth and Tenth cavalry regiments. When the last guard regiments had passed there was a pause for several minutes, th crowd moved closer to the fence, then suddenly, like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, an airplane shot upward from the nearby airdome.

The natives stood as if struck by a bolt of lightning. As the plane soared over the race course the imperial band struck up a tune and the marching was resumed. A group of dismounted guardsmen followed the band, carrying several flags or standards which had been captured from their late enemies. The color bearers were followed by a group of unarmed men carrying a litter which contained the crown of the dead ras. The band, color bearers and the men who carried the crown of the slain ras stopped before the imperial reviewing stand and waited. The band ceased playing and the emperor and his staff rose.

A horseman rode up, his mount decorated with a richly embroidered covering of silver and gold, and around the horse's neck hung a lion's mane fastened together by a large gold buckle. The rider carried, in addition to his rifle, a large war shield, inlaid with gold, and a long spear alternately striped with bands of gold and silver.

Immediately behind the rider two soldiers led a mule laden with rifles. These were the personal possessions of the late ras, and the rider of the beautifully decorated horse was the man who had slain the rebel leader. He was the greatest hero of the war and the emperor was about to confer special honors upon him. Next came a group of men, chained together, who were the prisoners captured, and behind these a group of rifle bearers carrying their rifles on their shoulders, which were covered with bright-colored velvet. These rifles belonged to the war minister and his staff.

The band struck up a tune and the site before the reviewing stand was cleared. Then a group of soldiers came in sight, marching closely together. They were the personal bodyguard of the minister of war. In the center of the marchers rode a large black man holding a green parasol, with a black and green silk chama over his right shoulder. He was astride a large gray mule that was decorated with silver and gold trappings. Dismounting before the emperor, the venerable old minister walked up and embraced his majesty. Aides held up their chamas to conceal their master while the formal greetings were going on. A few moments of conversation and the minister joined his majesty in the reviewing stand, where they sat together until the last of the marchers had passed.

The review ended as abruptly as it had started. The great amphitheater filled with troops and spectators was emptied, while the emperor and his staff entered their cars and drove away.

No words can adequately describe the scenes which we were so fortunate as to witness in this far-away country. To say that what we witnessed was magnificent beyond anything we had previously seen would be putting it mildly. We have reviewed the red armies of Russia in holy Moscow; we have reviewed the Imperial guards of his majesty the king of Afghanistan on the plains near Kabul; we have seen our own Ninth cavalry marching on the plains of Wyoming, but never have we seen a sight that so thrilled us as did the sight of those thousands of black Ethiopians passing in review here in Addis Ababa.

Black men, commanded by black officers; men whose morale was not built upon lies and insincere promises, but upon a foundation greater than the desire of conquest. These black warriors are descendants of mighty warriors who for more than 30 centuries have defended their mountain passes, their homes and their religion; warriors who can boast that they have defeated modern European armies in the field of battle. A mighty force these proud and undefeated Ethiopians. Surely the day is not far distant when Ethiopia will stretch forth her hands and regain her lost provinces.

Manchester Guardian
6-27-30
Vol. 22 - No. 129
Dearsgate Mar
Chester

EAST AFRICAN POLICY.

What the White Papers Propose.

The discerning reader of the two White Papers on East Africa just issued by the Government will be looking not so much for a restatement of principles as for guarantees of their application. In the main he is likely to be satisfied that a real attempt has been made to square practice with theory. The first paper is a short statement of the Government's proposals in regard to the "closer union" of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika and the Constitution of Kenya; the second is a clear and detailed exposition of the native policy which should be adopted in East Africa. This policy is not a new one; its general outlines have long been accepted by all the British political parties. They are inherent in the Duke of Devonshire's famous declaration that native interests must be paramount in a country where natives outnumber white immigrants by several hundred to one. They follow equally from the Covenant of the League of Nations, which makes the administration of backward peoples a "sacred trust," and they have been already laid down in detail in the Hilton Young Commission's report on closer union. But the new statement represents a substantial advance because it is issued side by side with proposals for setting up a High Commissioner whose most important duty would be to see that they are observed in the day-by-day administration of East Africa. In matters of direct native policy the High Commissioner would have very wide powers. He would have to be acquainted with the drafts of all Bills proposed, including the Budget, and with all changes in methods of native administration. It would be his duty to suspend any such order or Act as seemed to him not to harmonise with the prescribed native policy.

In this supervision of native policy the High Commissioner should, it is suggested, be assisted only by his expert staff and such other advice as he cares to call to his assistance. To fulfil the second part of his duties—the organisation of joint economic services for the three territories—he clearly needs not only technical aid but also the daily co-operation of representatives of the various interests affected. The Government therefore proposes to set up a Council to consist of four official and three unofficial representatives from each of the three territories. In discussing the functions of this Council the White Paper remarks that the Government would have preferred that this Council should be advisory. So would most students of East African politics. But it appears that the legal advisers of the Crown hold that the provisions of the British Settlements Act prevent the establishment of an Advisory Council in any "colony," and therefore, against the better judgment of the Government, a Legislative Council is proposed. On this point the Joint Committee before whom these proposals will come may well seek to give effect to the Government's real wishes rather than to their actual proposals. It should not be difficult to pass whatever amendment to the Settlements Act may be necessary for the purpose. And clearly there are strong arguments against a Legislative Council. The proposed Council, it is true, would only deal indirectly with native policy, but in deciding such vital matters as the route to be taken by a new railway the welfare of the native is as much involved as that of the settler. The White Paper on native policy, without any direct reference to past scandals, rightly suggests that, if our avowed policy of fostering native agriculture is to be effective, care must be taken that adequate transport facilities are provided for the native as well as for the white cultivator. At the moment the question may appear unimportant, since the settler interest, which may clash with native interests at this point, is in a minority in the proposed Council. But to set up a Legislative Council in a colonial area which is admittedly far from ripe for self-government seems in itself an anomaly. Moreover, it opens the way for a renewal of the demand for self-government, and seems to be destructive of the main principles on which the suggested settlement is based. Since the Government state that they prefer an Advisory Council it would seem the obvious duty of the Joint Committee to give effect to their considered judgment.

The Government proposes to leave the Constitution of Kenya substantially unchanged. It refuses to listen to the demand for the abolition of the official majority on the Legislative Council. To put the settlers in control of that Council would have been admissible only on one condition—if the administration of the native reserves had been completely separated from that of the rest of the colony. That would have been one solution of the problem. It has been widely advocated by some of those who understand East Africa best, and it is to be noticed that the Government is careful not to shut the door against its adoption in the future. Indeed, the White Paper on native policy suggests that it may in the long run prove the best method. Clearly, it is the direction in which those settlers who find the direct administration of Kenya by the Colonial Office so irksome should reasonably look. If the administration of the reserves were placed in the hands of an entirely independent authority the main objections to granting a greater degree of local autonomy to the settlers would be gone. As it is, the Government propose to retain their responsibility in Kenya, to accede to the settlers' very natural wish for the economic advantages of closer union with the neighbouring territories, and to set up new and much-needed safeguards for native interests. When the Joint Committee examines these proposals it will find many excellent provisions of detail. Thus, for instance, the position of the Chief Native Commissioner of Kenya, who is not at present in a position to discharge his duties on behalf of the native effectively, is to be strengthened. Every year he is to report directly to the Secretary of State, giving a full account of the direct taxes raised from the natives and the method in which this money is spent for their advantage. Viewed in the light of the history of Kenya that provision is perhaps more important than many of the more formal and obvious safeguards. The Government is to be congratulated upon an honest attempt to settle a long controversy courageously and without overlooking those details of practical administration upon which the effective fulfilment of our trusteeship ultimately depends.

Massacre at Worcester by South African Whites, White-washed By White Investigation Boc

negro World
7-5-30
New York, N.Y.

Police Thought "People May Think They Were Afraid to Shoot"

CAPETOWN, South Africa. — The inquest on the Worcester shooting has concluded. The magistrate found "that the use of fire-arms was justified," and that "the police exercised commendable discipline." In spite of this white-washing effort, it is obvious, even from the police evidence, that the slaughter of five non-Europeans and the wounding of many others could have been avoided, if the police, the government and the white hooligans concerned in the affair had acted otherwise than they did.

Tonjeni's evidence that white civilians participated with the police in a beer raid on April 5 was not disputed. Who were these white "citizens?" we may ask, and what were they doing in the native quarter? Captain Barter admitted that "a few months ago Tonjeni was hounded out of Barrydale by local farmers, when he was recruiting for his association (Cape Times May 13, 1930).

"Aim Low and Fire to Hit"

Captain Barter in his evidence said: 'On May 2 Major Thomas arrived at Worcester and we discussed the activities of native agitators and the carrying out of liquor raids. As a result of a report on May 4 I mustered all avilable men. I instructed each man to load with five rounds of ammunition, and if it was necessary to fire I would give one blast on my whistle and three blasts to cease fire. Each man was to take deliberate aim at a man attacking the police, to aim low and to fire to hit him."

The sequence of events that led up to this was indeed remarkable. First it is alleged that a native was seen carrying a rifle. Strangely enough this man, by name Manzini, is an ex-member of the C. I. D Even more strangely no trace of the alleged rifle has since been found. A group of white police and detectives went down to the Sunday afternoon meeting to arrest Manzini. Having arrested their man, two of the police remained behind "to report the speeches." They were attacked by members of the crowd who were incensed at the arrest of Manzini. The two policemen finally got safely away, largely as a result of the efforts of Plaatjes, chairman of the Congress.

It was after this that the police thought it necessary to march into the native quarter with fixed bayonets. We can conceive of no more deliberate and cold-blooded incitement to violence than such action on the part of the police. They were "looking for a fight" and the words Captain Barter quoted above, show that they expected to be attacked. They went and killed five men because "if they had not gone there, people would have thought they were afraid," to quote the evidence of Major Thomas. What are five black men's lives compared with the pride of the police, the honor and glory of the government, the prestige of Pirow and the maintenance of a "White South Africa?"

Race Problem - 1930

Africa

THE COLOUR PROBLEM IN THE WEST INDIES.

Under the above title, the Rev. J. E. Levo of Antigua contributes an interesting article to a recent issue of the "Church Overseas."

Throughout the West Indies, he says, the relations between Black and White are close, and on the whole friendly. There is no attempt at segregation. In all the ordinary relations of life—commercial, political, social, religious—the co-operation of both races is expected and is realised. And the foundations are so thoroughly well laid, that given a fairly long period of industrial prosperity, racial suspicion and prejudice would almost disappear. But unfortunately the sugar industry is in a poor way, the European planter feels his future insecure, the West Indian finds the struggle against poverty increasingly difficult, the latter is apt to blame the former, and racial bitterness thus springs out of causes purely economic. Until recently emigration afforded some relief, but the new regulations of the United States and other American republics have greatly restricted that outlet. These regulations are purely political, and they affect others besides the West Indian, but he attributes them to racial discrimination, and so the colour problem tends to become acute for reasons that in essence are economic and political, in no real sense racial at all.

Into this tense atmosphere comes news of the treatment which West Indians receive in other countries, particularly in Great Britain and the United States. It is recognised that in Great Britain there is no widespread colour prejudice, but occasionally incidents happen which hurt. The news trickles home, and local feeling is further embittered. Great Britain is thought to be weakening on the colour question.

On the other hands the news which comes from the multitudes of West Indians in America is that conditions there are rapidly changing for the better. The testimony which Mr. Levo gives in this direction is so striking that only quotation can do it justice. Here it is:—

"It is too generally assumed that American race propaganda is an altogether undesirable influence. When its chief characteristic was bitterness, this was so. But times have changed. The Coloured race in the United States has won recognition and achieved success in every department of social life. Great educationists, like Motor of Tuskegee, have gathered around them a band of enthusiasts who are occupied not in reproaching the White race, but in developing their own. They are convincing the country, not by what they demand, but by what they achieve, that they are making an indispensable contribution to the national life. They are transforming their race and proving that belief in its inherent inferiority is baseless.

"The credit for this achievement is almost all their own, but they would be the first to acknowledge that members of the White race are now giving them generous recognition and help. Throughout the Southern States there are societies in which the two races meet in debate, and through which they work together for the common good. And a glance at the New York publishers' lists shows that works by Coloured men are widely read and that books by White men on the Colour problem are giving expression to a growing desire to see the old, bad enmities done away. And in literature and art the Coloured American is achieving international reputation. Poets like Counteé Cullen, Langstone Hughes, and Weldon Johnson are making a definite contribution to modern poetry, and in England we know that in drama and music (not jazz) the Coloured American is becoming widely known. The period of repression and coercion is coming to an end, and he is looking at the world with an air of justifiable self-reliance about which there is a touch of splendid magnanimity."

Testimony such as this, unsolicited and disinterested, is weighty. WEST AFRICA rejoices to be able to give it wider publicity. If African hearts are warmed and cheered by its recital, and African ambitions fired and yet steadied by the sense of achievement which it inspires, it will be all to the good.

The article closes with the following moral for the stay-at-home Briton:—"Our part in England is to observe a scrupulous fairness in our attitude to the Coloured race, to fight race prejudice wherever we find it, and to help the Church in the West Indies to make the rule of brotherhood in Christ predominant. She has a hard task to perform. It is our task as well as hers."

National Council.

HIGH COMMISSIONER'S MESSAGE ON THE OPENING OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION OF THE BASUTOLAND COUNCIL 25th OCTOBER, 1930.

1. I greet the members of the Council on the occasion of the opening of the Twenty-fifth Session.

2. I have heard with regret that four members of Council have died since the last Session.

10-29-30

3. I have seen and read with interest the reports of your discussions during the last meeting of the Council.

4. It is a matter for regret that the proposals for the much needed reform in the Native Courts which were brought up for discussion last year were considered to be generally unacceptable to the Council as I feel that their adoption would have raised the prestige of the Chiefs in the Territory. I trust, however, that the modified changes in procedure which have been adopted will be helpful.

5. I am interested to learn of the progress which has been made towards the eradication of scab from your flocks, but I notice with regret that the work of the Veterinary Department has been seriously retarded during the past year by the removal of scab-infected sheep into clean areas. This practice must be avoided, as it will lead to much unnecessary expenditure which can be ill-afforded at the present time.

6. Another matter to which I desire to draw your attention is the destruction of mountain pasturage which is being caused by careless ploughing on the mountain slopes and hill-sides. As you are aware Basutoland contains some of the finest pasturage in South Africa and it is your duty to protect it as far as you possibly can, and unless steps are taken to remedy this destruction you will have nothing but a wasted heritage to hand down to your children. I realise that people must plough in order to grow food, but in selecting sites for ploughing it is necessary to exercise judgment and foresight and I trust that the Chiefs will bear this in mind so that later on they will not be accused of bad stewardship. With regard to soil erosion, I am of opinion that much more might be done by planting trees to arrest this wastage of the soil, and I would strongly urge you to give this matter your earnest attention. The pasturage of Basutoland is one of the greatest assets of the Nation for on it depends the wool industry of the Territory and disregard of advice to avoid indiscriminate ploughing on the mountain slopes will inevitably lead to the destruction of valuable pasturage and the impoverishment of the people.

7. I further desire most earnestly to warn the Nation of the unwholesome traffic in dagga. During the past year very many cases have been dealt with in the Union of which a considerable number have been traced to Basutoland. A number of cases have also been dealt

with in the Assistant Commissioners' Courts. You may perhaps be unaware that the cultivation and traffic in this drug is now prohibited in most countries and I consider it desirable to take steps to restrict its cultivation in the Territory. I have therefore requested the Resident Commissioner to acquaint you of the terms of a new Proclamation which I propose to issue in due course.

8. As members of the Council are aware, I shall shortly be leaving South Africa on the conclusion of my term of office as High Commissioner. My present message, therefore, is the last which I shall have occasion to address to the Council at their annual meetings. I am glad that in recent years the Basuto have shared in the general prosperity of the inhabitants throughout South Africa and although at present we are experiencing the consequences of the depression which is affecting the people of almost every country in the world, I trust that a return to prosperity will not be long deferred. I am pleased to be able to record that during my term of office peace and good order have prevailed among the Basuto. I am confident that the members of the Council will continue to render disinterested service to their country and the Basuto nation, and endeavour to assist the Government in every way possible if on some account it should become the duty of the High Commissioner or the Resident Commissioner to give directions or to take action, the advantages of which you may not be able immediately to appreciate. I feel sure that the Basuto will in future as in the past loyally accept and obey the decision of the Government which, they may be assured are conceived in the best interests of the Nation, and are designed to promote the advancement and the well-being of the people.

9. In bidding the Council farewell I desire to convey to them, and through them to the Basuto nation, my best wishes for the future; and to assure them that I shall always be interested to hear of their progress and welfare.

(Sgd.) ATHLONE,
High Commissioner.

THE WHITE PAPER ON EAST AFRICA.

Delegation Returning.

Reuter's Agency is informed that all the members of the East African Delegation are returning to East Africa during the course of this month. The primary object of the appointment of the delegates was that they should get into touch with members of the Imperial Conference, and also give evidence on behalf of the East African colonists before the Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament which is to be appointed to discuss the Government's White Paper on East Africa. The first object has been accomplished. It being apparent from all indications that the Joint Committee will not be ready to take evidence before February next at the earliest, the delegation as a whole decided to return to East Africa. Lord Delamere, the Hon. Mr. T. J. O'Shea, and Captain Vivian Ward have already left, while Messrs. W. Maclellan Wilson and A. A. Menkin, who are remaining to fulfil a few public engagements, will leave London on Tuesday. Their departure will close the present activities in England of the delegation, pending the return of the delegates to London in due course to give evidence, after the appointment of the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

NATIVES IN CONGO MINES.

Occupying "Fairly Responsible Positions."

Lieutenant-Colonel T. E. Robins, general manager of the B.S.A. Company, has returned to Salisbury after an extensive tour of Northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo. He stated that he had been impressed in the Congo by the richness of the ore at the copper mines, and also by the fact that many natives were employed in fairly responsible positions, which was an important factor in keeping down the working expenses.

Lieutenant-Colonel Robins further stated

(*Continued at foot of next column.*)

that he had gained the impression in Northern Rhodesia that the great majority of the people regarded the question of amalgamation with the South with apathy, and, therefore, he was of the opinion that the wisest course was not to rush the issue.—Reuter.

Nigeria.

CO-OPERATION AND COCOA CULTIVATION.

A recent report by the Agricultural Department shows that farming co-operative societies that have come in contact with the Department are reaping the harvest of the scientific experience which the Department offers.

With regard to cocoa, it is stated:—"A new development in the cocoa-fermenting scheme has been successfully in operation at three of the most important cocoa producing centres, where the scheme has been in operation since 1922. It was considered that the time had come when cocoa producers, who had participated in the scheme, should have their own organisation for the collection and disposal of their fermented cocoa. They have been guided in the evolution of their farmers' associations into what are practically co-operative societies. At Ife the local association has been very successful, 106 tons of fermented cocoa having been sold under its auspices; the farmers are well satisfied, while the Association has accumulated funds for further development. The Ilesha Association, being not so well organised, called for closer supervision and more assistance from the superintendent in charge of cocoa work in the area. Only 51 tons were dealt with. At Ibadan an independent body known as the Ibadan Co-operative Planters' Association has disposed of about 400 tons of grade I cocoa, all consigned direct to New York. The Ondo Cocoa Farmers' Association handled 159 tons of cocoa during the season. Prospects of further development are very good at Ondo. In the limited cocoa-producing centres in the Central and Eastern areas encouragement and instruction in cocoa production have been continued with varying success; but only at some centres are the producers sufficiently interested in the cocoa crop to endeavour to improve the quality of their produce. The prospects of cocoa cultivation on an extended scale in those areas are not promising."

THE GOLD COAST COCOA CRISIS.

The present position of the Gold Coast cocoa industry is giving rise to grave anxiety in West African commercial circles. The prevailing market depression and the low prices ruling for cocoa are apparently erroneously regarded by the Gold Coast farmers as something in the nature of a conspiracy to deprive them of the just fruits of their labours, and they declare that if they cannot obtain what they consider a remunerative price for their product the decline and eventual extinction of the industry are inevitable. Accordingly, acting on the adage that "Heaven helps those who help themselves," the leading growers, with the support of a number of Paramount Chiefs, have formed a "Gold Coast and Ashanti Cocoa Federation," the members of which pledge themselves to withhold their cocoa from the market until a scale of selling prices, fixed by themselves, is agreed to by buyers—prices which, it may be remarked, are over 100 per cent. higher than those ruling at the moment—and the Director of Agriculture's latest report shows that the resolution has so far been strictly adhered to. Meanwhile, Nigeria and the French West African Colonies are marketing their cocoa at £1 per ton below the Gold Coast, while the price of South American cocoa shows little difference from that ruling in West Africa. By holding up their crop, therefore, the Gold Coast farmers are but helping their competitors to sell their cocoa and depriving themselves of the present market value, and will finally find themselves in a worse position than before, as the value is regulated by supply versus consumption. The Government's decision to increase the export duty by 3s. per ton from January 1 next "to cover the cost of up-country inspection and certification schemes" has not improved matters, since it is contended that, while inspection and certification are laudable steps towards improvement of quality, the Government should devise means of assisting the farmers in their present difficulties rather than burden the industry with additional taxation. If the Gold Coast growers are to be saved from doing themselves and their country irreparable injury it is essential to disabuse their minds of the false ideas which have gained currency, and to convince them of the goodwill of Government and merchants, and of their sincere desire to assist in establishing the industry on a sound basis which would assure the farmer an adequate return for his labour and the merchant a reasonable margin of profit on his outlay. Unfortunately, however, cocoa is subject to the same world-wide depreciation which has adversely affected all primary products and caused so much disquiet to all agricultural communities.

Race Problem - 1930

Africa.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

Weekly news 10-4-30

To the Editor of the WEEKLY NEWS.

Sir,—I am forwarding you extracts from the Constitution of the National Congress of British West Africa, and I will thank you if you can find space for them in your next issue

My purpose in making this request is to remind all British West Africans, readers of your journa, of their relation to the Congress, and especially all Active Members of the Congress, of the duty incumbent upon everyone to further the interest and welfare of the Congress whose Objects and Aims are so diffusive and elastic, that none of it Active Members can fail to find some item i them to engage his activities or exercise hi genius in any sphere of action.—I am, yours etc

F. A. MILLER.

Hon. Secretary,—Sierra Leone Section.

Freetown,
30th September, 1930.

Freetown Sierra Leone

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA

Extracts from the Constitution of the Congress as passed by the Second Session of Congress held in Freetown January to February, 1923 and amended by the Fourth Session of Congress held in Lagos, from 2nd to 11th January, 1930.

MEMBERSHIP.

Section 2. That all British West Africans shal be regarded as members of the Congress. Active members shall be those who pay dues for the up keep of the Congress.

Section 3. That other persons of African descent may on application be admitted as honorary members of the Congress.

COMMITTEES.

Section 4. That all British West Africans shall be eligible to membership of the General Committee upon payment of the sum of one shilling

Section 5. That from the Sectional General Committee the Sectional Congress Committee shall be elected.

Section 6. That from the Sectional Congress Committee the Sectional Executive Committee shall be elected.

Section 7. That only Congress Members possessing badges or paying a contribution of two shillings and six pence shall be eligible for election to the Sectional Congress Committee.

Section 8 That members of the Congress Sectional Committee shall be eligible to be elected as members of the Sectional Executive Committee upon payment of a yearly sum of not less than ten shillings and six pence.

Section 9. That every member of the Congress shall pay an annual subscription of two shillings,

POLICY.

Section, 17. That the policy of the Congress shall be to maintain strictly and inviolate the connection of the British West African Dependencies with the British Empire, and to maintain unreservedly all and every right of free citizenship of the Empire and the fundamental principle that taxation goes with effective representation,

OBJECTS AND AIMS.

Section 18. That among the objects of the Congress shall be the promotion of the common interests of the British West African Dependencies, politically, economically, educationally, socially and otherwise; and to promote and effect "Unity of Purpose and of Action" among the people; to establish Universities, Colleges, Academies and Schools for the racial education and culture of the people; to promote commercial and Industrial intercourse of the people and to work for better condition generally in all British West Africa.

Section 19. The aims of the Congress shall be to aid in the development of the political institutions of British West Africa under the Union Jack, so as eventually to take her place beside the sister nations of the Empire, and in time, to ensure within her borders the government of the people, by the people, for the people; to secure equal opportunity for all; to preserve the lands of the people for the people; and to save them from exploitation of any shape or form.

Section 20. The Congress claims that apart from the fact that the National Congress of British West Africa represents substantially the intelligentia and the advanced thought of British West Africa, and that the principles it stands for are some of those fundamental ones that have always actuated communities that have arrived at the stage of national consciousness, it also represents the bulk of the inhabitants of the various indigenous communities, and with them claims, as sons of the soil, the inherent right to make representations as to existing disabilities, and to submit recommendations for the necessary reforms

COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE.

Section 40. That the Congress shall in order to promote the co-operation of the peoples of the British West African Dependencies and their economic development educate public opinion as to African Financiers and others promoting business combinations in such wise as shall inspire and maintain a British West African economical developments.

MISCELLANEOUS.

That the Congress shall have power by its Sectional Executive Committee to appoint some suitable person or persons for the purpose of doing propaganda *work and of* collecting funds for the Congress.

All officers of the National Congress of British West Africa shall labour for the good and welfare of the organization, the achievement of the aims and objects of the Congress, and the cause of race uplift irrespective of any consideration.

Mr. Kobina Sekyi.

The Gold Coast's notable young lawyer and public man, Mr. W. E. G. (or "Kobina") Sekyi, fares forth again for that great country, I believe, a week to-day, after a business stay in London of some duration. This week he received per WEST AFRICA's sales agent at Cape Coast, his "home town," a pretty tribute. This note will be the first he knows about it. "Whenever Mr. Sekyi writes anything," the letter ran, "please double the order for Cape Coast." If any community ever said a thing like that about me I should go about with my head high in the air. Nor do Mr. Sekyi's townsmen stop at that. Out of their not bulging credit balances, they are to pay for publication of many of Mr. Sekyi's writings, as a book, which I hope a famous firm of London publishers will in due course produce. Could there be anything more creditable to the subscribers or the man they thus honour? If British policy in West Africa cannot win the support of Mr. Sekyi and his like, it will confess itself a dismal failure. Let its authors see to it.

Mr. Sekyi writes in this number a review of three recently published books on Africans. One of these, Mr. de la Rue's book on Liberia, contains in a chapter on road-building testimony which, if I had had any doubt as to the Africans being a *constructive, advancing* people, whom all the Delameres and Groblers and Smutses can't keep back—and for 30 years I have had no such doubt—would have removed that doubt. If I, an Englishman, had been writing the review, I would have waxed a good deal more lyrical on the point than Mr. Sekyi, an African, has waxed about his countrymen. I urge every reader who takes an interest in the future of Africa to read the book for **himself.**

GENERAL HERTZOG AND EAST AFRICA

Guardian

Native Interests and Rights

The following letter appeared in the "Manchester Guardian" on Tuesday over the signatures of C. Roden Buxton, Alfred E. Garvie, Geoffrey Mander, Robert Newman, Sanderson, Edwin W. Smith, H. G. Wells:—

Sir,—The decision to set up a Joint Select Committee to consider the reports drawn up by the Hilton Young Commission and by Sir Samuel Wilson on Closer Union in East Africa, together with the Statement of the Conclusions of H.M. Government (Cmd. 3574), is an event of considerable importance. Public discussion of the subjects which will come before this Committee can only do good. The publicity given to the question by the Settlers' Delegation from East Africa has thus been useful and profitable. The speech made by General Hertzog at a dinner given by the Empire Parliamentary Association is, however, in a rather different category. But he has thrown down a challenge, and he cannot object if we take it up.

First of all, General Hertzog criticises the policy of the paramountcy of native interests in Eastern Africa. This policy was first laid down in the Duke of Devonshire's dispatch of 1923, and is based on the principle that "the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if and when those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict the former should prevail." We take this to mean that the interests of the overwhelming majority of the original population of the territories concerned must not be subordinated to those of a minority belonging to another race, however important in itself.

General Hertzog, after asserting that "there is practical unanimity in South Africa that the dominance or supremacy of the white man's rule in South Africa is essential if he is to retain either his birthright or his civilisation," goes on to say that policy of paramountcy of the native or of his interests must be immediately ruled out "as impossible of application where the white man has established his home in Africa, as intended not merely for himself but also for those who come after him and their civilisation." The sweeping character of this assertion is amazing. Does it mean that wherever two or three white men have established themselves their interests must override those of the native population, however numerous?

But it is not only the paramountcy principle which is attacked. "The same fate [that is, immediate ruling out as impossible of application] must be shared by the 'equal rights' doctrine." In saying this he is attacking one of the most fundamental traditions in our colonial policy. During the past century the "equal rights" doctrine has been asserted by successive Colonial Secretaries, dating as far back as Lord Stanley in 1842 and as recently as Mr. Winston Churchill in 1921. Briefly stated, it is the question whether equality before the law, including political equality when a fixed standard of civilisation and education has been reached, should or should not be denied to certain persons on the ground of their colour. Mr. Winston Churchill said: "There should be no barrier of race, colour, or creed which should prevent any man by merit from reaching any station if he is fitted for it."

It is true that while this principle has been asserted again and again it has not always been carried out in practice. The experience of history proves, however, that the ideal of "equal rights" is the best safeguard for justice to the native, and that if there has been any departure from it the door has been opened to abuses and injustice. The repudiation of this doctrine in South Africa has yielded results which we can only regard as a warning. There natives are induced to come out of their areas in large numbers to work for the white man, in the mine or on the land. But if and when—and it is becoming increasingly frequent—the native, thus detribalised, wishes to share in the rights and privileges of the new civilisation, he is barred at every turn by legislation which is based on colour. He is kept down and restricted; his industrial progress is limited by colour-bar enactments; and the full privileges of citizenship are denied him. Such injustices will be increased, and in some directions extended, if the bills put forward by General Hertzog are put into effect.

We certainly do not feel inspired by the example offered by South Africa to urge any relaxation of the Government's traditional colonial policy in its relations with Eastern Africa.

REPUBLICAN
FRESNO, CALIF.

SEP 27 193

A Negro 'Home' Land?

THE mandate system, set up as a com promise way out of Certain World-Wa ending conditions, has involved the great powers in a number of irritations. One of the most peculiar of these arises in connection with the administration by Great Britain of what was German East Africa.

This land is now known as the Tanganyika Territory. It was placed by the Versailles treaty in the custody of Great Britain as a mandate.

Criticism of the mandate system in general has gone to the sincerity with which the mandate nations—France, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand—have regarded their position as a trust. Many have complained that Great Britain, for instance, has dealt with portions of the former German empire as though they had been brought under British title.

The criticism now being offered regarding Tanganyika, is just the opposite.

For the British have tentatively proposed not to increase British control over this territory, but to loosen it. The British suggest that there be set apart in East Africa, in land that is now either British or mandated to Britain, a great "reserve" such as will be kept defended forever as a home of native Negro tribes.

However the idea may appeal to other nations as being a disinterested move of the British government, it is reported that Germany is going to protest any such action. This on the ground that Great Britain has no right to give a quit-claim deed to Tanganyika, even to its native Africans. Great Britain, insist the Germans, is merely a trustee and has no right to give up the trusteeship.

Great Britain could properly answer that the mandate was originally given for the particular purpose of preparing the mandated territories for self government. Thus the British proposal is in direct line with the purpose of the mandate system.

Of course the real reason for a German protest would be the foundation fact that Germany hopes by a revision of the Versailles treaty t reacquire possession of her African territorie She is not interested in giving this land bac to its native rulers. It wants them for its im perial heritage.

Incidentally, this British proposal of a nativ African "homeland" in East Africa has a tracted the attention of certain Negro leader in the United States. There are signs that a movement is to be started to colonize colored Americans in British East Africa.

Possibly some colored Americans might like the idea. But on the whole, these people think of themselvs as Americans, not as Africans a all. Back-To-Africa movements have usually been self serving schemes of promoters, rather than efforts in response to a genuine American Negro impulse.

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

Weekly News

By E. M. Rolric.

His Excellency the Governor, Sir Joseph Byrne deserves to be congratulated for the dignified and statesmanlike manner he has dealt with the situation created amongst the people by the proposed changes in the administration of the Colony Districts as set out in Sessional Paper, No. 9 of 1930. The freedom from that species of artful diplomacy too well known amongst some administrators of the past, the open-mindedness evinced the frank and open discussion and above all the sympathy with and consideration for the people, which have been marked features in his dealings with matters affecting the welfare of the people have all gone towards a satisfactory solution without any undignified compromise or eating of what is known as "humble pie." This has heightened in no little degree the deep regret which is generally felt concerning the severance from the government of this Colony of such a man, true to the manner born.

It is to be hoped that the expectation with which he has sought to calm the somewhat restive mind of the Deputation of the National Congress—that the Colonial Secretary, Captain Cookson who will act, on his departure, will be abundantly realised. During the stir created by the above proposal of Government, several Deputations representing various interests in the Community waited at Government House. We were disappointed in not seeing one from the Women's Progressive Society, which in the past has busied itself in all such matters. Apart from the Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council, there were the African members of the City Council, members of the Sierra Leone Welfare Association, amongst whom were members of the Congress then lastly the Deputation of the National Congress.

We were glad to find the Hon. E. S. Beoku-Betts the promoter and Hon Secretary of the new Association, who is also a vice-President of the Congress, amongst the Congress Deputation.—There is no doubt that Mr. Betts has already rendered great service to his country and people; he has justified the confidence reposed on him and acquitted his task nobly. But in the midst of such a success it is necessary that circumspection must be abundantly called on by him so as not to allow his position in the Colony to be exploited for sinister and selfish if not, malicious purposes.

His anxiety to serve his people, to relieve them when suffering from any disadvantage should always be commended; at the same time, there is need for an abundant wariness, lest by the adoption of any course of action, he may conflict with the very purpose he desires to subserve. As a strong supporter of Mr. Betts as a public man who has in the past performed his duties most creditably, it is but reasonable to expect from him a clear and unequivocal statement how he proposes to solve the difficulty in raising the necessary Fund for the upkeep of his Congress along with that with which he proposes to carry on the affairs of the Public Welfare Association. One would have expected that at such a crisis created by the lamentable death of the Hon. Casely Hayford—and fully realising the difficulties which have hitherto gone to clog the wheels of the Congress into smooth riding—the purpose, the determination would have found out a new orientation in an effort to grasp at the torch where the fallen leader had left it and blaze a trai for more concentration—not disintegration or the part of the people toward the Congress; so that however urgent and well-meaning may have been the motives which have gone to convince Mr. Betts of the necessity for the formation of another Association, which has the same domestic end in view as the Congress, they ought to have taken second place in his consideration until he had assured himself whether by so doing he would in any way be hindering the progress of the Congress.

It is necessary to clear the air, at this stage. There is no base motive imputed. nor is there any tinge of bitterness, in the effort to draw the attention of our co-patriot to a point of view which perhaps in his zeal for success he may have overlooked. We have pondered over what have been put down as the aims and purposes of the new Association and we ask. Are they not all included in the scheme of the Congress? Let a comparison he made. It is known that of all the Colonies in British West Africa, even if we include the Gambia—Sierra Leone has the poorest financial resources—and has been simply struggling to make headway. It is also known that in the matter of raising subscription for public purposes there has never been a time when Sierra Leone has acquitted herself; to the satisfaction of her most moderate calculation. There have been many ventures in the past when it was sought to rais funds for publis purposes and the results have never come up to expectation—the biggest effort was in the matter of the Railway Strike. It is known how very poorly Sierra Leone fared.

How then in the face of these facts could it be expected that running too such organisations as the National Congress of British West Africa and the Sierra Leone Public Welfare Association our esteemed vice-President of the Congress could successfully tide over the difficulties thereby created by doubling the call for for financial help from the very same people and for the same object. Would it be difficult to see the position thus created? And is it considered unnecessary that attention should thus be drawn to it?

Sir Joseph Byrne has set a noble example in that, even when a proposal has been sent in his name and has met the approval of Downing Street whatever that, may mean upon representation made by the people he has revised the views of Government and made such concessions which have gone to restore confidence. This is the way to greatness; this is the way to success and we commend it to all and sundry.

Race Problem - 1930

Liberia.

Africa

Claim American Negroes Aid Liberian Traffic in Slaves

LONDON.—(ANP)—Private citizens and American Negroes who are officials in Liberia are engaging in a nefarious form of slave trade, according to charges made in an address made here this week by Lady Simon, wife of Sir John Simon and author of notable book on slavery.

Many of these abuses, she declared in her address, are being committed not only by private citizens, but by Liberio-American Negro officials—including those in the highest positions—for private gain. The facts are clearly established in Lady Simon's opinion, that the American, British and French governments are morally bound to intervene and stamp out the evil.

"From a document in my possession," said Lady Simon, "it is clear that the forthcoming report of the international commission of inquiry will show that natives have been shipped from the West African coast under conditions hardly distinguishable from slave trading and slave raiding. I think there devolves now upon the United States government—and to some extent upon the British and French governments—the responsibility of coming to the aid of the Liberian republic and offering assistance in bringing about far-reaching and adequate reforms, including total abolition of the system under which these grave abuses have admittedly occurred."

From other sources it has been learned that natives of Liberia are assembled and sent out of the country to do work for which they are not paid and that that practice is condoned by the Liberian government.

Education Adviser Named for Liberia

HAMPTON, Va.—After a four-day visit during which he has carefully examined the work being carried on at Hampton Institute, Howard W. Oxley, who goes in December to occupy the important position of educational director to the Liberian government, left for Richmond, where he is to confer with Jackson Davis of the General Education Board.

Mr. Oxley's visit to the institute has been only one stop on an extensive tour of the South, during which he has visited Tuskegee Institute, and Penn School; he has attended the Alabama state conference of County Training Principals and Jeanes Workers at Montgomery, Alabama. He has had conferences with state superintendents of Alabama and Georgia.

Mr. Oxley is going to Liberia under the auspices of the American Advisory Committee on Education in Liberia, whose chairman is Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

This advisory committee is composed of representatives of four missionary societies (Methodist, Episcopal, Lutheran, and Presbyterian), representatives of three American colonization sicieties, and representatives of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

Mr. Oxley has recently completed the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy at New York University.

SLAVERY IN LIBERIA

SAYS LAY SIMON WIFE OF BRITISH OFFICIAL — BUT BRITAIN IS SORE

London, Eng., Oct. 23, 1930.—Private citizens and American Negroes who are officials in Liberia are engaging in a nefarious form of slave trade, according to charges made in an address made here this week by Lady Simon, wife of Sir John Simon, and author of a notable book on slavery.

Many of these abuses, she declared in her address, are being committed not only by private citizens, but by Libero-American officials — including those in the highest positions—for private gain. The facts are so clearly established, in Lady Simon's opinion, that the American, British and French governments are morally bound to intervene and to stamp out the evil.

"From a document in my possession," said Lady Simon, "it is clear that the forthcoming report of the international commission of inquiry will show that natives have been shipped from the West African Coast under conditions hardly distinguishable from slave trading and slave raiding. I thing there devolves now upon the United States goverment—and to some extent upon the British and French governments—the responsibility of coming to the aid of the Liberian republic and offering assistance in bringing about far-reaching and adequate reforms, including total abolition of the system under which these grave abuses have admittedly occurred."

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JOHNSON AIRS SLAVE TRAFFIC IN AFRICA

NASHVILLE, Nov. 6—All slaves have been declared free in Liberia according to a cable received by Dr Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, from the League of Nations by way of New York Times. When Dr. Charles S. Johnson returned to the Fisk University campus after an absence of nine months in Liberia, where he was a member of an international commission studying labor conditions, he was pledged to making no statement for publication by the State Department in Washington until the Department had time to make a full report from the findings.

For years there had been rumors in international circles that there was actual slavery in Liberia. The government asked the League of Nations to appoint a commission that would make report of actual findings. The commission was composed of Ex-President Arthur Barclay of Liberia, appointed by the Liberian government; Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, appointed by President Hoover, and Dr. Cuthbert Christy of Great Britain, appointed by the league. Dr. Christy had spent 40 years in Africa at the head of medical expeditions and is at present a resident of England.

This commission was given most adequate power to act. In 1923 a special act of the Liberian government had been passed to give a commission of inquiry power to summon witnesses and compel attendance upon hearings. This act was invoked to give the present league commission power to summon any government officials, Americo-Liberian residents, Europeans, natives, planters, to hearings. The report of these findings was completed there. One copy was kept in Liberia, one sent to America and one to the league. All were to study the report carefully before action was taken; hence the pledge to give out no information.

By reason of distance, the American report was the last delivered and studied. Before the State Department had had time to receive and study the report, the Liberian government had taken action. Liberia issued a decree declaring free all its domestic slaves and abolishing the system of pawning natives as security and abolishing forced embarkation of natives in connection with labor contracts. This decree, stepping ahead of the actual findings, sent out by the league and reaching the New York Times and Dr. Johnson two days ago, is a virtual admission that the commission did find slavery and did recommend its abolishment. Dr. Johnson announced this thrilling bit of current history in which he had so effective a part in making at a reception given him by the Fisk faculty Monday evening, October 27.

HEAD OF LIBERIAN ARMY



Captain Hensen Outley, military adviser and instructor in the Liberian Army, is spending several days in Washington. Captain Outley has been in his present post for five years and refused to deny or confirm reports that slavery still exists in the African republic.

CAPTAIN OUTLEY DOES NOT DENY SLAVE TRADE

Head Of Army In Liberia Refuses To Refute Press Statements

REVEALS ASTONISHING CONDITION IN REPUBLIC

President King Has Only Grammar School Education

Captain Hensen Outley, military adviser and instructor in Liberia, refused to deny or affirm statements appearing in the press that slave trading was still going on in that country.

Captain Outley told a World reporter yesterday, that he had been holding his present post in Liberia for five years and admitted that economically the country was poor, but he refused to discuss the slave situation.

President Back In Rent

Some of the astounding statements made by Captain Outley in reference to the Negro republic was, that the present head, President King, has only a grammar school education and has never attended school out of Africa; that at one time the president was back in his rent on the White House, was threatened to be dispossessed; that a Baltimore boy by the name of Faulkner had the only electric plant in the country and the president at times was back in paying his light bill, and many of the inhabitants had more than one wife. Many of the president's bills have been paid since the recent loan.

On Official Business

Captain Outley is a former member of the Ninth Calvary and previous to going to Liberia he spent many years in the Philippines and other tropical countries. He arrived in Washington on October 13 and is expecting to leave any day. He refused to discuss his mission here, but stated

that it has to do with official business.

The captain said that the people are entirely dependent on the government for jobs. Politics play a large part in the management of affairs. Many office holders dislike American Negroes because they are afraid the better educated American will oust the Liberian from a soft job in the government. The man in the street is too busy trying to get food to pay much attention to anything else.

A man may buy a wife from her father and later may secure another wife by a civilized ceremony—that is, if he can get the women to agree to live together. A man may send his wife or wives out to do the work while the lord and master remain at home and live off the fruits of his wives.

Ape Vices of White Men

The younger members of the country in many instances refuse to work or till the farms left them by their parents. Many of the so-called better class ape the white man in all of his vices. Some parents have native servants to wait on their children. A child may have a servant to carry his school books or bible, if going to school or church. Many think work is for servants only and refuse to even raise an umbrella.

Firestone is at least giving many their first opportunity to earn a living, said the captain. The country is in need of modern equipment and schools. Bishop Sampson Brooks, of the A. M. E. Church, built a school, but it is pretty much run down now under Bishop M. H. Davis, who succeeded Bishop Brooks. Bishop Brooks kept a store and used funds from this source to help pay salaries of teachers.

Captain Outley has been honored by the government for his work in Liberia, and he is seeking the services of an economist in this country to aid in expenditures in Liberia.

A LIBERIAN PIONEER'S PASSING.

("African World" Correspondent.)

MONROVIA, September 15.

Mr. James D. Garnett, one of the few remaining pioneers of the Republic of Liberia, and one of its most honoured citizens, passed away in his seventy-fifth year, at his home in Bensonville recently.

James Garnett was born in Richmond, Virginia; at the age of five years he came with his parents to this country. The emigrants made the voyage that lasted six months on a wooden sailing vessel of a type long since passed away, the "Mary Caroline Stevens," whose last trip to Africa brought the emigrants of Bensonville and Careysburg. As transport for troops and ammunition during the Civil War, she found a tragic end through an explosion that cost the lives of all on board.

The emigrants arrived in this country during the reign of the second President of the young Republic, President Benson, in honour of whom they named their settlement. At that time this settlement had as nearest and only neighbour, one family at a distance of forty miles.

Young Garnett was of unflagging industry and high principles, as boy and man. With a capital of one shilling he started his future success by raising arrowroot and ginger; they were of the best quality, because he did the work himself. Later he went into coffee-farming, and the Garnett farms are to-day the best in the country. At an early age he married Miss Walker, the daughter of Careysburg's oldest family.

Mr. James Garnett was a man of absolute integrity; he was well-known and highly respected in many circles in Europe and the United States, where he had many friends who mourn his death to-day. During his lifetime he served the State and the Church in many positions of honour. His name was proposed for the Presidency, but this he declined because he loved his farms and his home.

Three sons, one of whom passed away within a month of the death of his father, and three daughters are left of a once large family. The two remaining sons are Mr. Edmund Garnett, a well-known and successful trader and coffee-farmer, and Samuel, the commissioner of District No. 1. Both have inherited the fine principles of their parents, and are men of high intelligence, well-educated, and untiringly industrious, who give promise of a brilliant future.

Republic of Liberia.

DOMESTIC SLAVERY ABOLISHED.

Decree Reported to Geneva.

GENEVA, October 23.

All domestic slaves among the native tribes of Liberia have been declared free by Presidential decree, according to a letter to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations from the permanent Liberian delegate to the League.

This also states that the pawn system (the pledging of a member of a family as security for a loan) among the natives and forced embarkation in connection with labour contracts have both been definitely abolished.

It was on the initiative of the British delegates that an inquiry into slavery in Liberia was instituted and a report presented which led to the present action.—"Morning Post."

THE AFRO IS FIRST

(Three weeks ahead of the State Department's release of the Liberian Commission's Report on Slavery, it was printed in the AFRO, October 25)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—At the press conference at the State Department Monday morning between Secretary Stimson and newspaper men the following occurred:

Q. Now that the Baltimore Sun has published the Liberian slavery report, could I get it for the United States Daily?

A. Are you sure the Baltimore Sun reports it correctly?

Q. I will submit it to you and see.

A. You will have to wait until I compare it with the real report. Is the report here yet?

Mr. McDermott: Yes. They haven't studied it, but it came in last week.

Later Louis R. Lautier, AFRO correspondent, asked Mr. Michael J. McDermott, chief of the current information division, about the authenticity of the report as published in the Baltimore Sun. He told Mr. Lautier that he understood it was based upon the Monrovia Liberian Gazette; that the AFRO-AMERICAN had gotten a copy of it and made a big story on the report last week and that the Sun's story was a re-write. He added that the State Department would not make the official report public for two weeks.

Mr. Charles S. Johnson, American commissioner, was here last week, but has gone to New York and will return here later. In the meantime, he is to do some indexing and summarizing of the report.

Africa

Liberia

President King's Proclamation.

The following is the text of the presidential proclamation constituting the Commission of Inquiry:—

A PROCLAMATION
By the President.

WHEREAS, in consequence of representations having been made against the Government of the Republic of Liberia in relation to Slavery and Forced Labour, the President of the Republic of Liberia proposed the setting up of a Commission of Enquiry to investigate the alleged existence in Liberia of these social conditions, and in pursuance of said proposal and for the purpose of assuring an impartial enquiry and an authoritative report, did request the Secretariat of the League of Nations and the Government of the United States of America to nominate each a member to serve on the said Commission so proposed to be set up by the Government of Liberia; and

WHEREAS, the Legislature of the Republic of Liberia by a JOINT RESOLUTION of the Senate and House of Representatives approved December 12, 1929, did confirm said action of the President of the Republic and did authorize him to take all proper steps to effectuate the object of the proposed Commission of Enquiry; and

WHEREAS, in pursuance of the request made as aforesaid to the Secretariat of the League of Nations and to the Government of the United States of America certain nominations of members to serve on the Commission were made by the League of Nations and the Government of the United States of America, which nominations were accepted by the Government of the REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, that is to say:

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, on the part of the United States, and

Dr. Cuthbert Christy, on the part of the League of Nations.

NOW THEREFORE, I, CHARLES DUNBAR BURGESS KING, President of the REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, do hereby proclaim and give notice to the people of Liberia and to all residents within the borders of the Republic, that the Commission of Enquiry composed as follows:

On the part of the Republic of Liberia:
The Honourable Arthur Barclay,
On the part of the Government of the United States:
Dr. Charles S. Johnson,
On the part of the League of Nations:
Dr. Cuthbert Christy,

has this day been constituted and set up under the Chairmanship of the Representative of the League of Nations with full authority to enquire into all matters coming within the scope of the Terms of Reference furnished them in relation to the alleged existence in the Republic of Liberia of slavery as a factor in the social and industrial economy of the Republic, and of Forced Labour otherwise than is sanctioned in the International Slavery Convention of 1926. To which end the said Commission of Enquiry by virtue of the provisions of an Act of the Legislature of Liberia approved December 6, 1926, is empowered to summon witnesses; to administer oaths and take testimony; to compel the attendance of witnesses; and to punish for contempts.

And I do hereby call upon all citizens loyally to appear before the said Commission when duly summoned and to comport themselves in such manner as may facilitate the Enquiry; and towards that end I do advise that at no public meetings held during the life of Commission shall be discussed any matters coming within the purview of the Commission of Enquiry as herein set forth.

GIVEN under my hand and the Seal of the Republic at the City of Monrovia this 7th day of April in (L.S.) the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Thirty and of the Republic the Eighty-third.

C. D. B. KING.

By the President:
EDWIN BARCLAY,
Secretary of State.

WOULD SPEND $82,267 ON LIBERIAN SCHOOLS

N.Y. York Times

Colonization Society, Its Own Work No Longer Feasible, Asks Permit to Aid People There.

6-25-30

Because colonization of American Negroes in Liberia is no longer feasible, the New York State Colonization Society, organized in 1855 to colonize "people of color of the United States on the coast of Africa, and through them civilize the African tribes," took legal steps in the Supreme Court yesterday to spend $82,267 of its future income to aid Liberia in education and sanitation.

The petition, which will be heard today, shows that the endowment of the organization consists of $63,000 received in wills more than seventy-five years ago in which the donors directed that the income be used for colonization.

The application in the Supreme Court was made necessary in order to get permission to divert the income from the purpose for which the funds were originally intended. Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, who has been interested in the education of Negroes for twenty years, signed the petition asking approval of appropriations made out of the funds of the society, of which he is secretary.

Dr. Jones said that Liberia has 1,000,000 residents, 15,000 of whom are the descendants of American Negroes and 35,000 the descendants of intermarriage between American Liberians and natives, while the remainder are "natives with a primitive degree of culture." While there are 200,000 persons of school age in Liberia, a report in 1926 showed that there were only 164 schools, 322 teachers and 9,493 scholars there at that time, and that $33,070 was spent on public education there in 1926 and $60,000 in 1928, while the educational expenditures of missionary societies had been between $150,000 and $200,000 a year.

The organization wants to make appropriations to the advisory committee on education on Liberia. Four appropriations aggregating $7,000 has been made by the Society for the Aid of Education and one of $2,500 has been voted toward a fund of $15,000 for the work of a sanitary engineer to be sent by the United States Government to improve conditions in Liberia. Dr. Jones said that several members of the staff of the advisory committee died of yellow fever in 1929, and that the organizations interested believe that sanitary conditions should be improved before the lives of new members of the staff are endangered.

KING HIMSELF IS ACCUSED IN SLAVE PROBE

afro-American

6-21-30

Faulkner Tells Commission Liberian President Reaped Profits.

Baltimore, Md

(By Mail, Exclusive to the AFRO)

LIBERIA, W. A.—Testimony presented to the International Commission of inquiry into conditons of alleged slavery in Liberia, reveals President C. D. B. King, himself, among those charged with maltreatment of the natives.

This startling revelation came as a result of complaints filed with the commission by Thomas J. R. Faulkner, to which a large number of witnesses, natives and foreign workers, have attested. Direct charges made against President King, according to Mr. Faulkner, are "maltreatment of soldiers; taking their indebtedness certificates from them, and paying them twenty per cent of their face value," and "ordering chiefs on his trip to Royesville, to furnish 150 carriers each, chiefs failing to give full quota being fined and some dismissed from office."

Maltreatment Is Rife

In a letter to the commission, Mr. Faulkner says:

"Maltreatment is rife throughout the country wherever Liberian officials bear rule. This is in the form of exploitation of the natives in their towns by the Frontier Force soldiers, messengers, and District Commissioners.

Wives Taken

"This maltreatment takes such forms as exacting petty fines without cause; forcibly taking the wives of natives as well as chiefs, in spite of complaints, and the whipping in a most shameful manner of the men and women who refuse to act as carriers."

J. L. Morris, Secretary of Public Works, is charged by Mr. Faulkner with severe cruelty by flogging men working on the road and killing some through these floggings. All District Commissioners, he reports, are guilty of exacting rice and oil for government purposes, cases being cited of natives being forced to work on rice farms without pay.

Use Natives on Private Farms

It is further charged that the District Commissioners have opened private farms and have used native forced labor, refusing to provide food or pay, and that by order of President King many of the indigenous natives have been shipped to Fernando Poo. Postmaster General S. A. Ross is also charged with having detained boys under duress and with shipping them to Fernando Poo.

Chiefs who have refused to supply their full quota of boys demanded to be shipped, have been heavily fined and made to pay forthwith in cash, the investigation commission has been told. There have been cases reported in which women and children have been pawned to whoever would advance the necessary money, in order that the chiefs might pay the indebtedness forced upon them.

Many Witnesses to Conditions

Among the partial list of witnesses who are ready to be called upon to corroborate the appalling stories of this trafficking in human bodies, are George Morris, Nison and Henson, customs officers of the Commonwealth District; Mrs. E. S. Blomeyer and Mrs. C. Payne Diggs, of Bassa County; Dargbahn Barbassah, chief of the Kakatar section, and many others familier with the conditions alleged to exist by Mr. Faulkner.

FOUR MONTHS ARE ALLOWED FOR SLAVE PROBE

afro-American

6-28-30

One Additional Month is Allowed for Making Report.

Baltimore, Md

(By Mail Exclusiv to the AFRO)

LIBERIA, W. A. — Four months have been allowed the International Commission of Inquiry into the alleged conditions of slavery in Liberia to complete its investigation and a report and recommendations must be in the hands of the Liberian Secretary of State one month after.

The commission has already been empowered to issue summons for witnesses and to enforce the attendance of such witnesses under provisions of the law of 1926, defining the powers of the investigating group.

Government Shows Hands

The Liberian government, in view of the removal of all doubts with respect to the existence of slavery within the territories of the republic, has outlined for the investigating commissioners certain leads along which they have already begun to conduct their inquiry. That the government feels that its hands are clean is evidenced in the stipulation that the commission report as to whether slavery, as refined in the Anti-Slavery Convention of 1926, does exist and whether or not the government of Liberia is participating in it or encouraging it.

The commissioners have been asked to ascertain to what extent compulsory labor exists as a factor in the social and industrial economy of the state, either for private or public purposes, and if it does exist, in what manner it has been recruited and employed.

Probe Fernando Poo

To shed light on the reported shipment of slaves to Fernando Poo, the commission has been ordered to find out whether or not the shipment of contract laborers to that territory under the terms of arrangement with Spain, or shipment of such laborers to the Congo or any other foreign parts associated with slavery and whether the method employed in recruiting such laborers carries any compulsion.

That the government intends to throw the investigator's searchlight upon private individuals as well as the government, is seen in the request that the commission report whether and what leading citizens of the country have been participating in the trafficking of human bodies. Inquiry is also to be made as to whether the Liberian gvernment has at any time given sanction or approval to the recruiting of labor with the aid and assistance of the Liberian Frontier Force.

To Consider Recommendations

If private individuals or other persons holding official positions or in

Secretary of American Legation in Liberia Says Drunkenness Is Rare There

Clifton Wharton of Boston, Home on Vacation, to Represent United States as Consul at Calais, France

Amsterdam News
June 27
New York, N.Y.

BOSTON, June 16 (ANP).—"Liberia is not a prohibition country. Liquor can be obtained freely and without legal restrictions. However, the drink habit of the people of this little African Republic is temperate. In all my five years as secretary of the American Legation in Monrovia I have seen very few cases of drunkenness among the Liberian people," said Clifton Wharton to an Associated Negro Press correspondent Thursday.

Mr. Wharton is here on a two months' vacation from his diplomatic services in Africa. He will not return to the "Dark Continent." He has been assigned as American Consul to Calais, France.

Referring to the report that slavery existed in Liberia, Mr. Wharton said: "So far as I know, the slavery commission, composed of Major Christy, Dr. Charles S. Johnson and ex-President Barkley, is still in session, and I have no information as to when the investigation will be completed.

"There are no restrictions on immigration, such as our quota law, but there has been no appreciable influx for years. The activities of Marcus Garvey in his 'Black World Empire' did not disturb Liberia to any extent.

"While educational facilities are not all to be desired there are many healthy signs of improvement. There are 137 schools, 63 government schools, 64 mission schools and 10 private schools, with a total of over 10,000 students. Almost all of the schools are elementary. The College of Liberia is an exception, as well as a very few mission schools. There are no professional and technical schools. Some of the schools, however, teach crafts such as tailoring, carpentry and shoemaking.

"Much of the voodooism practiced by the natives in the interior is exaggerated. Some of their practices are in the nature of religious rites They prick their backs and limbs with needles and make marks on their bodies to drive away 'bad spirits.' We take blood tests and are inoculated to drive away 'bad health.' The difference may be a matter of name."

As for law and order, Mr. Wharton paid tribute to the peaceful attitude of Liberians. Major crimes are almost nil in Liberia. Natives in the interior have no use for locks and keys. When they leave their huts they always place morsels of food in a niche in the house for anyone who might be hungry.

"The natives make palm wine. They drink it at their fetes and frolics. Naturally at the time they feel good and make whoopee. The home brew of the Americo-Liberians is sugar can rum."

"The resources of Liberia have scarcely been touched. I believe there is a wonderful future in the natural resources of Liberia," Mr. Wharton concluded.

S. REBER JR. NAMED CONSUL IN LIBERIA

New York Times
6-22-30

He Is Transferred to Monrovia, While G. L. Tolman, Another New Yorker, Goes to Ontario.

R. FRAZER TO MEXICO CITY

New York, N.Y.

Philadelphian Is Assigned as Consul General There—Other Changes in Foreign Service.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 21.—Samuel Reber Jr. of New York City, Foreign Service officer now on duty in the State Department, has been designated Secretary of Legation and consul at Monrovia, Liberia.

Other changes in the Foreign Service the past two weeks were announced by the State Department today as follows:

JOSEPH W. BALLANTINE, Amherst, Mass., consul, detailed to Department of State, assigned consul general, Canton, China.

HOWARD BUCKNELL JR., Atlanta, Ga., second secretary of legation, Peiping, China, designated second secretary of legation, Panama.

ALBERT H. COUSINS Jr. confirmed as foreign service officer, unclassified, as vice consul of career, and as a secretary in the diplomatic service ,and assigned as vice consul, Vancouver, B. C.

H. PERCIVAL DODGE, Boston, formerly Minister to Denmark, detailed to State Department for duty.

CORNELIUS VAN H. ENGERT, Berkeley, Cal., first secretary of legation at Caracas, Venezuela, designated first secretary of legation at Peiping, China.

ROBERT FRAZER, Philadelphia, consul general at Calcutta, India, assigned consul general at Mexico City.

TAYLOR W. BANNETT confirmed as Foreign Service officer, unclassified, vice consul of career and secretary in the diplomatic service, and assigned as vice consul at Habana, Cuba.

WINTHROP S. GREENE, Worcester, Mass., third secretary of embassy at Santiago, Chile, designated third secretary of legation at Berne.

CALVIN H. OAKS confirmed as foreign service officer, unclassified, vice consul of career and secretary in the diplomatic service and assigned as vice consul at London, England.

EDWARD PAGE JR., Ardmore, Pa., third secretary of embassy at Tokio, Japan, assigned to consulate at Harbin, China, for language study.

JAMES K. PENFIELD, San Francisco, Vice Consul at Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, assigned Vice Consul Progreso, Mexico.

EDWARD B. RAND, Shreveport, La., Vice Consul at Valparaiso, Chile, assigned Vice Consul at Arica, Chile.

KENNETH S. STOUT, Portland, Ore., Vice Consul at Tegucigalpa, Honduras, assigned Vice Consul at Nassau, Bahamas.

RUDOLPH J. BLAIS, Cohoes, N. Y., Vice Consul at Havre, France, has resigned.

GEORGE C. COBB, Americus, Ga., Vice Consul at Dakar, Senegal, French West Africa, appointed Vice Consul at St. John's Newfoundland.

HENRY T. DWYER, Province, R. I., vice consul at Maracaibo, Venezuela, appointed vice consul, Fort William and Port Arthur, Ont.

ANDRE GRADVOHL, acting consular agent, Ceara, Brazil, turned over his duties to his brother, Leon Gradvohl, appointed acting consular agent at that post.

HARRY D. MYERS, Litchfield, Ill., vice consul, Colon, Panama, appointed vice consul at Buenaventura, Colombia.

GEORGE L. TOLMAN, New York City, vice consul at Helsingfors, Finland, appointed vice consul at Sarnia, Ont.

government employ have been implicated in such recruiting, the commission is expected to report it. Such recommendations as the commission may make will be given due consideration, government officials have informed

THE VISIT OF THE ATTAH OF IGBIRRA TO ENGLAND.

[By a Special Representative.]

As was reported last week, the Attah of Igbirra (in the Kabba Province of Nigeria) arrived in London from Mecca via Marseilles on June 20, with his wife and two followers.

West Africa

On Saturday a visit was made to Windsor, but, as his Majesty was in residence, only the terraces on the outside of the castle could be inspected: fortunately the party obtained a good view of the King and Queen returning in the afternoon up the Long Walk of Windsor Park from a drive. From Windsor they arrived at the Tattoo Ground at Aldershot in good time for the performance, which was greatly appreciated.

On Sunday afternoon, June 22, the Zoological Gardens were visited, tickets having been kindly provided by Mr. J. E. W. Flood, of the Colonial Office. The antics of the chimpanzees caused great amusement, but real enthusiasm was displayed about a lion in the lion-house, which the Attah had known five years ago as a small cub. This cub with two others was taken up to Kano in 1925 by Capt. Byng-Hall, then Resident of the Kabba Province, for presentation to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales on the occasion of the durbar held in honour of his visit. As the Prince was unable to take them with him, the cubs were sent Home to the Zoo: two have died, but the survivor has grown in the last five years into a fine specimen, and the Attah was greatly pleased and interested to see it.

Monday morning was devoted to the lengthy and important business of buying a car, and in the afternoon the party visited the Tower and were greatly impressed by the Crown jewels and regalia. Some shopping and the various formalities connected with the export of a rifle, which had been sent Home by the Attah for the addition of a telescopic sight, occupied Tuesday morning, and after a visit to the British Museum relaxation was provided by the performance at the Holborn Empire, where the feats of strength and skill, especially the trick-riding of a cyclist on one wheel, caused great astonishment and admiration, though of necessity a good deal of the programme was lost on them. After visiting the Bank of British West Africa head offices in Gracechurch Street, where the Attah was kindly welcomed by Mr. D. W. Paterson, the General Manager, the party went to Cricklewood on Wednesday afternoon to see the Handley Page aeroplane workshops: Mr. England conducted them round and they were shown the skeleton of the first of a series of eight huge machines, which are being built for the Imperial Airways Company; each is capable of carrying 40 passengers and the seating is to rival a Pullman car in comfort.

On Thursday an early move was made to Birmingham, where the Attah's visit caused great interest; photographs and articles of varying accuracy appeared in the local journals. Arrangements here were kindly made by Major Dibben, of the Federation of British Industries, and after lunch the party were taken in cars to the Wolseley motor works, which were exhaustively inspected, explanation being given by the Works Manager, who conducted them round. The whole making of a car from the creation of the various parts from the raw material to the final assembling was shown, including the gradual building up of the engines, and the Attah showed keen interest in it all and was amazed at the almost human efficiency of some of the machines employed. From there, cars, kindly provided by Morris Commercial Cars, took the party out to the demonstration ground, where two 10-wheeled lorries, one of which was provided with caterpillar tracks on the back wheels, performed the most amazing evolutions over extremely rough country and up and down severe gradients.

Afterwards the party were taken to the offices of the company for tea and were sent home in a luxuriously-appointed six-wheel car, the only one of its kind, which had just been completed for the transport of Field-Marshals and Generals in comfort over rough ground at manœuvres. They were just in time to go on to the Hippodrome, where the management had kindly put two boxes at their disposal, and much enjoyed the show, especially the performances of certain highly-accomplished monkeys.

Friday was a full day. The morning was spent at Fort Dunlop, where all the processes involved in turning out a tyre, from raw rubber and thread, were seen and explained. The party were greatly impressed with the huge area of the works, the number of girls and women employed and the titanic power of the machines. An excellent lunch was provided and after a photograph had been taken Major Dibben arrived to take them on to the Hercules works. The reception here was most cordial: a large crowd greeted their arrival and departure, photographs and cinema films were taken and the Attah was presented with a bicycle (which was tested by Musa, the chauffeur, who acquitted himself skilfully) and two scooters for the children. As on the preceding day the making of a car had been demonstrated, so now the building up of a bicycle from its first beginnings to the completed article was shown in all its details. In spite of a severe morning the Attah showed no lessening of enthusiasm and followed all the various processes with keen attention, which was much appreciated by the members of the management, who took endless trouble to make his visit interesting and successful.

After a less exacting day on the morrow, the party went on by road to Liverpool on Sunday morning.

Race Problem - 1930

Africa.

LIBERIA AFLAME; SLAVERY EXPOSE STIRS CITIZENS

Legislature Petitioned to Impeach President King.

Afro-American

CRISIS EXISTS

Baltimore

Punishment of Guilty Slavers Asked.

11-15-30

(Special to the AFRO)

MONROVIA, Liberia. — Citizens in mass meetings demanding that President King resign, and petitions to the legislature, October 2, asking his impeachment, are the turbulent results of the International Commission's expose of slavery in the republic.

Petitions ask also that the administration officials responsible for frauds and bribes in connection with the slave charges be ousted and tried in the courts.

Resolutions adopted at the General Citizens Meeting held in the city of Monrovia, October 1, were as follows:

WHEREAS, We The Sovereign People of Liberia here assembled are convinced that the Report, Findings and Recommendations of the International Commission of Inquiry precipitate a CRISIS in the affairs of this Nation that may not be ignored by the general body of citizens without seriously jeopardizing our independence; and

Whereas in the Report and Findings of the International Commission there appears to have been misconduct of varying degrees of culpability, from the most flagrant neglect of duty through a long list of offenses against the Statute laws of this Republic, to and including the most daring and shameful misuse of Government authority, for personal aggrandizement, the degradation of the masses and consequent ruin of the State; and

Whereas for such gross violation of public confidence, there is but one straightforward and manly course to be pursued on the part of the offenders, and that is the immediate resignation of the President of the Republic and his Cabinet, and of all thos Officials implicated in the charges of Slavery, Forced Labour, &c., and afterwards the defense of their conduct before the Courts of this Republic; Therefore be it RESOLVED:

Thanks to America

1. That the people of Liberia reco their thanks and appreciation to the League of Nations and the friendly Government of America for sending an International Commission of Inquiry to investigate conditions in Liberia.

Commissioners Lauded

2. That the people of Liberia express their thanks and appreciation to the Members of the International Commission for ti. highly qualified calibre of men they have proven themselves to be.

Loss of Confidence

3. That a Citizens Mass Meeting be called on the 20th. day of October to meet with and instruct our Representatives at the ensuing session of the National Legislature, that the people of Liberia through them, their Representatives, express to the present Administration their loss of CONFIDENCE in them, the Government, to furthe. continue to conduct the affairs of this Republic as a result of the disgraceful disclosures contained in the Report of the International Commission of Inquiry.

Demand President Resign

4. That inasmuch as "the HIGHEST OFFICIALS OF THE REPUBLIC" are implicated in an undesirable and reflectory way in the charges of Forced Labor, Slavery, gross mal-treatment of the indigenous populations, and of al misconduct while in office; of bribery, extortion, dishonesty or other crimes, that the people of Liberia instruct their Representatives in Legislature to demand the resignation of the present Government and a Provisional Government be instituted by the National Legislature until a President shall be elected at the ensuing quadrennial election ond duly inaugurated.

Ask Council of State

5. That said Provisional Government shall consist of a Council of State to be composed of three (3) citizens of known courage, ripe experience and thorough training; and that should the present Government for want of patriotism and sense of honour fail to resign, regardless of the will of the PEOPLE, that the National Legislature will take immediate steps to IMPEACH them.

Return to Private Life

6. That the people of Liberia re-affirm the Resolutions, passed at the Citizens Meeting of June 17, and that all officials of Government who may be directly or indirectly involved in the findings of the International Commission as being guilty of any offence shall be retired to private life and all persons, official or private, implicated in said charges shall be prosecuted according to the law of the land.

Copies to U. S.

7. That Copies of these Resolutions be sent to the several Countries within the Republic for their information and cooperation, and to the League of Nations and the United States Government for their official information; and that they also be published in the leading news papers of the Republic to inform the civilized world of the position taken by the PEOPLE of Liberia on the Report of the International Commission.

DONE IN THE CITY OF MONROVIA, This First day of October, in the year of our Lord, One Thousand Nine Hundred and thirty (A.D. 1930.)

Signed,
D. E. HOWARD, Chairman, Committee
DOUGHBA CARMO CARANDA,
R. VAN RICHARDS,
W. H. BLAINE,
J. E. PADMORE,
J. I. A. WEEKS,
N. H. SIE-BROWNELL.
Secretary, Committee

Attest:
Sgd. J. F. B. COLEMAN,
Chairman, Mass Meeting.
Sgd. C. HENRY A. SCOTT,
Secretary, Mass Meeting.

Liberia

Liberians Halt Slave Trading

[Chicago Defender Foreign News Service]

GENEVA, Oct. 31.—Following a release a week ago that slavery was still practiced in Liberia, a presidential decree freeing all slaves was announced to the league of nations last week by Antoine Sottil, permanent Liberian delegate to the League.

The system of "pawning" members of native families as security and the forced embarkation of nationals in connection with labor contracts was also abolished. 11-1-30

An international investigating commission, which included an American, an Englishman and a Liberian, discovered three forms of slavery in Liberia. Opponents of the present presidential regime, headed by President Charles Dunbar Burgess, king of the True Whig party, have repeatedly charged that the government enslaved many natives or practiced forced labor.

Chicago

The charges intimated that natives were some times shipped against their will to foreign islands, where they were "sold" into forced labor under contracts let by the Liberian government. It was also said that the natives were forced to work the greater part of each year on government projects without pay.

Liberian Gov't Gets First American Bank

Courier

11-29-30

MONROVIA, Liberia, Nov. 26 — (CNS) — Establishment of the first American bank in this country was announced last week by the Harvey S. Firestone Tire and Rubber people at Akron, O.

Pittsburgh, Pa

The bank has been designated by President King of Liberia as the official depository of the republic. The institution will be managed by Peter Davidson, who for 20 years has been connected with the foreign service department of the National City Bank of New York.

AMERICAN BANK IN LIBERIA.

African World

To Be Official Bank of the Republic.

11-22-30

AKRON, OHIO, November 18.

The establishment of the first American Bank in Liberia is announced by the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company. The bank, which is situated in Monrovia, is designated by the Hon. C. D. B. King, President of Liberia, as the official bank of the Republic. The new institution will be part of the United States Trading Company, a subsidiary of the Firestone Company, which owns a million acres of land in Liberia for rubber development.—Reuter

REPORT PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA FORCED OUT

Reporter

New York, Dec. 10.—(ANP)—Dispatches from Monrovia indicate that the recent international investigation of abortive conditions in Liberia verging almost on slavery under the regime of President Charles D. D. King and Vice-President Allen Yancy, have forced these executives to resign. It seems that the findings of the League of Nations' Commission give a truthful picture of the frightful conditions existing there. 12-13-30

King's resignation is a triumph for the public opinion in Liberia, especially of Monrovia, the capital of this republic. On October 1 ,the citizens of Monrovia demanded unanimously King's resignation and the punishment of all officers, high or low, for their misdeeds and for the disgrace they had brought o nthe struggling republic of Liberia. Now that part of their demands have been met, it would be interesting to see whether King's resignation would mean the end of his dynasty and a real shake-up in the interest of all the people of Liberia, both American returned Negroes and the native Liberians.

Birmingham, England

The state department at Washington has, however ,taken a very cautious and guarded attitude in dealing with the situation caused by the Liberian president's resignation. They seem to follow the policy of "hands off" and "mark time" in the meanwhile.

Republic of Liberia.

NEW EDUCATIONAL ADVISER'S PLANS.

African World

The successor to the late Mr. James L. Sibley, Educational Adviser to the Liberian Government, is Dr. Howard W. Oxley. Dr. Oxley, after spending a week in London, sailed on December 17 for Liberia, and expects to reach Monrovia about December 27. He will carry on the close educational co-operation of Government and Missions in Liberia, and will be particularly occupied in plans for the development of the Booker Washington Agricultural and Industrial Institute—the Liberian "Tuskegee," at Kakata, where there are already a hundred students. The Liberian Government has given a thousand acres of land for the school, and made a cash grant of 50,000 dollars towards its initial expenses.

Dr. Oxley, who is a Mountain Grove, Missouri, man, recently took his Ph.D. at New York University. He has also studied at South-West College, Springfield, Missouri, at the University of Missouri, at Iowa State College, and at Columbia University. He has done much administration work among the white schools of Missouri, and was Professor of Sociology at Iowa State College. Recently, he has been Director of Education for the Standard Oil Company, New York.

Republic of Liberia.

PRESIDENT KING RESIGNS.

African World

Hon. Edwin Barclay Sworn In.

12-27-30

Cable advices have been received by the Liberian Consul-General in Liverpool, Mr. Charles E. Cooper, officially advising him of the resignation, "on account of political differences," of President C. D. B. King, and Vice-President Allan Yancy. The Hon. Edwin Barclay, Secretary of State, has been sworn in as President.



EX-PRESIDENT C. D. B. KING.

The resignations and appointment took place on December 3, President King at that time having thirteen months of his four years' term as President to complete.

Mr. Faulkner's Return.

London, England.

Mr. T. J. R. Faulkner, whose attacks on the King Administration led to the appointment of an International Commission to investigate charges of slavery and forced labour, was accorded a tumultuous welcome on his return to Monrovia from the U.S.A. recently. Following publication of the Commission's findings President King issued a proclamation freeing all slaves in the Republic immediately.

According to the "Afro-American," Mr. Faulkner's election to the Presidency at the

forthcoming election is practically assured." Born in America and a naturalised Liberian citizen, Mr. Faulkner has been the pioneer of many successful commercial enterprises during the twenty years he has spent in the country.

Several other candidates for the Presidency are already in the field, among them being the Hon. Momolu Massaquoi, the Liberian Consul-General at Hamburg and Postmaster-General of the Republic in the King Administration.

LEAGUE TO TAKE UP SLAVERY IN LIBERIA

International Commission's Report Is on Council Agenda for the Session of Jan. 10.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

GENEVA, Dec. 27.—Slavery in Liberia will be considered by the League of Nations Council at its session beginning Jan. 10, it was announced today. Great Britain has had the report of the international commission of inquiry on this subject added to the Council's agenda.

This commission, formed at the request of Liberia to investigate charges that slavery or forced labor persisted in that country, found them true in some respects. Liberia thereupon notified the League in October that it had freed all domestic slaves of native tribes, abolished the pawn system, under which a member of the borrower's family was given as security for a loan, and abolished the forced embarkation of men to work abroad.

The commission was presided over by the League appointee, Cuthbert Christy of Great Britain, and the other members were the American appointee, Charles Johnston, and the Liberian appointee, Sir Arthur Barclay. It was anounced their report would be published on Jan. 10. The delay is understood to be due to the fact that the League and the State Department at Washington are planning to publish it simultaneously, with the League delayed by the necessity of translating it into French.

It is understood the report includes a section dealing with alleged forced labor in connection with the Firestone rubber plantations.

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.
EXPRESS

JAN 9 1931

LIBERIA'S PROBLEM OF FORCED LABOR AND OTHER BONDAGE

Liberia—the only republic in Africa—was founded by negro colonists from the United States about 1820. Its government nominally exercises jurisdiction over 45,000 square miles between Sierra Leone—a British colony—and the French West African region known as the Ivory Coast.

The administration largely is directed by the colonists' descendants, who total about 30,000. They are outnumbered by fellow-countrymen whose ancestors subsequently occupied the region. The true natives are divided into 40 tribes—speaking distinct languages—and aggregate about two millions.

Liberia declared independence in 1847 and was recognized by the United States in 1862. It always has looked to this country for protection against encroachments by European Powers. An American receiver of customs, who is also financial adviser to the government, has resided at Monrovia (the capital) since 1912. Liberia became a Great War belligerent in August, 1917, and joined the League of Nations in 1920.

During the past few years it has been charged that slavery still was practiced in Liberia, and in 1929 a League commission was appointed to investigate. That body—with whom Dr. Charles Johnson of Fisk University was associated—reported that three classes of involuntary servitude were found in the country. It noted instances of domestic slavery; tribal chiefs often pledge persons in their families as security for loans. Besides, a system of forced labor—involving some high officials—was uncovered.

The Liberian government declared all three forms abolished, after the commission reported last October; but the United States considers it has not taken effective steps to correct the evil conditions. The State Department's note in November demanded the punishment of persons responsible for the slave-traffic.

President King—serving his third four-year term—and Vice President Yancy resigned last month, after receiving the American memorandum which cited findings that they had been involved in transactions pertaining to forced labor. The government temporarily is headed by Secretary of State Barclay, who has been prominent in Liberian affairs during the past fifteen years.

The United States and the League of Nations particularly desire to break up the forced-labor system, which also is found in some parts of Belgian Congo and Angola, a large Portuguese colony in Southwest Africa. Slavery still is practiced in Abyssinia, where the central government's authority is weak in some provinces.

The Liberian government, that probably will be reconstructed soon, must wipe out slavery under any guise among its citizens who consider themselves civilized. It also must free the domestic slaves among the tribesmen.

HERALD

JAN 9 1931

FEVER EXPERTS TO STAMP OUT LIBERIA PLAGUE

Rockefeller Foundation Will Send Force to Eradicate Disease; Slavery Attacked

By WILLIAM P. FLYTHE
Universal Service

The Rockefeller Foundation will dispatch a large force of experts into Liberia, in an effort to eradicate yellow fever, on the same ship which takes the new American minister there to suppress slavery.

Charles B. Francis, last American minister to that country, recently died of the dread "yellow jack," and Charles E. Mitchell, his successor, left yesterday after a conference with President Hoover and Secretary of State Stimson.

SON OF SLAVE

Mitchell, a native of West Virginia, is himself the son of a former slave.

The Rockefeller institution experts have been concentrated from many points in the Malay settlements on the Pacific Coast, from Vera Cruz, in Mexico, and from a number of points along the African Atlantic Coast.

In addition to this there is reported to the American Government a condition of slavery. At the close of the civil war the United States fostered the establishment of a negro republic in their native land.

PROMISED PROTECTION

Negroes from far and wide were given free transportation there. The United States Government promised them protection. They have had it so far, it was stated officially at the State Department yesterday.

But there has sprung up there a condition of slavery and insanitation which has cost countless lives and is the last breeding pool of the deadly mosquito which spreads yellow fever.

All of the greater nations who have interests in Africa will join with the United States in its move to stamp out slavery.

NEW YORK TELEGRAM

JAN 12 1931

OUR SLAVE COLONY.

IF Secretary of State Stimson never does anything else to be proud of, he has earned the lasting gratitude of all civilized peoples and of the black slaves of Africa by his ultimatum to the American Protectorate of Liberia.

At last the State Department has co-operated in uncovering the system of forced labor and slavery operated by high Liberian officials, and has notified that government that continuance of such savagery will end the friendly relations between the two republics.

Perhaps the most tragic aspect of these disclosures is that Negro descendants of American slaves have been the vicious enslavers of their own race in Liberia, and that black is enslaved by black in Abyssinia.

The cruelty of white men exploiting Negroes in backward countries is somehow less surprising. All that the Liberian representative in the League of Nations can say is that conditions in his country are no worse than in those where imperialistic governments permit the enslaving of upward of 3,000,000.

The report of the mixed commission on forced labor in Liberia absolves the Firestone Rubber Co. of responsibility. That American company, however, did permit the Liberian government virtually to control its labor supply, thus becoming indirectly a party to forced labor.

Certainly this scandal should be a warning not only to the Firestone Co. but to all other American interests operating in Abyssinia and other slave countries.

As for the hypocrisy which has allowed the United States government to wink at Liberian slavery all these years, no condemnation can be too strong.

Race Problem - 1930

Liberia.

Africa

GREENSBORO, N. C.
RECORD
JAN 9 1931

Slavery In Liberia.

The state department has called Liberia to terms on the question of slavery. An international commission which recently inquired into slavery and forced labor reported high officials of the Liberian government were indulging in the oppression of natives. Liberian officials sought to withhold information from the commission. Later, however, they promised to follow the commission's advice, but they have taken no action.

Liberia was founded in 1822, as a colony for freed American slaves and, with the help of American colonization societies, the foundation for a negro republic was laid. Liberia became an independent nation in 1847, peopled by members of the African race, and with a constitution modeled after that of the United States. It seems strange that slavery should persist in Liberia where a great abhorrence of slavery might naturally be expected. Incidentally, Lord Cecil, of the League of Nations, reports five million persons in slavery in different parts of the world.

Our government as yet has received no reply to its demand upon Liberia, made November 17, that slavery be abolished and those responsible for it be brought to account. The demand was contained in a memorandum handed to the Liberian consul general at Baltimore for transmission to his government. President King and Vice President Yancy, of Liberia, resigned soon after the memorandum was presented to the Liberian government. Harvey Firestone, Jr., of the Firestone Rubber company, of Akron, Ohio, holder of large rubber concessions in Liberia, urges the state department to insist that its demands be carried out.

State department officials have not yet determined what course to pursue, aside from stirring public sentiment on the question through publicity. It seems certain that forcible intervention will not be used. The United States has great influence in Liberia. The state department's ultimatum declares that the present policy of the Liberian government "will result in final alienation of friendly feelings which the American government and people have entertained for Liberia since its establishment." This, it is believed, will serve, ultimately, to end slavery in Liberia.

NEW YORK SUN

LIBERIA QUALIFIES REPLY TO GENEVA

Acceptance in Principle Not Satisfactory to U. S.

GENEVA, Jan. 13 (A. P.).—The Liberian Government has notified the League of Nations that it accepts "in principle" recommendations made by the international board of inquiry on slavery and will employ them as a basis "for regulating any improvement which may be made in the social policy of the republic to the full extent of its resources."

The note calls attention to the economic depression which is prevalent in Liberia as giving significance to the provision "to the full extent of its resources."

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13 (A. P.).—Acceptance "in principle" by the Liberian Government of the recommendations of the commission which investigated slavery conditions in the Negro republic is unsatisfactory to the State Department.

The last indications to the department by the Liberians in the extensive exchange of diplomatic correspondence following the American Government's insistence that Liberia abolish slavery was the acceptance "in principle" by Liberia of the commissions suggestions for the abolition of slavery.

The American charge d'affaires at Monrovia, on instructions of the State Department, informed the Liberian Government, however, that this was not an appropriate and adequate method of meeting the situation.

JOURNAL

Jersey City N.J.

JAN 8 1931

STIMSON ON SLAVERY.

In 1861 the United States was anything but united; since 1865 it has been truthfully the United States. The principal cause of dissension was a difference of opinion about the slavery problem, which ended in the south when Abraham Lincoln in 1863, by presidential proclamation, abolished slavery, and in the north when the constitution was amended in 1865 by prohibiting the return of slavery.

It is of more than passing interest in the United States to note that slavery, long since wiped out in the United States, still flourishes in Liberia, a nation founded by Americans who intended to establish a place on the great Black Continent where the Negro should be free to govern himself, protected forever against the yoke of slavery. Here, these devout enthusiasts believed, the black man would come into his own. Here the white man was debarred from his wicked practices of trapping unsuspecting natives and removing them to be sold into bondage.

But alas, the Negro of Africa has betrayed the white man who returned him from America! Apparently the Negro, returned from America, has participated wholeheartedly in aping the way of the white man of 80 years ago.

Secretary of State Stimson has sent a tart letter upon this subject to Liberia. It can be argued that if Liberians want slavery, that is their business, but it cannot be maintained that Secretary Stimson's letter was either uncalled for or improper. Slavery in Liberia may be an internal affair of Liberia, but it is entirely within the discretion of the United States to recognize what nations the United States chooses to recognize. Nowadays both southerners and northerners will agree that one test of qualification should be whether a nation is sufficiently civilized to prohibit slavery.

The laws of this country take cognizance of this sentiment and prohibit importation of goods made by convict labor, or forced labor.

It was, then, entirely proper for the secretary of state to send such a letter as he did to President King, pointing out that the officials of Liberia have themselves been profiting from traffic in slaves. It is noteworthy that soon after the letter was delivered both President King and Vice-President Yancey resigned.

American interest in the slave question in Liberia will increase attention to the forthcoming report of the League of Nations on the slavery investigation, which will be made public by the league and the United States Department of State Jan. 10.

BROOKLYN CITIZEN

JAN 11 1931

SLAVERY IN LIBERIA

Slavery has been abolished throughout practically the whole world, except in Liberia. It is strange that in that country, founded as a haven for escaped American Negroes long before the Civil War and ruled ever since that time by the Negro race, slavery still rears its horrid head. Secretary of State Stimson has sent a scathing note from Washington calling attention to this fact and demanding an immediate reform.

Secretary Stimson, according to a special article published in the "Baltimore Sun," warns President King that international public opinion will no longer tolerate the twin scourges of slavery and forced labor. Unless they are abolished and there is instituted by the Liberian Government a comprehensive systems of reforms loyally and sincerely put into effect, it will result, he says, in the final alienation of the friendly feelings which the American Government and people have entertained for Liberia since its establishment nearly a century ago.

Mr. Stimson states that Liberia consented to slavery investigation with extreme reluctance. That nearly all the high officials of Liberia, including the Vice-President, were found guilty. That Liberia has failed to submit definite plans for wiping out slavery. That all the officials whose guilt was established continued to hold office. And that the Government, after intimidating witnesses before they appeared before the slavery commission, has encouraged measures of retaliation against these hapless people.

The commission which investigated the matter consisted of one American member, one representing the League of Nations and one representing Liberia. Its report was unanimous.

Gazette
RENO
NEVADA
ISSUE OF

JAN 8 - 1931

LIBERIANS ENGAGE IN SLAVERY

THE ACTION of the government at Washington in calling to task the Liberian republic for encouraging traffic in slaves, as reported in the dispatches, is timely. This republic, once the hope of civilization as an experiment in Negro self-government, has descended upon evil days, according to a report made to the department of state, and the president and vice president, who resigned December 1, were directly involved in slave-dealing.

The report was made by an investigating commission composed of three members, one each from the League of Nations, the United States and Liberia, itself, which reached Liberia before the resignations occurred. Its findings show that the retiring president and his vice president caused natives to be sent to points outside of Liberia and there sold to the highest bidder, while government officials had used enforced labor for their private affairs under pretense that it was for public works.

For many years Liberia has been supposed to be a model government and its officials have been highly praised both in Europe and America for what has been described as their conscientious attention to their duties. Hence the news comes as a great disappointment to those who invariably, when the Negro republic of Haiti has been criticized for its century of misrule, have by way of contrast drawn attention to the success of the Liberian settlement. It is disquieting to think that high officials of a land to which many freed slaves went from America after the war between the states have actually themselves been drawing a profit from selling men like cattle.

Race Problem — 1930

Africa

Liberian Women Want King Removed from the Presidency

Afro-American

7-20-30

U.S. and League of Nations Requested to Set up Provisional Government if Slavery Charges are Sustained. Men also Hold Mass Meeting. Mandate Opposed. U.S. Denies Change of Policy.

(By Mail Exclusively to the AFRO-AMERICAN)

MONROVIA, Liberia. — A demand that President King and the present regime be displaced by a provisional government should charges of slavery and forced labor be substantiated by the report of the international investigating commission, was urged in a resolution passed at a mass meeting of women, called to consider the crisis the country is facing, June 17.

The women's meeting followed a meeting of men in which they "registered their disapproval, condemnation and censure of any official of the government or any private citizen who may have participated in or profited by the illegal and forcible shipment of boys from Liberia to Fernando Poo, or any other forced labor without compensation."

Ex-President Signs Call

The call for the men's mass meeting was signed by D. E. Howard, ex-president of the republic, and the Hon. F. E. R. Johnson, chief justice.

The women's notice was signed by Mrs. Marion Gibson, widow of the late assistant secretary of state, Walter Van Gibson, and Mrs. Sarah C. Brownell, wife of the ex-county attorney. Both are teachers in Monrovia, and last year Mrs. Brownell was in the States and took a course at Hampton Institute in kindergarten work.

Baltimore, Md

Husbands Opposed

Some of the women active in the mass meeting, whose husbands are connected with the government, attended in spite of strong opposition from their mates. In some cases, it was said, husbands threatened to put them out of their homes should they attend. They attended, however.

Fear a Mandate

That Liberian citizens fear that the American government might take over the affairs of the Liberian republic, was indicated in the leading address made at the women's meeting by Miss Irene A. Gant. This, every citizens would consider a calamity.

It was reported recently that in a conversation with President King, Henry Carter, white, American charge d' affairs at Monrovia, had intimated that the American government might take such a step in view of conditions likely to be indicated by the international commission's report. On June 10, however, the United States denied that there had been any change of policy as to Liberia.

Mr. Carter Explains

In a statement to the secretary of state, Mr. Carter is reported as explaining the mandate matter by referring to an interview he had with Sir Ramsey McDonald, British Premier, and Sir Samuel Wilson while on a recent visit in London, in which they intimated that some of the greater powers would finally be forced to take over Liberia. In calling this to the attention of President King and the U.S. State Department, the charge d'affaires argued that he was acting in the interest of the United States government and that if taken over by any power, it should be this one.

Mr. Carter has been recalled and Mr Hall appointed, ad interim.

Liberia.

LIBERIA'S TROUBLES

That the Republic of Liberia with its preponderance of superstition, ignorance and other unfortunate circumstances is in dire need of substantial outside sympathy and assistance goes without saying.

President King, reputed despot of the land, continues to administer the affairs of his executive office much to the detriment of the Liberians and to his own discredit as a national leader.

Indianapolis Recorder

Open slavery, openly countenanced officially is a curse with which Liberia and Liberians are now contending and against which the whole civilized world is or should be protesting.

7-26-30

The peoples' education and general welfare are being neglected to a point unbelievable. Everything that makes for official injustice and the promotion of wrong against right is, from every indication being aided and abetted by the chief executive officer of Liberia. A rather disheartening circumstance, indeed and one that is entitled to drastic adjustment.

It seems impossible to believe that any Negro ruler in these civilized times could conscientiously indulge in the practice of conscripting his fellow countrymen and race of people into slavery and consequent disgrace.

Indianapolis Ind

One would think that King would use a deterant against saturating his country's records with the stench of human slavery, the conviction that Negroes have had enough and will have no more of it. Yet the fact remains that such is the state of things in Liberia, where the institution of actual slavery is a going concern with the advice and consent of the government.

With this man, King, and his retrogressive system of government at the head of Liberia's affairs, we fail to see any very encouraging future for the African republic. Perhaps what the Liberian chief officer needs is a permanent back seat, Less of laziness and more of common sense with a full measure of ambition on the part of Liberia's citizens should produce the effect of delivering that country from its present state of criminal uncertainty and stagnant inactivity.

SECRET U.S. NOTE WAS PRINTED IN LIBERIA

Afro American

4-16-30

Document Exposes Instructions to Slavery Commission There.

Baltimore Md

FAULKNER HERE

Liberian Leader to See Business Men.

Secret documents which the State Department in Washington has already termed forgeries, were printed as a State document by the Republic of Liberia, according to T. J. R. Faulkner, Liberian leader, who arrived in Baltimore on Tuesday.

Mr. Faulkner, opposition leader former candidate for the presidency and the man responsible for the investigation of forced labor conditions in Liberia by the United States and the League of Nations, called at the State Department on Thursday and next week will be in Detroit to attend the session of the National Negro Business League.

It is his desire to secure co-operation of American business men to investigate business and commercial conditions in Liberia by a commission.

Bank Needed

The co-operation is also desired Mr. Faulkner said, to establish a bank in Monrovia, since the British Bank of Liberia, the only financial institution now there, closes the door of its agency on the 30th of September and the doors of its Monrovia branch on the 31st of October.

Asked whether the slavery probe commission had completed its work Mr. Faulkner said that according to the terms of reference, four months were to be given to investigations in Liberia and one month for the compiling of the report.

He said it was his understanding that the four months had been completed last Saturday, and that the commission has already spent considerable time in working on its report.

Two Secret Documents

The secret documents include an alleged report of the American charge d' affaires, Henry Carter, white, to the U.S. Secretary of State on matters coming within the purview of the commission of inquiry dated May 18, 1930. This document was published several weeks ago in the AFRO-AMERICAN.

The other alleged forged document includes instructions issued to Dr. C. S. Johnson, American commissioner on the Liberian international commission of inquiry.

Queried by the Liberian government, the U.S. Secretary of State replied under date of June 27 that both documents were forgeries and asked that the government of Liberia take necessary steps to ascertain the source of the forgeries and the prosecution of the guilty persons.

Afro-American

Source Not Known

According to Mr. Faulkner, the source of the alleged forged documents is not known. They, however appeared in the government bulletin dated June 28, and, although the documents are copies, there is sufficient authentic background to them to indicate that their source is authentic.

4-16-30

Instructions to Dr. Johnson

One of the alleged forged documents was an order of Secretary of State Harry L. Stimson, through E. E. Liggett, acting for the chief of the Division of Western European Affairs to Dr. Johnson, (1) designating him as U.S. Government Commissioner to investigate forced labor, slavery and maltreatment of natives by the Liberian government in the Republic of Liberia. He was also to carry with him "a stenographic reporter of the American secret service bureau."

(2) Dr. Johnson was ordered to proceed to Liberia, stopping only in London, where he would receive further information through the U.S. legation there.

(3) Dr. Johnson was advised that the U.S. legation in Paris has authentic data to show that the British and French governments are desirous through the League of Nations to have Liberia mandated, according to the document,

U.S. Willing

"You are furnished copies of Drummond's communication suggesting this plan. The United States government may not stand for this and if we can assist Liberia to overcome this, our relations will be better, though it is doubtful if there may not occur diplomatic eruptions. In any way, nothing must be left unturned for this government to know what legitimate plan it will take on behalf of Liberia.

"If these corrupt practices as alleged are found to exist, it is the desire of the United States government to ask permission of the League to make proposals in the form of a mandate to have these practices stopped."

Met in London

Paragraph four suggests that Dr Johnson will be met in London by one Sotille to discuss thoroughly the situation in Liberia.

(5) Dr. Johnson is instructed to get in touch with Dr. T. J. R. Faulkner

chief complainant of the forced labor conditions, and have him give to the commission any witnesses he can lay hands on in Liberia.

Year's Time Given

(6) Dr. Johnson is advised to cooperate absolutely with the League of Nations commissioner and is given unlimited time within a year to stay in Liberia to obtain the facts.

(7) "There may be an attempt made by the Liberian government to elect someone as its member on the commission who will in many ways doublecross the commission when any material evidence is to be presented. You are therefore to closely scrutinize the choice of the government and to keep a vigilant watch on his activities.

Keep in Touch

(8) "You are required always to be in close touch with the legation in London and the division here and a regular cable report of your doings is necessary. If there is any attempt on the part of the Liberian government to hamper the commission's work in any way, same must be at once reported and supplimentary instructions will be sent by cable.

(9) "With the above instructions you are furnished also a letter of authority to the treasury department to arrange for your expenses to and while in Liberia."

(Signed) E. E. LIGGETT.

People's Party Acts

Mr. Faulkner also brought with him resolutions of the People's party the present opposition party in Liberia, which resolutions were presented and adopted in a meeting held on the 8th of July, 1930, by the vote of the citizens of Montserrado County.

The party disapproves and condemns "fraud, coercion, intimidation and mal-administration of President King and his cabinet and declares that it has totally destroyed confidence in the integrity, ability and sincerity of the Liberian governing classes."

The People's party since its organization, has been supported by the majority of the people, according to resolutions, and in 1923 polled seven tenths of the votes and in 1927 nine tenths of the legal votes.

99 Per Cent Fraud

"Of the 45,000 votes alleged to have been caried in favor of the administration of 1923, and of the 238,000 of 1927, the resolutions state that ninety-nine per cent were fraudulent and void."

The party also declares that President King is responsible for fraudulent elections and for the failure of the courts to take account of such fraudulent elections, and for the forced labor and slavery conditions, and calls upon the League of Nations and the United States to remove from office the present administration and substitute a provisional government to be instituted until the general quardrennial election and the inauguration of the elected president.

Honest Election

To insure the honesty of the election it is requested that the provisional president appoint a special commission of election consisting of a mmeber appointed by each of the political parties, these two to be associated with a third to be designated by the League of Nations

State Department Denounces Cleverly Written Document

Afro-American 5-2-30

Copies, Supposed to Have Been Signed by Henry Carter, Mysteriously Dismissed U.S. Charge d'Affaires, Circulated in Liberia.

Baltimore, Md.

What the U.S. State Department terms a cleverly conceived forgery, is the following letter, sent to the AFRO-AMERICAN from Monrovia, Liberia, where an international commission is now probing alleged slavery.

The letter, supposedly a report of an American official to the American government, tells of English and French plans to destroy Liberian independence, and substantiates reports that forced labor conditions prvail in Liberia.

The forged document purports to be signed by Henry Carter, one-time U.S. Charge d'Affffaires in Liberia, who was mysteriously relieved of his job there.

Copies of the letter have been circulated in Liberia, with what effect is not known.

A verbatim reproduction of the copy in the files of the AFRO, follows:

[The document is printed without AFRO editorial corrections of misspelling, punctuation, etc.—Editor.]

Dip. 104 | L | 30 May 19, 1030

The Hon. The Secretary of State, U.S.A., State Department, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR:

Attention of the Chief, Bureau of Inquiry, Division of European Western Affairs

Your cable of the 10th, received and confirmed on the 12th. In response thereto, Dr. Johnson feels it unwise to voice his sentiment at the present in connection with Dr. Christy's cable report for various reasons now reserved to himself, and, by way of explanation, that his attitude may not be judged biased considering that the Commission has not started deliberations to propound their findings. Rather, as the Legation is in close touch with the workings of the Commission, he suggested that I transmit my views on the cable report referred to, as my personal views will not subject the findings of the Commission to any undue criticism, principally as being premature, I not being a member of the Commission.

Report Premature

Personally I do not hold the views of Dr. Johnson, which go to suggest plainly that Dr. Christy's report is premature, seeing that it is informal or, to put it severaly, personal. I too, therefore hold the following views of mine as personal.

If I should begin with the history of the outcome of such an established Commission I would be only giving to the Department such information as are now in possession. Nevertheless, in order that my views may have a tenable view with the Department, I have deemed it necessary to say something first of all touching the political or, shall I say, Autonomical aspect that have been in advance predicated upon the findings of the Commission.

British and French Trouble

It is an evident fact with the Department that the British and French Governments have long since been a source of trouble to the Liberian Government. During my interview with the Hon. Ramsey McDonald and Sir Samuel Wilson, while on a visit in Londin, en route for Liberia, the very blunt assertions (seperately too), of these two statesmen toward the capitulation of Liberia to one of the greater powers throw off the cloak of hypocrisy on the part of the British Government and warrant one to presume that a fixed determination has been arrived at regardless of its being known all over the world. As the Department of course knows, this anxiety on the part of the British is mainly to connect Liberia with the neighbouring colony Sierre Leone in order to establish a powerful naval base on the West Coast of Africa.

All ships take their bearings at Monrovia or Cape Palmas before proceeding down and it is left with the Department to surmise how this scheme will work out. Their pretended excuse, however, is that Liberia has been tried several times and the negro Republic has exhibited its pronounced limitations to be a self governing power, and the appearance of such a feeble independent state would be greatly detrimental to the neighboring colonies who now have very close connections with Liberia. The French, of course, are irrational and make no excuse, but that part of Liberia must go to them.

Faulkner Asked to Write

With the above in mind, it is not to be wondered that certain intrigues, which the Liberian Government had not been acquainted with and which it is still unaware of, had been on foot previous to the visit of Mr. T. J. R. Faulkner to Europe and the writing of his letter to Sir Eric Drummond, a copy of which he transmitted to the Department. In passing I may state that Mr. Faulkner was asked to write this letter, and informations have been gained from authoitative sources, that he was reminded or advised that the writing of this letter will be the only releif for Liberia, as the League of Nations will then only demand the removal from office of these high officials connected with these depredations and new ones installed.

The Department knows the rest of the story and how it came in as a mediator, instructing Minister Francis to transmit the note of June 8th, 1929, and the action by the Liberian Government, which for a while, at present, has curbed the feelings of aggrandisement of the powers concerned.

Liberian Delegate

The Commission was organized on April 8th, and has since been getting the desired information. The Liberian Delegate, as Dr. Johnson remarked to me, has been acting the part of a defense Counsel, and much will not be expected of him as a member of the Commission in thier findings.

Another regrettable circumstances is that certain high officials of Government are using their powers both openly and clandestinely to shut the mouth of the would-be informants and tyranise those who have testified and this is hampering the work of the Commission. There is authentic proofs to this which the Commission will include in their findings.

Forced Labor

However, it has been clearly proven that there is Forced Labor on the roads (men are brought miles from their homes—contrary to the Covenant of the Anti-Slavery Convention—to work without food, pay or tools and fined and some flogged to death). This certainly too is analogous to slavery. It is also clearly proven not only by oral testimonies, but by documents that aborignies have been shipped forcefully by aid of soldiers, to Spanish Territory, and to French Congo. Certain pictures are now on hand, which, I learn will be handed over to the Commission later. There is also a verbatum report of the conversation between the German Under Secretary of State, and the late Postmaster General Ross, which in itself is a confession, and will be offered in by the Consul concerned.

No Mandate

These depredations are very ugly, but, in my opinion, they do not warrant, Liberia being mandated. This Mr. Faulkner, I am forced to believe, wrote this letter from a point of patrontism to obviate any question of mandate, but the human mind, especially of a negro, is often governed by prejudices and inborn temperamental preversities, and when these are deeply rooted in others against you, your kindest acts and best efforts are often misinterpreted and depreciated.

I reiterate that from what has been submitted, I am convinced that there is forced labor and slavery in Liberia. I do not as yet know of any further outcome of the inquiry of Drs. Johnson and Christy on the Leeward coast.

Your obedient servant,

HENRY CARTER.

LETTER A COPY OF U.S. REPORT ON SLAVERY

Afro-American

Writer, American Official, Recently Ousted from Job.

7-26-30

OFFICIALS CONFER

Baltimore, Md.

Advise Afro Document is Forgery.

(Washington Bureau of the AFRO)

WASHINGTON, D. C. (By Wire)—Copy of a letter from Henry Carter, white, ex-U.S. charge d'affaires at Monrovia, Liberia, admitting slavery and forced labor in that country was termed a forgery, Tuesday.

The copy of the document which is now in the files of the AFRO-AMERICAN'S Baltimore office, was taken to Rollin Winslow in the Foreign Service Office, Division of Western European Affairs by E. W. Baker of the AFRO'S Washington Bureau, who asked the secretary to comment upon it.

The document was addressed to the Secretary of State, U.S.A., and purports to be Carter's report advising his superior officer of the state of affairs in Liberia.

Mr. Baker said:

"Mr. Winslow left the office in which we were talking and had a long conference with someone in another office. When he came back he stated that the letter was one of several documents which were forgeries. He denied that the Department had received a cable from Dr. Christy (League of Nations member of the Liberian Commission) intimating that slavery had been found.

"He did state, however, that a telegram had been received from Dr Christy sometime ago advising him that there were fraudulent documents in circulation.

"Mr. Winslow said he did not know whether or not the parties guilty of the fraud were Americans or agents of some foreign government. Just what steps will be taken, if any, by the State Department to ferret out the guilty parties and punish them, he could not say."

Asked why Carter had been summarily and mysteriously removed from office in Monrovia, Winslow said:

"Henry Carter's appointment was only temporary and there was nothing extraordinary about Carter's replacement by Claude H. Hall, Jr., white, who is charge d'affaires and third secretary."

Secretary Winslow said further that Dr. Charles S. Johnson (U.S. member of the Commission) is now in Monrovia. There is no time limit on the commission and the Department has not been advised just when the party will sail for the United States.

Race Problem - 1930

Liberia

Africa

U. S. "INVESTIGATION" WHITEWASHES FORCED SLAVERY IN LIBERIA

League of Nations Perpetuates 'Slave Catching' in Firestone Rubber Republic

Workers Die Like Flies; Firestone Demands 300,000 More

Daily Worker

Washington reports to the effect that the slavery practices in American imperialism's African colony of Liberia by the Firestone interests is going to be "investigated," can be taken to mean that they are going to be whitewashed. 1-15-30

This Negro "republic" of some half-million people, has recently been virtually bought by the Firestone Rubber Company, which is developing rubber plantations by use of slaves. Even the approach to the investigation' savors of whitewash, since the report on it by the Foreign Policy Association gentles tries to stand on formalities, by saying that Firestone itself don't practice slavery, but that the presumably uncontrolable native chiefs round up Negroes and force them to work nine months a year for nothing and furnish their own food and tools in addition.

New York.

But it is admitted that the Firestone Company offers a sort of "bounty" or reward for each 'recruit" obtained, thus actually paying for "slave catching," the seizure and slavery of the native workers. Since such slave labor results in the victims dying like flies, the Firestone demand that 300,000 or more such slaves be caught and put to work building roads and plantations, promises to exterminate a big part of the population.

The League of Nations has a special commission on "forced labor." but it was designed rather to perpetuate it than to abolish it. All its decrees as finally adopted actually legalize slave labor, by saying "forced labor" may be used "under certain conditions." The imperialists ruling any colony can always declare that conditions make it necessary, so the prospect is that slavery will continue in Liberia, as in other colonies until the enslaved Negro masses revolt. Such revolts are already beginning in some parts.

INSTITUTE MAN GETS POST ON COMMISSION

Daily Mail
Charleston, W. Va.

Professor John F. Matheus, head of the department of romance languages at West Virginia state college, Institute, has been appointed as secretary of the commission which is to make inquiry into the ve trade of the republic of ria. The commission, headed by Charles S. Johnson, of Fisk university, will sail soon for Liberia.

A Liberian member of the commission and an official representing the League of Nations will assist the commission in its investigations. A report as to whether slavery being fostered by tribal chiefs in Liberia will be made to the Hague tribunal. 1/19/30

President John W. Davis, of the state college, has returned from Washington, D. C., where he attended a meeting of the national advisory committee on education of which he is a member.

'SLAVERY' INQUIRY ON LIBERIA DELAYED

Times

Foreign Policy Association Report Notes That Country Has Had Time to Remedy Conditions

1-13-30

VIEWS LABOR LEVY CHARGES

New York, N.Y.

Firestone Plantation Fees to Chiefs for Workers Cited — French Congo Horrors Recalled.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12.—In a report of the Foreign Policy Association prepared by Raymond Leslie Buell, the association's research director, on charges now under investigation that slavery and enforced labor exist in Liberia, it is pointed out that the inquiry, announced in August, has been so delayed that the Liberian Government has had time to remedy the alleged conditions.

The investigating commission consists of three persons, one each appointed by the League of Nations, the United States Government and the Liberian Government. Two of three members of the commission are negroes. The United States representative is Dr. Charles S. Johnson, a professor in Fisk University.

Mr. Buell's report said it has been charged that the government of Liberia, an independent negro republic, uses compulsory unpaid labor for road construction and other public purposes. It has been charged that in some cases natives were compelled to work nine months out of the year and that they were obliged to furnish their own food and tools. At the international labor conference of 1929 the Liberian delegate denied such charges. He asserted that all such labor was paid and that road construction was carried out by "companies working freely and voluntarily without any constraint."

The report stated further that serious charges in regard to forced labor for private employes had been made in regard to Liberia.

Officials Involved in Charges.

"Thus, it is declared," said Mr. Buell, "that high officials in the Liberian Government profit from the compulsory recruiting of Liberian laborers for work on the cocoa plantations in the Spanish Islands of Fernando Po. It is charged that the Spanish authorities pay a fee of $30 for each boy thus recruited, and that this fee is divided between the high officials of the government at Monrovia and elsewhere.

"Misgivings have also been expressed in regard to the ultimate effects of the Firestone rubber plantations. Commenting on the fact that the Firestone company pays a fee to the chiefs and to the Liberian Labor Bureau for each man recruited, the International Labor Office at Geneva declares that 'fears have been expressed in many quarters that this system is, in practice, one of forced labor. This seems a possible danger not only because chiefs are already accustomed to levy forced labor for roads, but also in view of the fact that it is estimated that the scheme will necessitate the appointment of 300,000 to 350,000 native laborers, while the whole population of the country is reported to be only one 1,500,000.'"

In a statement to the League of Nations, dated Sept. 16, 1929, the Liberian Government declared that "the practice of slavery and forced labor has, little by little, been considerably diminished, and it can be asserted today that slavery and forced labor are no longer practiced in principle as a normal social system in Liberia."

Commenting on the State Department appointment of Dr. Johnson, and on the League council's appointment of Judge M. S. Meek of Norway to the commission, the report says: "Since the Liberian representative will be a negro, the white member of the commission will be in the minority. Although the Liberian Government announced in August that this commission would be appointed, the commission had not left for Liberia by the end of the year. In the meantime, the Liberian Government had an opportunity to remedy conditions which it deemed such reforms to be necessary."

Mr. Buell's report also declared that forced labor for public purposes is widely used in certain French colonies. Decrees of 1926, he said, established compulsory labors in Madagascar, and French West Africa, in which natives may be compelled to work for three years.

"One of the outstanding examples of the use of forced labor for public purposes, in recent years," continued Mr. Buell, "has been in connection with the construction of a railway linking up Brazzaville, the capital of French Equatorial Africa, with the sea—a distance of about 360 miles. While no decree enacted authorized the use of compulsory labor, the Governor General in 1925 issued an arrete providing that 10,000 natives should be recruited annually for work on the railway. Such natives were brought from the semi-arid interior districts of the Chad and Ubangi-Shari. Many of them found it difficult to adapt themselves to the humid climate and to the strange food of the Lower Congo. As a result, many died.

"Toward the close of a debate in the Chamber of Deputies in 1929, the Minister of Colonies declared that the death rate among workers on the Congo-Ocean Railways was 303 per thousand—a figure which declined to 191 per thousand in 1928. This death rate for a labor camp, is probably the highest in the world.

"M. Robert Poulaine, an editor of the conservative Temps, declared after a visit to Africa that 'in order to make 140 kilometres of railroads in four years the French Government had wasted 17,000 human lives. Seventeen thousand corpses strew the Congo-Ocean roadbed. The Belgians have, under equally severe climatic conditions, constructed in less than four years a railroad of 1,123 kilometres, which has not cost them 3,000 lives * * *.' The French Government has attempted to bring about reform.

An effort to abolish forced labor for private purposes has been made, according to the report, through the mandates system of the League of Nations, through the International Slavery convention drawn up at Geneva in 1926, to which the United States had adhered; and through the work of the international labor office.

LIBERIAN SLAVERY INQUIRY.

Ex-President Barclay Named Liberian Delegate.

The International Commission of Inquiry into the alleged existence of forced labour and slavery in Liberia will consist of the League of Nations nominee, Dr. S. Meek, the United States nominee, Dr. Charles Johnson, and the Liberian nominee, Mr. Arthur Barclay, formerly President of the Republic of Liberia.

African World
2-22-30
London, England

Republic of Liberia.

THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.

Dr. Cuthbert Christy and Mr. C. S. Johnson Interviewed.

African World

Interviewed by a Press representative at Monrovia in mail week, Dr. Cuthbert Christy, the League of Nations Representative on the International Commission of Inquiry, who is also chairman of the Commission, and Dr. Charles S. Johnson, the American member, said that the evidence of persons wishing to make statements would be given to the Commission in privacy, and not in public gatherings, as the public expected it would be. They explained that if evidence were given in public it would necessitate debate and refutation of statements by persons in the audience who might not agree with such statements, and the investigation in that case would have to be conducted indefinitely. Another reason given that the statements should be made privately is that they should be made without the least restraint or embarrassment on the part of the witnesses, and in the fullest confidence to the Commission.

The delegates wished to make it plain that any citizen or resident can be brought in touch with the Commission by simply addressing a note to the Commission expressing his or her intention.

As soon as this is done, such person or persons will be immediately put in confidential hearing of the Commission, where statements are expected to be made in perfect frankness. It is evident that the more privately the evidence is given the better able the stenographers will be to facilitate their work.

With the practical experience of Dr. Christy and Dr. Johnson in their respective countries there can be no doubt that with the co-operation of the Liberian public light will be thrown upon these questions Liberia herself has not been sure of.

Forced Labor in Liberia

Nation 2-26-30 New York, N.Y.

CHARGES of forced labor and slavery in Liberia have been so persistent in recent years that a commission was named in August, 1929, to investigate conditions there. The commission consists of three persons, one each appointed by the League of Nations, the United States government, and the Liberian government. The American representative, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, a professor at Fisk University, has lately gone to Liberia, and it is understood that the commission will start its inquiry some time in the spring. We print herewith a letter of protest and appeal to the League of Nations which describes the alleged conditions of native laborers in Liberia. It is signed by Thomas J. R. Faulkner, citizen of Liberia, who was a candidate for the presidency of Liberia in 1927. He was defeated by the present incumbent, Charles King. His letter, addressed to the League of Nations on June 20, 1929, and not hitherto printed, is as follows:

SIR ERIC DRUMMOND, Secretary-General
League of Nations
Geneva, Switzerland

SIR: It is because of my great interest in the native people of Liberia that I attempt, through you, to approach the League of Nations in behalf of these people and to protest the treatment they are at present subjected to.

The natives of Liberia are forced to work on the roads under the following conditions:

1. They are forced to work nine months of the year.
2. They are compelled to furnish their own tools.
3. They receive no compensation whatever for roadwork
4. They are compelled to furnish their own food.
5. They are compelled to furnish food, i.e., rice and palm-oil, to the commissioner and to the soldiers who act as overseers.
6. Upon failure of the chief of a tribe to supply the demanded number of men, he is at once heavily fined and forced to pay cash forthwith or go to jail. Often these men are compelled to pawn their wives and children to get the money to pay these fines.
7. For the most trivial thing the laborers are fined small sums and forced to pay in cash, which is quite an impossibility. They often have to sell their food, which they have brought long distances, to get the money to meet these fines.
8. It is said that men on the roads are whipped so severely that they die from the injuries, but because high officials are implicated it has never been possible to get a report of the facts. The natives, of course, are afraid to inform against these powerful men.

As a result of this system of forced labor, the natives are leaving the country in large numbers. Mr. Raymond Leslie Buell, whose writings on Liberia are in every detail correct, speaks briefly of this fact in his work, "The Native Problem in Africa." Coupled with this condition of forced labor in Liberia, is the even more pernicious practice of shipping laborers to the island of Fernando Po. This is carried on by and through the high officials of the Liberian government, and it is therefore impossible to ask the courts, the legislature, or any other official agency to interfere, since all are creatures of the President and will not attempt to act. Thus this traffic in human beings goes on with impunity. The inducement to force the natives out of the country lies in the sum paid by the farmers of Fernando Po —£10 ($50) for each boy. This money is divided among the official classes of Liberia, and the poor native is without redress.

The legislature endeavored to put a stop to this shipment of laborers out of Liberia, but the counties of Sino and Maryland refused to be included in the law, since the Vice-President and Postmaster-General are the shipping agents from those counties, and the President is a party to the transaction.

Thus the law fell short of its final object and affected only the counties of Cape Mount, Grand Basa, and Montserrado. But even in these three counties the law is evaded. The shipping agents, whose names I mention below, ship boys from these counties as passengers to Sino, whence they are reshipped to Fernando Po. This is open violation of the law, yet it cannot be stopped. For the county of Maryland the Hon. Allen C. Yancy, Vice-President of Liberia, is the appointed shipping agent.

On one occasion, the native African Commissioner-General, the Hon. Reginald G. Sherman, on an official visit to the county of Sino saw the frontier soldiers being used to catch and detain boys for shipment to Fernando Po. He at once put a stop to it and reported it to the President. Mr. Sherman was immediately dismissed for his pains, and the shipping goes merrily on against the interest of the farmers of Liberia, as well as the Firestone Plantation works. Also, as stated above, this is fast depopulating the country, interfering with the getting of produce and the production of food products for the populace of the country.

The principal reason for my appeal to the League of Nations is that this condition of affairs cannot much longer exist in Liberia without resulting in bloodshed. President King feels that he is so well fortified as President of Liberia that he is immune from harm or influence in his demeanor as a self-instituted dictator of the little republic. Therefore I take this method in an attempt to prevent that which is sure to come if the League of Nations, of which Liberia is a member, does not in a friendly way interpose and stop this oppression of the native people—that is, a bloody fight or a revolution.

I would, if permitted, make this suggestion: Let the representatives at Monrovia of the nations who are members of the League be requested to make a report on the statements that I have made—as to their truthfulness and correctness—and then take such action as you deem best suited to give to the natives the relief we ask.

[Signed] THOMAS J. R. FAULKNER

Labor conditions in Liberia are of special interest to Americans because of the large amount of American capital invested there. The Firestone company, for instance, has extensive rubber plantations in Liberia. Raymond Leslie Buell, writing in *The Nation* of May 2, 1928, has this to say concerning the agreement between the Firestone company and the Liberian government by means of which the former is assisted in maintaining an uninterrupted supply of labor:

One article of the Firestone Planting Agreement frankly provides that the Liberian government will "encourage and assist the efforts of the lessee to secure and maintain an adequate labor supply." The government has already established a labor bureau to furnish the . . . men. According to the Negro head of this bureau, Mr. Firestone pays to the government and the chiefs for each man recruited one cent per day. While there is no enactment obliging the men to work, the order of the chief is, in fact, law and few dare disobey it.

Reception By The People's Party To Hon. T. J. R. Faulkner.

Liberian News

A reception was tendered to the Hon. T. J. R. Faulkner, Leader of the People's Party by the local Party on the 14th inst. at the Pavilion in this City. There were present about 200 persons of both political Parties. A hearty ovation was given to Mr. Faulkner when he arose to speak. After Counsellor G. H. Van Dinmoren on behalf of the Party presented him with a beautiful gold chain with a trumpet thereon.

January 1930 Vol. XII no. 1.

Mr. Faulkner read a copy of the letter he wrote to the Secretary General of the League of Nations. In that letter he invited the attention of the League to certain conditions he alleged to be existing in Liberia, and which an International Commission will soon investigate.

Monrovia Liberia

We regret very much that Mr. Faulkner did not read the reply to the said letter. The people are desirous of having full information on both sides of the controversy.

New Slavery Charges Leveled at Liberians; Lady Simon Says Officials Are Involved

Times

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Oct. 15.—A charge that descendants of American Negro slaves are now busy in slave owning and slave raiding in Liberia was made today by Lady Simon, wife of Sir John Simon and author of a notable book on slavery.

10-16-30

Many of these abuses, she declared in a public address, are being committed not only by private citizens but by Libero-American Negro officials—including those in the highest positions—for private gain. The facts are so clearly established, in Lady Simon's opinion, that the American, British and French Governments are morally bound to intervene to stamp out the evil.

New York

"From a document in my possession," said Lady Simon, "it is clear that the forthcoming report of the international commission of inquiry will show that natives have been shipped from the West African Coast under conditions hardly distinguishable from slave trading and slave raiding. I think there devolves now upon the United States Government—and to some extent upon the British and French Governments—the responsibility of coming to the aid of the Liberian Republic and offering assistance in bringing about far-reaching and adequate reforms, including total abolition of the system under which these grave abuses have admittedly occurred."

Serious charges of enforced labor without pay in Liberia and of "recruiting" of such unpaid Liberian laborers for services outside the African republic are now under investigation by an international commission. But the inquiry was so long delayed after it had been proposed that Liberia had time to remedy the alleged conditions, according to a report of the Foreign Policy Association.

It has been charged that Liberia uses compulsory unpaid labor for road construction and other public works. In some cases, it is alleged, natives had been obliged to work nine months out of the year and also to furnish their own food and tools.

Furthermore, there have been charges of laborers being rounded up in Liberia for work on the rich cocoa plantations of the island of Fernando Po in the Gulf of Guinea, which is governed by the King of Spain.

Race Problem - 1930

Africa

PROBERS FIND SLAVERY EXISTS IN LIBERIA, W.A.

Afro-American

Native Men Worked; "White Slavery" for Women

Baltimore Md

OFFICIALS GUILTY

Vice-President Yancy Among those Named.

(Reproduction Prohibited)
Liberia Bureau of the AFRO.

MONROVIA, Liberia. — Use of slave women to attract men to a plantation (white slavery), enforced la or on government roads, and shipment of natives as slaves out of the country, are reported by the International Liberian Slave Commission, under date of September 15.

The report, evidently a summary, captioned, "The Liberian Official Gazette, Published by Authority," a four-page pamphlet, has been distributed here and in Europe, despite the fact that news reaching here is to the effect that the U.S. commissioner, Charles S. Johnson, has been in Nashville since October 14, and the U.S. State Department as late as October 10th reported that the commission's report had not been received.

EDITOR'S NOTE—The State Department again said on October 16th that the commission's report had not been received.

All Europe knows about the commission's report although the U.S. is still in darkness.

Vice President Named

The commission named, among other high government officials, Vice-President Yancy, who ordered Liberian troops to recruit labor, and, who assisted in the enslavement of natives.

Recommends Americans

Besides recommending American immigration, and the ousting of five Liberian District Commissioners, the International Commission recommended the appointment of Europeans or Americans in their places.

Native Policy to be Corrected

The commission recommended the breaking down of barriers between the natives and the civilized Liberians. It urged Liberia to stop oppressing the natives, to cease humiliating their chiefs and to open the doors of public schools to everybody.

T. J. R. Faulkner, former American, but now a naturalized Liberian, initiated the probe by the League of Nations committee over a year ago by charging that Spanish agents paid $50 for each laborer, $15 of which went to President King, $15 to Vice-President Allen Yancy, shipping agent, $15 to a number of petty officials, and $5 to the headman of the tribe who selected the laborers.

The full text of the Commission's report as published in Liberia follows:

Liberia.

THE
LIBERIA OFFICIAL GAZETTE
(Published by authority)

VOL. VII. SEPT. 15, 1930 No. 8

The International Commission of Enquiry set up by the Liberian Government to enquire into the question of Slavery and Forced Labour in Liberia having concluded their enquiry, submitted their report on the 8th of September, 1930.

For Public information pending the printing of the full Report the Findings of the Commission are herewith published together with a summary of the Suggestions and Recommendations:

THE COMMISSION'S FINDINGS:

(a) Whether slavery as defined in the Anti-Slavery Convention in fact exists in the Republic.

The Commission finds that although classic slavery carrying the idea of slave markets and slave dealers no longer exists as such in the Republic of Liberia, slavery as defined by the (1926) Anti-Slavery Convention does exist insofar as inter- and intra-tribal domestic slavery exists. Pawning is also recognized in the social economy of the Republic.

10-25-30

Government Discourages

(b) Whether this system is participated in or encouraged by the Government of the Republic.

The Commission finds that domestic slavery is discouraged by the Government in that any slave who appeals to the courts for release may be granted his freedom on a writ of **Habeas corpus** or upon direct proceedings against his master or owner. Evidence before the Commission showed that in some cases domestic slaves have obtained their freedom upon evidence of ill treatment.

Baltimore Md

Women to Attract Men

(c) Whether and what leading citizens of the Country participate therein.

The Commission finds that there has been no evidence that leading citizens of the country participate in domestic slavery, but there is evidence that some Americo-Liberians take natives as pawns, and in some instances have criminally abused the system for personal ends by taking women as pawns and using them to attract male labourers to their land.

Forced Labor on Roads

(d) To what extent compulsory labour exists as a factor in the social and industrial economy of the State, either for public or private purposes, and if it does exist, in what manner it has been recruited and employed whether for public or private purposes.

The Commission finds that forced labour has been made use of in Liberia chiefly for motor road construction, for building civil compounds and military barracks, etc. and for porterage. That this labour has been wastefully recruited and used, frequently under conditions involving systematic intimidation and ill-treatment on the part of the Government officals, messengers and Frontier Force soldiers. That labour recruited by County Superintendents and District Commissioners for public purposes in many instances has been diverted to prvate use on the farms and plantations of high Government officials and private citizens. That none of this labour has been paid, though paid labour may exist on the plantations; on the other hand in Maryland some of it has been made to pay large sums to the plantation owners to be released from a term of unpaid and unfed labour.

Shipment of Laborers

(e) Whether shipment of contract labourers to Fernando Poo under the terms of arrangement with Spain, or shipment of such labourers to the Congo or any other foreign parts is associated with slavery, and whether the method employed in recruiting such labourers carries any compulsion.

The Commission finds that a large proportion of the contract labourers shipped to Fernando Poo and French Gabun from the Southern counties of Liberia have been recruited under conditions of criminal compulsion scarcely distngushable from slave raiding and slave trading, frequently by misrepresenting the destination.

Labor Impressed

(f) Whether the labor employed for private purposes on privately owned or leased plantations is recruited by voluntary enlistments or is forcibly impressed for this service by the Liberan Government or by its authority.

The Commission finds that labour employed for private purposes on privately owned plantations has been impressed for this service on the authority of high Government officials. That there is no evidence that the Firestone Plantations Company consciously employs any but voluntary labour on its leased rubber plantations; but, this however, was not always the case when recruiting was subject to Government regulation, over which the Company had little control. That all the Company's labourers are free to terminate their employment at will.

Vice-President Yancy

(g) Whether the Liberian Government has at any time given sanction or approval to the recruiting of labour with the aid and assistance of the Liberian Frontier Force or other persons holding official positions or in Government employ, or private individuals have been implicated in such recruiting with or without Government's approval.

The Commission finds that Vice-President Yancy and other high officials of the Liberian Government, as well as County Superintendents and District Commisioners have given their sanction for the compulsory recruitment of labour for road construction, for shipment abroad and other work, by the aid and assistance of the Liberian Frontier Force; and have condoned the utilisation of this force for purposes of physical compulsion on road construction, for the intimidation of villagers, for the humiliation and degradation of chiefs, for the imprisonment of inhabitants, and for the conveying of gangs of captured natives to the coast, there guarding them till the time of shipment.

SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1—Abandonment of the policy of the "Closed Door."

2—Extension of Education to all alike.

3—Native Policy to be reconstructed by
(a) Barrier between civilized and uncivilized being broken down.
(b) Abandoning the policy of suppressing the aboriginal people.
(c) Humiliation and degradation of Chiefs to cease.
(d) Tribal authority of chiefs to be re-established.

Remove Commissioners

4—Reorganization of Interior Adminstration by

(a) Removal of the present Five District Commissioners and to substitute and replace them by a higher grade of officials as District Commissioners or District Administrators. These would be assisted by assistant commissioners who might be selected from the Republic or from America. It is thought that the Senior Commisioners be either European or American. These officers to be selected by some form of Civil Service, examination for which might be held in Europe and America, and since the general standard required will be that of Europe or America it might be undesirable to admit as a candidate any youth or person who had not visited one or other continent.

Rearrange Counties

(b) Rearrangement of political divisions of the Country. This would be brought about by incorporating the five hinterland districts with the nearby coastal County, so as to cause each of the counties to extend as provinces from the Coast to the limits of the hinterland and their administration be incorporated with that of the Senior Commissioner who would be responsible only to the President.

Make Slavery Illegal

5—Pawning and domestic slavery to be made illegal as a preliminary to total abolition.

6—Shipment of labourers to Fernando Poo to cease.

7—The ambitious road programme of the Department of Public Works should be curtailed, if not closed down entirely, except in Montserrado County, where it can be under more efficient supervision.

8—Stricter control of the Frontier Force.

Cut Power of Soldiers

9—That Section 1082 of the Revised Statutes be so amended as to delete the following clauses with regard to the duties of the Liberian Frontier Force:
"in keeping roads open to trade and travel, and in enforcing such laws and regulations as are or that may hereafter be passed, relative to the aboriginal population . . . . . and in laying out a road from the interior to the coast."

Americans Invited

10—American immigration be encouraged as tending to open up education links with American trade affairs.

Slavery in Liberia

Afro-American

Baltimore Md

Semi-official reports of the International Slavery Commission appointed to investigate conditions in Liberia prove conclusively that slavery exists in the West African republic and that the vice-president of Liberia used federal troops to aid in man-hunting.

If government-aided slavery existed in Liberia, it is plain that the United States through diplomatic channels and consular reports knew about it. No wonder Secretary of State Stimson refuses to comment upon statements of travellers that the United States in part is responsible for slave conditions in Liberia.

More important is the fact that up to the time of the arrival of the commission, the Liberian government through official statements, denied the existence of slavery or forced labor.

The report of the International Commission discredits President King before the world, and despite his strong political following, Liberians and President King, himself, should be able to see that his usefulness as chief executive is at an end.

Liberia needs to clean house and very probably will. Honor to Mr. T. J. R. Faulkner, leader of the Liberian opposition party, who made the expose, and insisted that Liberian progress depends upon a change of policy.

High Liberian Officials Found Involved in Slave Trade There

10-25-30

Baltimore Md

(Republication Forbidden)

Special to the AFRO-AMERICAN.

MONROVIA, Liberia.—The International Commission which investigated slavery in Liberia not only found forced labor and slavery but in its report, made public semi-officially, declares government troops were used to collect and guard natives.

According to the report, natives are being oppressed by civilized Liberians and their chiefs humiliated and degraded.

Shipment of laborers to Spanish Fernando Poo, the report says, should cease and domestic slavery be made illegal preparatory to abolishing it altogether.

The report also urges the breaking down of existing caste lines between natives and civilized Liberians.

Five district commissioners should be fired and a higher type of official put in their places.

Dr. Chas. S. Johnson, of Fisk University, was the American member of the League of Nations Investigating Commission.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

London, England

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES

West African World

West African Railways.

The development of West Africa depends on two factors—education and transport. When the continent was parcelled out among the great European Powers, Great Britain, France, and Germany found themselves in possession of large blocks of tropical territory of great potential, but little actual, value. The oils and oil-seeds, the fibres, the minerals, and other products needed for feeding European populations and industries were there in abundance, if only they could be brought to the European markets, but they were out of reach. Owing to the conformation of the continent, there were few navigable rivers by which ships could sail to any considerable distance from the coast, while in most parts there were no roads because the tsetse fly prevented the use of beasts of burden. It was the tsetse fly which decided the policy of transport development in West Africa and forced on the advance from porterage to railways at one stride, the usual half-way station of roads being deferred until the advent of the road-using, self-propelled motor-vehicle, which is beginning to rival its predecessor. About 1879 financiers began to make offers to build railways in West Africa, but the Colonial Office declined to guarantee interest on the capital so expended, and forbade the local Governments, which could not themselves build the railways, to assist companies to raise capital. The Colonies were caught in a vicious circle: they could not increase their revenues until railways were built, and they could not build the necessary railways until their revenues increased sufficiently to defray the cost. The spell was broken in 1895, when Mr. Joseph Chamberlain enabled the local Governments to start the building of railways by advancing them money from Imperial funds. Railway construction was started in Nigeria in March, 1896, and in the Gold Coast two years later.

The Beginnings. 10-11-30

The first section of the Nigerian Railway was begun at Iddo in 1896, and was carried as far as Ibadan, 126 miles, at a cost of £7,064 per mile, and opened for public use on March 4, 1901. Further progress was delayed by lack of revenue and by a dispute between the Governments of Northern and Southern Nigeria. Sir Frederick Lugard, the Governor of Northern Nigeria, advocated the use of the River Niger as far as Baro, whence, he stated, a line could be built at the impossibly low figure of £1,400 per mile. In 1904, the revenue having increased, the extension of the Lagos line from Ibadan to Oshogbo was sanctioned, and was opened to traffic on April 22, 1907. A separate line was constructed from Baro via Minna, Kaduna, and Zario to Kano, at a cost of £3,800 per mile, and was opened for traffic in August, 1909. The Lagos line reached Ilorin in August, 1908, and Jebba (306 miles) a year later. A junction with the Baro-Kano line at Minna was effected, and through traffic from Iddo to Kano (700 miles) was opened on November 3, 1911. The two lines had cost up to then £5,586,435, or at the rate of £6,200 per mile. In the same year the Gaucni light railway was begun. In 1912 the two lines were brought under one administration. The third-class fare over the first 200 miles from Lagos was fixed at a halfpenny, and over the rest of the line at one farthing per mile; 1,159,710 passengers and 174,967 tons of commercial goods were carried in 1913; the gross receipts amounted to £646,921, and working expenses to £385,130, leaving £261,791 to meet interest and sinking fund on capital.

The cost of railway building in the Gold Coast was much greater, owing to higher wages and lack of ballasting material. Work was begun at the Sekondi terminus in August, 1898. Owing to work being interrupted by the Ashanti Expedition of 1900-01, the Sekondi-Takwa section (forty miles) was not completed till May, 1901. The Takwa-Obuasi section was completed, and the first train ran through on December 24, 1902. Kumasi was reached in October, 1903, and the line was taken over from the Construction Department in April, 1904. The average cost up to December 31, 1903, was approximately £10,700 per mile. In the first year 89,634 tons of goods and 23,412 passengers were carried; the total earnings were £148,097, of which £113,394 was from goods traffic and £21,475 from passengers. The percentage of expenditure to earnings was 61.76, and of net earnings 3.18 on the capital outlay. In 1905 the Prestea Railway, Ltd., built a light line from Fura Junction to Prestea (26½ miles). In 1912 the line from Accra to Mangoase was taken over from the contractors. At the end of 1916 there were 254 miles of 3 ft. 6 in. gauge, and ten miles of 2ft. 6 in. gauge lines in operation. The total construction cost was £3,170,650, the total receipts were £493,582 (goods £370,884, passengers £122,697), and the expenditure, exclusive of interest, £199,425.

Railways To-day.

In the intervening years much work has been done. In Nigeria a line has been built from Port Harcourt via Kagoro and Jos to Kaduna and Zaria, with a north-westerly extension to Kaura, and the main line has been carried on from Kano in a north-easterly direction to Nguru. The report on the operations during 1929-30 by the general manager, Mr. E. M. Bland C.M.G., is a record of good progress, in spite of the general depression, most of the returns being "records," due to extension. The mileage operated amounted to 1,744, constructed at a total cost of £19,765,483, and an average of £11,105 per mile. During the last seven years the receipts have steadily increased, and in the year under review amounted to £2,692,661, of which 76.69 per cent. was derived from goods and 14.46 per cent. from passenger traffic, the net profit was 5.25 per cent. on the capital expenditure. 3,851,060 passengers and 929,608 tons of commercial merchandise were carried. There was an increase of 42,000 tons in ground-nuts to 157,000 tons, and of over 9,600 tons in cotton and cottonseed to 21,382 tons. A surplus of £75,094 was transferred to general revenue.

Owing to the general depression caused by the fall in the market price of cocoa and drastic reductions in rates in November, 1929, Mr. R. H. Dawson's report on the Gold Coast Railways is less bright. The surplus revenue was reduced to £31,724 from £133,916 in the previous year. There was a decrease in passengers of 28,438 to 1,846,564, who paid £268,885 in fares, a decrease of 4.88 per cent. Owing to an increase of 136,705 tons in manganese, goods traffic showed a gross increase, but the effect of the depression was shown by a decrease of 26,165 tons in cocoa carried and of £50,843 in revenue. The net earnings (£539,323) gave a return of 5.87 per cent. on the capital expenditure of £9,180,448. The figures show a good record of progress in railway building, but as there are still only 21.7 miles of railway in Nigeria and 15.7 miles in the Gold Coast (including Ashanti and the Northern Territories) per 1,000 square miles of area, there is plenty of room for extension.

W. F. H.

Found Slavery in Liberia, and They Walked 165 Miles

Afro-American

10-25-30



DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON
of Fisk University



JOHN F. MATHEWS
of West Virginia State College

Baltimore Sun

U.S. Commissioner (left) and his secretary, whose report in part is reprinted (from an unofficial source) in the AFRO this week.

They arrived in New York Octobre 13 on the Leviathan aftre seven months in Liberia with the International Commission investigating slavery. They sailed from New York last January. Official reports were submitted to the League of Nations and also to the U.S. State Department which, as late as October 16, said it had no report from the commission.

Both members of the party were well, and in their Liberian investigations walked 165 miles, part of it during the rainy season.

Race Problem-1930

Africa.

Abyssinia.

Ceremony at Addis Ababa, Abyssinian Capital City, to Be Witnessed by Throng

Amsterdam News

Costly Gifts on Way From Kings, Emperors and Presidents—Hoover Dispatches Autographed Photograph

10-22-30

New York, N.Y.

(Special Correspondence.)

ADDIS ABABA, Abyssinia.—From all points on the globe representatives of the various nations are converging on this capital city to witness the coronation of Negus Ras Tafari and his queen, Waizeru Menen, who on November 2 will become emperor and empress of the oldest dynasty in the world.

France's coronation gift is an aeroplane, which is also on its way here. Presidents Hoover of the United States and von Hindenburg of Germany are sending autographed photographs. The German chief executive is also sending 500 bottles of the finest Rhine wines. Costly gifts are on the way from the Kings of England, Belgium and Italy, the Emperor of Japan and the President of France.

One of King George's gifts to Tafari, who will be crowned His Majesty, Haile Sillassie I, is a coronation cake weighing nearly a ton. The Duke of Gloucester, third son of King George, will represent his father at the ceremony.

Three years ago when Tafari was proclaimed Negus he led a procession on an ass while his followers trekked on foot. On coronation day he will ride either in a Rolls-Royce or the coach formerly used by Emperor Wilhelm, which he purchased from Germany for $6,000.

Night of Prayer.

Tafari will pass the entire night preceding the coronation in solemn meditation and prayer at St. George's Cathedral, says the New York Tribune, while "outside, thousands of Abyssinian Christians, subjects of the 'King of Kings and Lion of Judea,' will stand during the vigil holding lighted candles, sacred images and ecclesiastical banners.

"Silently and alone, within the dark cloistered walls of the famous church, built by the Emperor Menelik as a thank offering for the victory of the Abyssinians over Italian troops in 1896, the two sovereigns throughout the night will invoke the blessings of Heaven upon their reign, their people and their country.

Ceremony at Dawn.

"As dawn breaks through the inner sanctuary, their majesties, clad in gorgeous robes of crimson velvet embroidered with gold and set with diamonds, will be crowned by the Coptic archbishop, assisted by six other bishops. The archibishop and the bishops will pronounce a Te Deum in the Gees language, which is the ancient ecclesiastical tongue of Abyssinia.

"The crowns today reposed on a high altar in the church, the six bishops praying over them for twenty-one days before the coronation. The precious stones and gold with which they are set were purchased in Europe and made by master goldsmiths of the country at a cost of $1,000,000.

"The coach will be drawn by splendid white horses imported from Hungary, driven by the former coachman of the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria.

Capital City Two Miles Up.

"Addis Ababa, the country's capital, perched at an altitude of two miles above sea level, has undergone a complete refitting within the last month. Fifty miles of new highways have been built, palaces, churches, stores and dwellings have been hastily remodeled and triumphal arches, electric light displays and pennants and banners have been put up.

"Thousands of cases of foodstuffs, wines, furniture, carpets and other material for the Emperor and his guests have recently been brought in from Europe. The government has commandeered all the automobiles, trucks and carriages in the city and taken over the hotels. For three months officials have been working day and night to give the capital a gala dress for the enthronement of the oldest dynasty in the world.

"The Abyssinians were converted to Christianity in the fourth century and have kept up their connection with the Alexandrian Church through their 'Abuna', or chief bishop, who is always a Copt and is appointed by the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria."

Tafari's Career.

"It was in September, 1916, that there occurred a rebellion against Lij Yasn, grandson of Menelik of blessed memory," reported the New York Times recently. "Tafari, then only 25 years old, led a successful revolt, and when Zauditu, daughter of Menelik, placed on the throne her cousin, Tafari was named regent. With the religious chiefs firm in their opposition to him Tafari's chances looked slim. Ras Gugsa Wolye, husband of the Empress, maintained himself as local king in the northwest and other chieftains showed their contempt for Tafari. But Tafari was patient. In 1926 he beat the revolt led to the walls of Addis Ababa by Balcha.

"Then in 1928 he so turned the tables against the leaders of what

Abyssinian Ruler



Emperor Tafari

was known as the palace revolt that he was crowned Negus. He continued to consolidate his position, even importing French airplanes to scatter propaganda pamphlets denying allegations that he was a Roman Catholic and not a good member of the National Church. He worked so well that when, at the first of last year Gugsa tried to start a rebellion against him, the husband of the Empress found himself isolated. Tafari sent an army of 25,000 men against Gugsa. A battle took place on March 31, Gugsa was killed and his army routed. And two days later the Empress died suddenly."

Tafari was proclaimed King on April 3 last.

Julian in Paris en Route To Abyssinian Coronation

PARIS.—Colonel Hubert Julian of the Abyssinian air forces arrived here on the Europa and after spending two days in Paris has left for Genoa, Italy, where he will take a ship for Abyssinia.

Negro Word

At the Abyssinian legation here, Julian was cordially received. A letter of official thanks will be sent to the American newspapers for their reception of him.

10-11-30

Accompanied by two friends this writer went to the legation and was informed by Acting Minister Massai that the latter was very much satisfied with Julian's work, and most of all of the fact that Julian had returned from America so quickly.

New York Amsterdam News

There is no doubt whatever that Julian left Abyssinia on a special mission for the Emperor Taffari. The Acting Minister—the Minister, I learned, has left for the opening of the League of Nations at Geneva, and had received Julian two days before—left no doubt of this. When asked whether he was satisfied with Julian, he replied: "Tres-bien, Tres-bien." (Very well, very well).

When Julian mentioned the fact that he wanted to bring two friends to Abyssinia to settle, the Acting Minister replied that since Julian knew one who is next to the emperor, that Julian should take the matter up with him when he arrived in Addis-Abada.

Whatever the falling out on the other side, Julian is O. K. on this side.

It is hinted here that the emperor runs the country himself, that Taffari has given Julian special orders, and that Julian is up to his old game of talking too much. Lieut. Col. Julian seems to have a good job in Abyssinia and is anxious to get back at it. As to his being decorated by the emperor this was again confirmed by one Mr. Jackson from California, who is now in Paris.

Julian seems plentifully supplied with funds from the pace he set here on both occasions.

Congratulate Ras

Chicago Defender

10-25-30

Announcement that the United States has named a white envoy and also a white educational adviser to Abyssinia caused many people to wonder whether the land of Sheba isn't inviting the same sort of intervention under which Haiti, San Domingo and the Philippines suffer.

However, there comes reassuring news from Paris. Ras Tafari, the new Emperor who ascends the throne next month tells Europeans he is a Negro. To his coronation he has invited as his guests, among others, J. A. Rogers, of the AFRO Paris Bureau, Miss Augusta Savage, the New York sculptress and Hubert Julian, Canadian aviator and parachute jumper.

Also in sending your congratulations to this newest black African ruler, hope that, having kept their country for nineteen centuries out of the hands of Europeans, the Abyssinians will also be able to steer clear of entanglements with America's covetous bankers.

Fit for a King



International Photo.

YUM, YUM! Doesn't it make your mouth water to see this London (England) chef putting the finishing touches to this 5-foot 1-inch, 150-lb. cake, which will grace the table during the banquet to be given by Sir Sidney Barton at Addis Abada in honor of the coronation of Ras Tafari as King of the Kings of Ethiopia (Abyssinia). The cake has a gold base of 22 inches. **STORY ON PAGE THREE**

Abyssinian King Banishes Black Eagle of Brooklyn

Julian's Wings Are Clipped by Ras Tafari When He Crashes Royal Plane After Joy Ride

ADDIS ABABA, Abyssinia, Oct. 31.—(AP)—The emperor of Ethiopia, Ras Tafari, has clipped the wings of his "Black Eagle"—the one-time Harlem negro, "Colonel" Herbert Julian—and ordered him out of the country in disgrace.

His majesty's wrath was aroused because Julian took the royal airplane into the air against orders and descended suddenly and unintentionally in a mass almost at the potentate's feet. "Colonel" Julian was not hurt, but the plane was a wreck; and it was a plane of which Ras Tafari was particularly proud.

His majesty had obtained the plane from the daughter of Gordon Selfridge, London department store owner, for the purpose of showing foreigners at the forthcoming coronation ceremonies that an Ethiopian could fly as well as Lindbergh.

Julian, well known among American negroes for his parachute jumps and his ill-fated flights "around the world" and "from Harlem to Liberia," attributed his unfortunate accident to spite work and jealousy on the part of a French airman.

The Frenchman, a captain, until recently was head of the Ethiopian air forces. Julian said the officer did not want him to become the "Ace of Ethiopia."

Up to the very day of his crack-up in the royal airplane, Julian was a dazzling figure here. The Abyssinians, to whom flying still is a most amazing accomplishment, were greatly thrilled by his parachute jumps and his flying feats.

On one occasion Julian parachuted from a height of 5,000 feet, landing almost at the feet of the astonished Ras Tafari. His majesty was so pleased that he presented him with $300 and decorated him with the Star of Ethiopia. The more he thought about the performance, the more delighted the emperor became, and he subsequently gave Julian an additional $1,500 to send to his family in New York.

The smash-up of the plane, however, made a painful impression upon Ras Tafari and upon the Abyssinians as well. His highness was incensed not only at the wrecking of the craft but also at the Harlem negro's defiance of orders in taking it into the air.

Ras Tafari conferred at length with his foreign minister. The advisability of putting Julian in jail was given earnest consideration. The idea was abandoned only after the emperor decided it would be too expensive for the government to feed the prisoner.

The American consul general was appealed to by the foreign minister. A temporary visitor's visa was sought, so Julian might return to the United States. Such action was deemed advisable inasmuch as Julian had changed his nationality from British West Indian to Ethiopian.

The request for the visa was granted, but the Harlem "colonel" was in a sad state of finances—a circumstance that made any journey to America, temporary or otherwise, quite a problem.

Americans here, however, came forward with loans of a sufficient total to provide Julian with funds to pay his railroad fare to Djibuti.

And to Djibuti the "Black Eagle" has flown.

Muskingum Professor Named Advisor To The Abyssinian Government

Frank Work to Advise On Education — Ras Taffar Is King, Ruler, Chief Justice And High Priest.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 25—(CNS)—Frank Ernest Work, white, professor of history at Muskingum College, New Concord, O., has accepted the post of advisor to the department of education of the Abyssinian government, and will begin his duties in October. The position is for a one- to three-year term.

Early in August Professor Work was invited to Washington by a representative of the Abyssinian government, Cantiga Gabru, where the formal offer from the emperor was presented.

Death of Zauditu, Queen of Ethiopia (Abyssinia), leaves the King of Ethiopia the sole ruler of the country. Ras Taffari, King of Ethiopia, was the grand-nephew of the queen.

"The Conquering Lion of Judah," which is the king's other name, has actually been acting sovereign of the independent African country since he was 24 years old," says a bulletin of the National Geographic Society.

"Ten million subjects in a land as large as the United States east of the Alleghanies swear fealty to Ras Taffari. Most of them are Christians, with an ancient well developed creed and a church organization that is as independent of other Christian sects as the Rumanian National Church. One of the king's cherished ambitions is to write the history of such Abbyssinian saints as St. George and St. Michael.

"Not content with the sufficiently grave responsibilities of ruling Ethiopia, the king has dedicated his life to reforming his people. He pours of elixir of western ways down their throats as fast as he thinks they can take the medicine. Most of Ethiopia is still in the feudal age, with chiefs and fighting men and serfs. Ras Taffari, like Henry II of England, makes his noblemen toe the mark of progress.

"Gradually he is opening up one of the richest regions of Africa. New roads are being made, schools and hospitals have been erected, and a modern telegraph and telephone system extended. In his own palace the king has established a printing press, Ethiopia's only book bindery and a model dairy.

"A silent man is Ras Taffari. He rules with the fewest possible spoken words. Ras Taffari combines the usual duties of rulership with the additional task of high priest, chief justice, commander-in-chief of the army, foreign minister and head of the interior department, to mention a few of his obligations. While he has a cabinet, most of the work falls on his own shoulders, so his normal working day begins at 6 in the morning and ends about 10 o'clock at night.

"Ethiopia's king is married and lives in a spacious house at Addis Ababa, the capital. Two sons and three daughters have been born to the ruler, and his wife and he take great interest in their children. Recently he bought one of them a tricycle. Occasionally the children are permitted to see motion pictures.

"Ras Taffari enjoys motion pictures and often shows films with his private projector for guests. He likes to drive his own car."

Abyssinia

Race Problem - 1930

Africa.

The Emperor Runs True To Form

PRIOR to and following the coronation of Ras Tafari as Emperor Haile Selassie of Abyssinia, or Ethiopia, there has been much discussion of the Emperor's racial identity, most of it intended to prove that he is not of African blood or origin. Naturally Europeans and Americans who understand the political significance of the glamorous emergence of the new ruler wanted to dissociate him with anything Negroid. So the scientists have undertaken to show that Haile Selassie and his Empress, as well as his subjects are a mixture of Semite and Arab, with a few other obscure antecedents thrown in—an African empire in the heart of Africa, not peopled or ruled by the descendants of Ham.

Journal and Guide

Now comes the report, however, that Haile Selassie is planning to dismantle his wooden palace and replace it with a modern structure costing a million dollars. To obtain the money to accomplish this he must sell certain concessions to European promoters and investors and make other commitments to foreigners that amount to giving a first mortgage on his kingdom. The possible consequences of such a step are insignificant to the new Emperor while he surveys the prospect of a sumptuous million dollar house, a fleet of high-powered automobiles, an army of retainers and all the high life that should, in his opinion characterize The Light of the World. He may not be a Negro, as many of the ethnologists are trying hard to prove, but he is acting very much like some of those who in America, came temporarily into possession of unofficial kingdoms of wealth and affluence and who lost their "thrones" because of a lack of sales resistence.

ONE-MAN AIR FORCE RETURNS TO HARLEM

Times

Col. Julian, Negro Flier, Denies Abyssinia Ejected Him for Breaking Up Plane.

11-19-30

SAYS HE WILL FLY BACK

New York N.Y.

Pilot Who Crashed at Throne of Emperor Asserts He Left to Thwart Plot to Poison Him.

Colonel Hubert Julian, Negro flier, "Harlem ace," adventurer and until recently the entire air force of the Kingdom of Abyssinia, returned to New York yesterday to deny vehemently that he was no longer dear to the heart of Haile Selassie I, the King of Kings.

Clad faultlessly in morning dress, and swinging a heavy malacca stick, Colonel Julian met newspaper men on the deck of the French liner Ile de France as the vessel steamed to her pier from Quarantine. He received atttention easily.

As the liner came up the North River in the clearing fog he posed for photographs, talked comfortably into a microphone, and made a speech covering his trip to Abyssinia as chief of the Emperor's air division. Recent cable dispatches from the capital of the empire had reported Colonel Julian as in disfavor with the Emperor, due to the destruction of the country's last fine airplane.

Not Banished, He Says.

Colonel Julian denied in no uncertain words that the Emperor had banished him from Abyssinia for crashing at the foot of the throne in a British built Moth plane.

"The Emperor and I parted on the best of terms," the Negro flier said, "and you can prove the logicalibility of this by sending a cablegram to the Emperor or a member of his staff."

Not only that, but such a cable could be sent at his expense, he said. As proof of the fact that he can (and will) return to Addis Ababa Colonel Julian showed that he was traveling on an Abyssinian passport probably the first person to come to the United States with one.

Persons in Abyssinia who were embittered by his popularity and his declarations as Air Minister of the empire had tampered with planes in which the Colonel was about to go aloft, he charged. Several peculiar things happened, particularly to the Moth plane which failed him at an inopportune moment.

Not only that, but other means were employed "to bump him off," the Colonel declared, using an underworld phrase which has found its way into Abyssinia. One of these, he said, was an attempt to poison him in his hotel after he had survived the crash of the ill-fated Moth.

"I don't fear being killed," he explained. "But I want to die with my boots on. The day of the crash I had done some flying which pleased the Emperor, and some parachute jumping which also pleased him. And I expect to go back to Abyssinia."

Before he resigned as Air Minister, Colonel Julian said, he had condemned several French planes which had been placed in service. Although these were old planes and in very bad condition, and he felt it his duty to condemn them, he attributed much of the ill-felling against him to his official act.

Plans to Fly Back.

"But the Emperor certainly was not displeased with me," he reiterated. "After the accident the Emperor sent to inquire how I was, and was agitated for fear I had been injured. Is that evidence of displeasure? Only last March a Junkers plane crashed, and the uncle of the Emperor was killed and the pilot incarcerated. Yet when my plane crashed I was not incarcerated."

Colonel Julian said that he was planning a flight from Harlem to Addis Abeba. The flight, he declared, would be non-stop to the nearest European point, and from there he planned to fly in another single hop to his adopted country.

The Colonel went to his home at 24 Lenox Avenue to rejoin his wife and daughter, and there he will make plans for the proposed flight.

One of the Negro flier's exploits took place six years ago, when he started toward the Atlantic Ocean from Harlem, planning to fly to Liberia. This flight ended disastrously when he landed suddenly in Flushing Bay.

Other adventures, including parachute descents into Harlem, attest to his daring, and he is rated as a good aviator.

He is 33 years old, and said yesterday his first flying experience came in Canada.



Associated Press Photo.

ABYSSINIA'S EX-AIR FORCE.

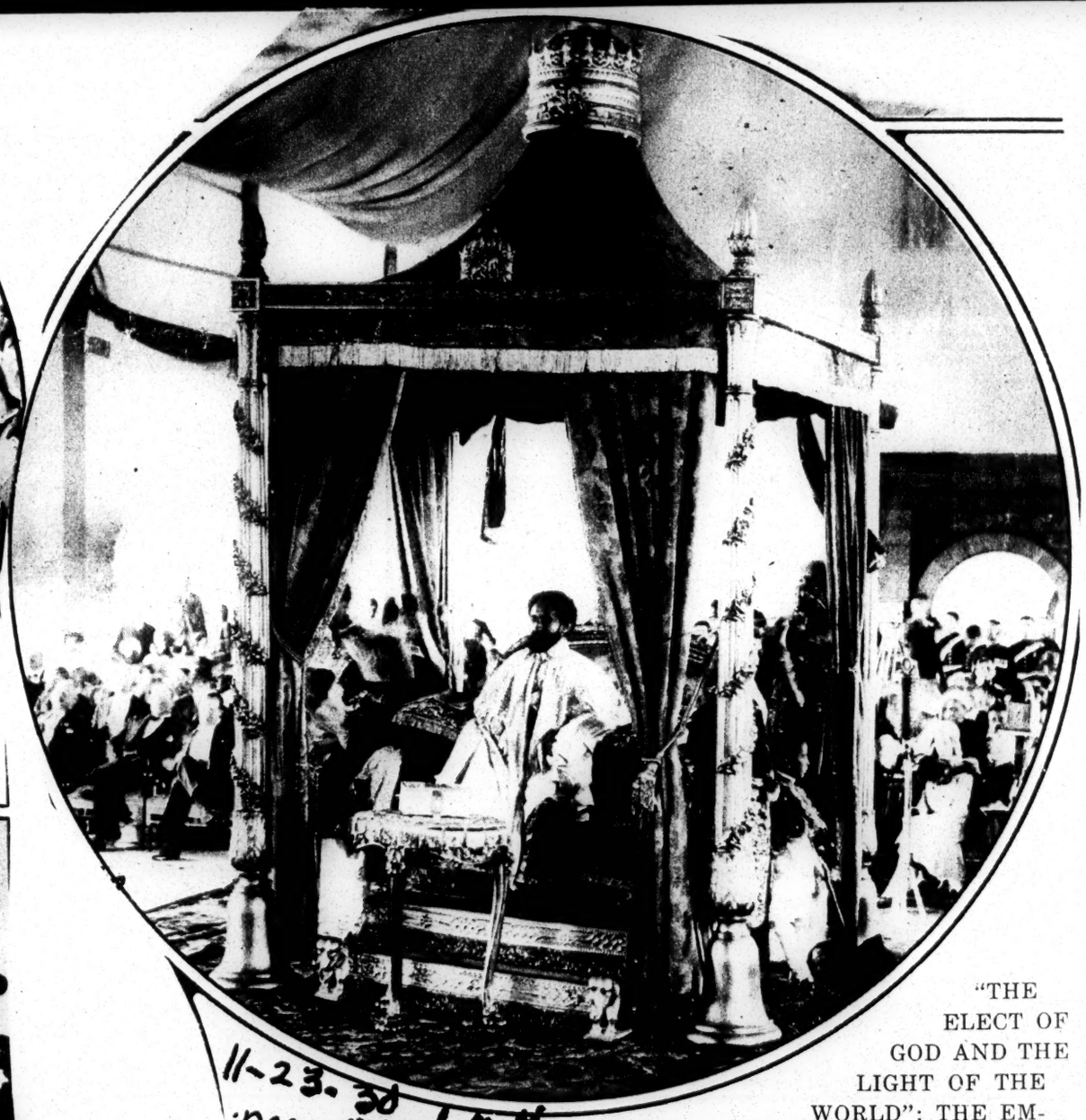
Col. Hubert Julian, Who Came Back to Harlem Yesterday.



THE EMPEROR OF ABYSSINIA HONORS HIS PREDECESSOR ON THE THRONE: HAILE SELASSIE I, "The King of Kings," at the Dedication of a Statue to King Menelik II in Front of the Cathedral at Addis Ababa.



THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE KING-EMPEROR AT THE CORONATION AT ADDIS ABABA: THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER,
Son of the King of England, Standing Beside the Heir Apparent to the Throne of Abyssinia.
(© P. & A.)



"THE ELECT OF GOD AND THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD": THE EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE I,
Who Claims Descent From King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, Sitting On His Throne Under a Silken Tent, at the Coronation Ceremonies in the Cathedral at Addis Ababa, Abyssinia. (Graphic Photo Union.)



ABYSSINIAN CORONATION.

Banquet at British Legation.

ADDIS ABABA, November 7.

Last night's banquet at the British Legation was a magnificent spectacle. The Emperor and Empress and State officials were present, and glittering uniforms and full decorations were worn, which made a splash of colour.

A firework display was an unqualified success. A Somali war dance was a barbaric and thrilling sight. Flaming torches added to the picturesqueness of the scene, and bonfires on the hills behind the Legation were visible over Addis Ababa. Dancing followed until the small hours of this morning.—Reuter.

Race Problem - 1930

Africa

Abyssinia

A DESCRIPTION OF A VISIT AMONG THE UNCONQUERED OFFSPRINGS OF THE FAMOUS QUEEN OF SHEBA

By MARY HINES HALL
(For The Associated Negro Press)
(An Exclusive Copyrighted Feature)
PART ONE

Upon the activities of a barbaric country six thousand miles from New York on the east coast of Africa the eyes of the world are looking today. That country is Abyssinia, or, properly and officially, Ethiopia, where on Sunday, November 2, the religious ceremonies attendant upon the coronation of the new emperor, Haile Selassie I, were observed, in the presence of the representatives of fourteen world powers.

Thirty-four years ago, the entire world was struck by the news from the kingdom of Ethiopia, telling of the crushing defeat which the Revered Emperor Menelik had inflicted upon the Italian army at Adowa, March 1, 1896.

For seven years the soldiers of the kingdom of Italy had dogged the fortunes of Ethiopia, obscuring before the world, Ethiopia's position of independence among the nations. Audaciously, Italy had informed the world that Ethiopia was her ward, that she would administer for the black kingdom in the capitals of white countries.

But Menelik arose to challenge this assumption. With marvelous energy and the most brilliant strategy he assembled the peoples of his kingdom to fight the foreign menace. Not only did the Italian send his best soldiers, his guns, and his money in an effort to subdue and to take Ethiopia, but his emissaries spread poisonous doctrine

Menelik, however, kept one pace in front of them, and came to Adowa with 120,000 armed men to repel the Italian invasion of his country. The Italian army was cut to pieces and repulsed among the different peoples, to keep them separated, so that they might be conquered one at a time.

More than three thousand prisoners were taken, and, before they were released, Italy had proclaimed to the world the independence of the sovereign state of Ethiopia.

For three years I had dreamed of going to this oldest empire of the world, whose rulers trace their ancestry to that memorable visit which the queen of Sheba paid to King Solomon of the Jews. I had builded for myself, in anticipation of this visit, a score of the castles made with air. I had read so many books, filled with the decorative language of the authors, describing the country, that I had a set opinion of the land of my dreams and nothing could destroy the desire to visit it. I had planned to stay in Abyssinia for a long, long time.

On the 30th day of January, 1930, we sailed out of the harbor of New York, bidding the Statue of Liberty, as I thought, a long goodbye.

Our first stop, after crossing the Atlantic, was at Saint Michael, the largest of the group of islands composing the Azores. We then went to Madiera, off the coast of Morocco. Here were found sights similar to those in our own West Indies. Divers, mostly Portuguese, make great sport of going after coins dropped by passengers from the steamships. The water of the Atlantic surrounding these islands is so clear that the money can be seen for many feet as it sinks. It seldom goes down straight, but the divers rarely fail to secure it. Other natives bring a variety of handmade articles on board the ship to sell, lovely Madiera work, and all kinds of baskets and wicker chairs.

11-9-30

Halt At Gibralter

Next we went to Gibralter, the gateway to the Mediterranean, controlled by Great Britain. It is a beautiful fort. This district was a continuous sight of battleships and soldiers. Then on we sailed by Algiers, French owned, which in spite of its dirt (?), presents a beautiful picture from its position on a high hill. On the crest of the hill stands an imposing church where pilgrims go to rest and to obtain long views of the Mediterranean, east and west. I remember vividly now Palermo and the Sicilian Islands, where we were awakened early one morning to see the volcano, Stromboli, in action; then Naples, as historic as it is beautiful—its cathedral, ample compensation for the arduous journey it entails; Pompey and its art museum, disclosing the splendor that was once Rome.

The first hitch in our journey occurred at Pireaus, Greece. There the police, through mistake, kept our passports.

We went on, however, to Constantinople, the New York of the east. Fewer people debarked there than at any other stop of the trip. Citizens of certain countries were not allowed ashore. Our steamer journeyed up the Bosphorus past the American College (Roberts) from which the students waved at us and our captain acknowledged their greeting with screeches of the ship's siren. We stopped at Constanza for a few hours and then went on to Beirut Syria.

Americans Gouged

This is the hardest place in the world to obtain what we Americans call a square deal. All over the east they gouge Americans when it comes to money matters. They think that all Americans are rich and that the proper thing to do is to make them pay in any way possible. Beirut was our stopping place until our passports were sent on by the Greek police.

One writer has said: "Of all the thieves and robbers in the whole world you find the worst in Port Said, Egypt." That is true. They come aboard to engage to take you ashore. Six and seven or as many as ten, men, will attach themselves to you. You think that you are being overwhelmed with politeness But the last one to come disabuses you of such a delusion. When he tells you the price for all this unsought service you will do well to keep from fainting The first man tells you for how little he will work. The last man itemizes the bills of all the others and presents you with a statement.

We spent five days in this dreadful city before taking a steamer of the Messageries Line for Djibouti in French Somaliland. These ships do not seem to be operated for persons of moderate means. The company charges as much for the trip from Port Said to Djibouti as it costs to go from Marseilles to Djibouti.

World's Hottest Place

Five days spent on the Red Sea puts us at Djibouti, the hottest place on earth. Every breath that one draws seems like fire. There is scarcely any vegetation. The drinking water tastes as if it was mixed with the salt water of the sea. The natives are called Somali. They are a black race, some with curly black hair and others with red hair.

The distance from Djibouti in French Somaliland to Addis Ababa is only five hundred miles, but the journey, stifling hot, takes three days. Leaving Djibouti, the narrow guage track runs through sand-covered wastes. In this sand the people sleep. When night falls they dig out holes in the sands to fit the curves of their body, then lay down and cover themselves with the shawl which they wear during the day. As we journeyed further from Djibouti into the interior of Abyssinia, there was more vegetation, but the district, except during the rainy season, is noted for its dryness.

Our first night's stop was made at Dire Daoua, a beautiful city planned by the French. No conductors call out the names of the station, so one has to keep up with the movements of other passengers in order not to be left. Great tall Abyssinians stand on highe boxes holding long sticks as you detrain. They are the customs officers. They go thru your luggage and make you pay them if you have anything subject to duty whether you are to stop in the city or not. The next morning, before leaving, you must pay again. When you reach Addis Ababa, you go through that species of holdup again.

Modern Hotels

The hotels of Dire Daoua are as modern as those of our own country, except for baths. The service is splendid and the food is delicious. One would never realize that he was in Ethiopia, especially if he had visited Addis Ababa before going to Dire Daoua. Frenchmen, Indians, Arabs, Egyptians, Greeks, Italians and Somalis, with a few Ethiopians, compose the population of Dire Daoua. The foreigners live in beautiful houses of the "country home" type, in the midst of flowers and fruits, hedges, and other kinds of greenery. They have electric lights and other modern conveniences in the houses. The streets are laid out as in a modern city. The native quarters are separated from the European by a sandy stretch. The natives are not prohibited from living in the European quarters if they can afford to build homes that will not mar the beauty of the section.

The second day's journey outside of Djibouti is much better than the first. It is not as hot, there is more of a stir of air and the scenery is more attractive. There are only a few trees along the entire route that are larger in diameter than Englishman's walking cane. Large droves of sheep and cattle are seen grazing along the way, their shepherd, armed with club or spear, always near. There are also many wild fowl, monkeys, goats and smaller animals. Almost every animal found anywhere else in the world lives in Abyssinia and some, like the nyala and the walia ibex, that are found in no other place. The second night's stop is made at Hawash, a fever spot, where the accommodations are much inferior to those at Dire Daoua.

Size and Population

Before entering the capital of Abyssinia, you should be given an idea of the size and nature of the country. It contains 350,000 square miles, and is as large as the states of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maine, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, combined. The population is 11,500,000. Most of Abyssinia is mountainous, and for that reason, the climate, except in the lowlands of Danakil and the swamps near Somaliland, is temperate, the mean annual temperature ranging from 60 to 80 degrees Fahrenheit. There is a dry season from October to mid-June and a rainy season from mid-June until late September.

The city of Addis Ababa, capital of Abyssinia, can be seen long before it is reached, built at the mast of mountains eight thousand feet above the sea. One gets the impression that it is a large, beautiful modern city. But, once reached, the filthiness of the place is nauseating to a foreigner.

It is best for the stranger to wait until some of the crowd has dispersed before detraining at Addis Ababa. The porters, or "graugers," as they are called, seize your baggage with no ceremony at all, and hustle you along. Unless you know well where you are going you will be lost and your baggage, too, between the difficulty of keeping up with these graugers and of keeping them out of fights. The custom men at Addis Ababa, as at Dire Daoua, perch themselves on high platforms; barefoot policemen stand around with long shotguns or rifles. The police in all the country carry these long guns. No revolvers are seen. If they have no guns, they carry long sticks. Such sticks are carried by all men and boys for protection against one another and against animals.

Bad Roads Found

The roads around Addis Ababa are very bad, although the government improved them in preparation for the coronation. The city is hilly, completely surrounded by mountain barriers. Nature has smiled kindly on the place, but the natives have made what we in America would call "a mess of it." Nearly all native houses are built of mud and worse looking huts are not found anywhere. Poles are stuck in the ground with a few rafters across the top for support. A mixture of mud, hay, and water is plastered outside these poles and rafters. The doors and windows to these huts are sometimes of corrugated iron, but, as a rule, there are no windows. There is no flooring inside the hut. The entire family, including the slaves and servants, mules, chickens, sheep and goats, stay in one or two rooms inside the hut.

The majority of the huts in Addis are lined with fleas. It is said that the mud the huts are made of are breeding soil for these insects. All houses are usually made of mud, even the whitewashed ones, and, if there is any doubt, one need only remain in the hut a few seconds to have that doubt removed by the appearance of the fleas. A visitor to Addis should take all the flea powders possible. No fleas are found in Dire Daoua, where the houses are made of volcanic rock and stucco, but there are millions of ants, as there are in all tropical countries.

Troublesome Insects

Another insect which is very troublesome in Addis is the "moyellie," so called by the natives. These insects get in the foot, preferably the toes, and if not removed, will cause bad sores very quickly. They are about the size of a pinhead and pinkish in color. If they get inside the body they cause death by laying white eggs which kill the surrounding tissue.

Addis Ababa is filled with eucalyptus trees, planted by Menelik after the natives had denuded the original forests. These trees give the town the appearance of a virtual forest city.

Ras Tafari, Midst Barbaric Splendor, Crowned King of Kings, Elect of God



Ras Tafari, 39-year-old emperor of Ethiopia, is shown at the right on his throne dressed in ceremonial robes and surrounded by his courtiers. At the left is Waizeru Menen, the queen consort. At the left above is a typical street scene in Addis Abada during a royal celebration.

Dignitaries of Many Nations Witness Lavish Coronation Ceremonies at Ethiopian Capital.

Constitution

BY JAMES A. MILLS.
Associated Press Staff Writer.

ADDIS ABABA, Abyssinia, Nov. 2. (AP)—Amidst barbaric splendor and lavish pageantry, Pas Tafari Mokonnen, the 39-year-old prince who has been regent of Abyssinia for 14 years, was crowned at dawn today as Emperor Haile Selassie I.

The United States was represented at the ceremonies by an official delegation and by private citizens from various sections of the country from Seattle to New York.

The coronation gives Ras Tafari, who claims descent from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, the titles of emperor, lord king of kings of Ethiopia, conquering lion of the tribe of Judah, the elect of God, and the light of the world.

Simultaneously, the royal consort, Princess Waziru Menen, a short, rotund woman of 40, was crowned as Queen Etega Menen, queen of queens of Ethiopia. This was virtually the queen's "coming-out party," as she heretofore has been confined to her housewifely and motherly duties in the royal household. She has five children, one of them married, and has taken no active part in court and state affairs. 11-3-30

Unparalleled.

The coronation ceremony, performed by the venerable Coptic Archbishop of Ethiopia, was unparalleled in modern times for quaintness, color and magnificence. The cost to the government was estimated at $3,000,000. For six months the nation has been preparing holiday garb for the occasion. Atlanta Ga.

As their majesties rode to the church through the dusty, rubble streets of the mountain capital, which were packed with tens of thousands of their braves and chieftains, the masses thundered forth cheers and wild, savage cries of acclaim. Scores of natives were trampled in the dust as the crowd surged to catch sight of the coronation party.

On either side of the potentates, acting as escorts of honor, were olive-skinned, black-bearded and curly-headed Ethiopian princes and tribal chiefs. They wore multi-colored costumes of silk and satin, embroidered in gold and silver. Their shields were of hippopotamus hides, and they had medieval swords and scabbards. Behind the monarch and his queen were the high priests in vestments of scarlet, green, yellow or purple, carrying gold and silver croziers and incense lamps. Following the ecclesiastics were groups of princes and grandees in black silk ceremonial capes, and the members of the cabinet and government in their national shammas.

Imperial Chariot.

Ras Tafari and his queen rode in the imperial chariot which once belonged to former Kaiser Wilhelm, of Germany. The carriage was drawn by six snow-white horses.

Arriving at the Church of St. George, they descended from the chariot, their coronation robes of scarlet and gold glittering in the sun. The sunlight was reflected fiercely from the gold and diamonds on their crowns, where the figures of the lion of Judah symbolized the national power.

The foreign princes, ministers and delegates had already taken their places in the church, which proved too small, in spite of recent additions for the throngs which clamored for admission. Their majesties found difficulty in making their way through the crowd to the inner sanctuary where the coptic archbishop performed the religious rites and ceremonials

The atmosphere was murky, almost suffocating with incense and the thick, stifling smoke of tallow candles. Constitution

Small of stature, thin, frail with delicate, almost feminine features, Ras Tafari nevertheless assumed a look of great dignity and solemnity as the archbishop placed the crown upon his head. Yet the emperor seemed dwarfed by Queen Waziru Menen, who is of Amazon proportions.

"God has annointed you to rule with justice," intoned the archbishop, as he crowned his liege. Then spoke the pontiff: "Gird the sword on your loins, and rule in peace. May the Lord God, supreme ruler of men, bless and glorify your reign, and may He even keep you and your consort in His bosom." 11-3-30

The coronation was followed by a dance of the high priests in front of the church, to the time of low, rhythmical chants, accented by monotonous drumbeats and the clash of cymbals. The priests, bearded and mantled, swayed their bodies violently to and fro according to the peculiar Ethiopian ritual, and waved their long, gold-headed "prayer sticks" like wands. Atlanta, Ga.

After the royal pair left the church they were driven, amidst fresh outbursts of applause, to a great, lavishly decorated coronation dais in the big square in front of the palace. In front of them, tethered to the platform and growling like captive beasts in a Roman arena, were a quintet of fierce-looking lions with beautiful golden brown manes, guardians of the throne of Ethiopa and national symbols of power.

The ruling princes and chiefs from the outlying provinces were admitted to their presence in processional order. As they approached the rulers they prostrated themselves, touching the earth with their foreheads as an indication of their submission and homage. Beside the sovereigns stood the crack guardsmen of the palace, tall, stalwart youths, brilliantly uniformed, who guard their monarch's lives and lead the way into battle.

To signalize his coronation and spread peace and good-will among the country's 10,000,000 population, the king released several hundred political and criminal offenders and also conferred the Order of the Conquering Lion of Judah upon a number of cabinet members, princes and tribal chiefs.

The most striking of the day's festivities was a gargantuan open-air banquet of raw meat and "tej" or wine, made from fermented honey and flavored with herbs, which the emperor gave to 25,000 of his tribesmen. Five thousand cattle were slaughtered on the spot for the feast.

The young emperor considered it a day of triumph. At the end of the ceremonies, he fell on his knees and gave thanks to God. Abyssinia has been a Christian country for 1,600 years.

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Africa.

Abysinnia

TAFARI'S ACCESSION PERSONAL TRIUMPH

His Coronation Today as King of Kings of Ethiopia Outcome of Astute Planning.

PROMPT IN EMERGENCIES

He Overcame Much Opposition and Defied Menelik's Daughter, Whom He Succeeded.

Special Correspondence, THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ADDIS ABABA, Oct. 2.—Tafari Makonen is to be crowned King of Kings of Ethiopia on Nov. 2, thus closing a curious chapter in the history of that country.

11-2-30

In September, 1916, occurred the rebellion of the Shoan chiefs against the misrule of the scapegrace grandson of Menelik, Lij Yasu. Zauditu, a daughter of Menelik, was placed upon the throne and her young cousin, Tafari Makonen, who had led the rebellion, was proclaimed regent and heir to the throne, being then but 25 years old. Lij Yasu, who had escaped and led a precarious existence among his adherents in the north, was surrendered by them in 1921, and was committed to the custody of Ras Kassa, a powerful chief of royal blood, from whom it is said the Shoan chief exacted an oath that he would not deliver his prisoner into the hands of Tafari.

This three-cornered compromise succeeded in its intention, which was to prevent any one becoming powerful enough to seize the supreme control of the government. Tafari, the young reformer, was an object of deep suspicion to the priests and the old chiefs, the comrades-in-arms of Menelik. These reactionaries, entrenching themselves behind the Empress, did their best by obstruction to make it impossible for Tafari to govern; and Tafari, with as yet insufficient resources at his own command and with Lij Yasu beyond his control, was too prudent to try conclusions with them. A position of stalemate was created, and the inertia of the central government caused it to become discredited both at home and abroad.

Tafari Bided His Time.

The three chiefs who took up the most independent attitude were Ras Hailu, the Governor of Gojjam in the west; Dajazmach Balcha, who held the rich Province of Sidamo in the south, and Ras Gugso Wolyé, the Empress's husband, who was Governor of the Province of Begemeder in the far northwest. Ras Hailu's ambitions appear to be to acquire wealth, to become a negus or local king, as his father did, and to be left to himself. He has never committed any open act of defiance of the Central Government, and his policy has been to remain perched on top of the fence as long as possible and to avoid coming down on the wrong side. Dajazmach Balcha was one of Menelik's trusted lieutenants and had the reputation of being a strong Governor and a ruthless fighter, and he traded on this reputation. Ras Gugsa Wolyé's attitude has been that of a growing contempt and disregard of the Central Government.

The oustanding features of Tafari's character are patience and persistency. He is, moreover, extremely astute. He has always realized that time is on his side and that if he avoids making mistakes the fruit must eventually fall into his lap. His desire has been to reach the throne without bloodshed and without illegality.

Up to three years ago it was impossible for Tafari to do much to improve his position for a particular reason. This was the commanding position held by the aged Minister of War, Fitaurari Hapta Giorgis, who invariably used his great influence to preserve the status quo. Meanwhile Tafari set his mind to amassing the resources which he would require when opportunities came to him—men, money and munitions.

At the end of 1926 the Fituarari died and the position became at once unstable. Opportunities began to come to Tafari and he never threw one away. His first move was to secure for himself or his own nominees the Governorships of the provinces left vacant by the death of Hapta Giorgis. That a change in the position was taking place showed itself in the way the Central Government was able to bring Dajazmach Balcha to book in the early months of 1928. This chief was ordered by the government to come into the capital. He blustered but came, bringing with him a large bodyguard. On his arrival outside the capital he lost his head and defied the government. Tafari acted without hesitation, and troops issuing from Addis Ababa by night surrounded Balcha's camp. Thereupon Balcha's morale crumpled up and he surrendered.

The "Palace Revolt."

This, no doubt, alarmed the Empress's party, who retaliated in September, 1928, with what is known as the "Palace Revolt," which aimed at the overthrow of the regent by a coup-de-main to be carried out by the Empress's household troops. The leader of this enterprise was Dajazmach Abauko, the commander of the Imperial Guard. Tafari acted with a promptitude and a personal courage which probably surprised and certainly disconcerted his enemies, and in a few hours the ringleaders surrendered without bloodshed. The result of the affair was a reaction in Tafari's favor which compelled the Empress to affirm by public proclamation that henceforward Tafari should have complete charge of public affairs—in other words, that he was to be regent in fact and not only in name.

Tafari's coronation as negus took place on Oct. 7, 1928, and since then he has quietly consolidated his position in readiness for the time when he would be called upon to occupy the imperial throne.

A significant step was the negotiations undertaken by him with the Patriarch of Alexandria, which resulted not only in a Coptic Abuna being sent according to tradition to fill the vacancy in the See caused by the death of the Abuna Matteos at the end of 1926 but also in the consecration of four Abyssinian Bishops, a complete break with ancient tradition which may prove in the future to have important results. In any case Tafari stands out henceforward as the champion of the Abyssinian Church.

Prepared for Final Fight.

For the past nine months, unknown to the world, the preparation of the stage for the final dénouement has been in progress. The Azebu Gallas, a small tribe in the north given to lawlessness, had been causing trouble. Ras Gugsa was ordered by the Central Government to suppress them. Of intention or through incompetence he failed to do so, and to cover his failure, or to make capital out of the Central Government, he started a campaign of calumny against the Regent, spreading the report throughout the priest-ridden north that Tafari was a Catholic and that he was the cause of all of Ethiopia's troubles. All this was unknown at the capital.

By the end of the year, however, the wildest rumors became current. The big chiefs of the north and Ras Hailu of Gojjam were, it was said, in league with Gugsa, and shortly the whole of the north would blaze up in revolt. Those who tried to pooh-pooh all this could not explain away the fact that troops from all over the south were seen to be pouring through Shoa and disappearing northward behind the scenes, and that the Minister of War, Dajazmach Mulu Geta, had left the capital to take over the command in the field.

Suddenly, the curtain was rung up, and we were allowed to see the action of the drama, Gugsa in open rebellion standing at bay, alone, facing the government troops who were in greatly superior numbers. The big chiefs of the north—and here was Tafari's reward for much painstaking and astute negotiation—instead of being ranged alongside the army of Gugsa, were holding the ring for Tafari.

Gugsa met his end bravely. A feature of the operations was the employment of airplanes brought into the country by Tafari in the last few months. Before the battle these dropped leaflets all over Ras Gugsa's Province. One of these was a manifesto signed by the Abuna and bishops, addressed to the clergy, telling them that Tafari had proved himself a true son of the Church, and warning them against taking sides in a secular quarrel which did not concern them. Other leaflets advised Gugsa's soldiers to desert him and warned them that bombs would be dropped by airplanes on Gugsa's troops. This propaganda and the sight of their master left unsupported induced many of Gugsa's troops to desert, and on the day of the battle he is said to have had only his household troops with him.

Planes Bombed Enemy.

The battle took place on Monday, March 31, in the plain of Anchim, in the district of Wadela, which is actually outside the Province of Begemeder. Details of the battle are vague, but it appears an airplane reported that Gugsa's force was breaking camp about 9 A. M. Mulu Geta rapidly disposed his army of 25,000 men so as to envelop Gugsa's force, and caught his troops just after they had emerged from their camp and were still in some confusion from having been bombed by the government planes, of which two were piloted by French airmen. Gugsa was killed in the hand-to-hand fighting which ensued. The whole affair was over in two hours. On the government side there were 200 killed and 300 wounded, and 800 dead bodies of Gugsa's soldiers were counted.

The dramatic touch to the whole story was the death of the Empress, two days after her ill-fated husband had met his end. As the news of the Empress's illness had been withheld from the public the proclamation announcing her death and the accession of Tafari on April 3 caused a profound sensation.

Tafari has played his cards shrewdly, and there is little probability of refusal in any important quarter to acknowledge him as Emperor. Ras Hailu and Ras Kassa will earn their rewards, the one for coming down on the right side of the fence, the other for steady support of the Regent when it would have been possible to have used his position as custodian of Lij Yasu to embarrass him. They will be crowned kings when Tafari is crowned king of kings.

THE NEW ROYAL FAMILY OF ABYSSINIA.



International Photo.

Tafari Makonen, to Be Crowned King of Kings of Ethiopia Today, With His Wife and Two Sons. The Heir Apparent Stands in the Centre.

Rambling Ruminations

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS.

THE Emperor Tafari has bought the Imperial State coach of the ex-Kaiser, according to a report from Berlin. The coach, in all its old-time splendor, redecorated with the Imperial Abyssinian coat of arms, rolled through the streets of Berlin on its way to far-off Africa, where it will be used to convey the black emperor to his coronation.

In London also a fashionable Sackville street tailor is making thirteen busbies or tall tonnets out of as many lion manes. These busbies are to be worn by the Abyssinian princes who will take part in the ceremony.

The busbies will be made according to designs drawn by the Emperor's own hand. They will have long plumes and into them will be woven the Abyssinian coat-of-arms, representing the Lion of Judah and the Christian Bible. The lions were shot by Tafari himself.

The coronation promises to revive some of the splendors of Ethiopia, the oldest nation in the world. When Tafari's ancestors had been on the throne for more than 2,000 years, the ancestors of King George of England, and that of every other European ruler, past and present, were cavemen and cannibals. Later Europe became the hunting ground for slaves by Egyptians and Ethiopians, and was thus awakened out of her savagery.

It is not too much to say that Abyssinia is the hope of the black race. The black race, we repeat, regardless of the fact that since the crushing defeat of the Italians by the forces of Menelik II, the white people are busy claiming ancestry with them, in spite of their black skins and woolly hair.

The important thing is the attitude of the Abyssinians themselves, who emphatically do not think themselves a white people. Throughout Africa there is a general distrust of the white man, and to call a self-respecting African a white man would be like calling a white Southerner a Negro. Pretty much the same holds true of the East Indian. Call the average Indian, in his native land, a white man and he would be highly insulted.

It is not what a few hireling scientists and others say but what these people think about themselves that counts. The fact is that distrust of the white race is universal throughout the darker world—a distrust that has been sown by the rougher, more brutal members of that race who were the pioneers. Today white men and women, who are themselves unprejudiced and are willing to make friends, are beginning to feel the effects.

A white American told this writer that he visited the interior of the Sudan recently, and noted the great distrust of white people there. This man, who was of the more civilized sort, said that his friends took care to explain that he was not an Englishman but that did not prevent his being shot at, whereupon he left the Sudan as quickly as a Negro does a Southern town when a pack of lynchers are at his heels.

Abyssinia, more civilized, is kind to strangers, regardless of color, but its rulers have demonstrated that they know how to protect themselves from invaders.

Under Menelik, and especially under its present enlightened ruler, Ethiopia is again arising to a place in the sun. In all the countries of Europe are to be found young Abyssinians sent by their government to absorb the best that civilization has to offer. Towards this progress the coming coronation will no doubt contribute much. Some sixty nations will be represented. The United States will send General Harts; France will send Marechal d'Esperey; England will send the Duke of Gloucester, and so on.

* * *

HELEN O. CROWE, a white woman, writing in The Chicago Tribune (Paris edition) on the expulsion of the two white Americans from Russia for their treatment of black workers, feels that the two got what was due them.

She adds that the conduct of the white people in the South towards the Negro is extraordinary, since white Southerners carry Negro blood in their veins, because of centuries of mixing.

"Ignorance and insensitiveness," she says, "are causes of the extraordinary attitude of the majority of persons from the Southern (and some other) states, the more so because they are blood relatives of the Negro population, whose color ranges from black to white.

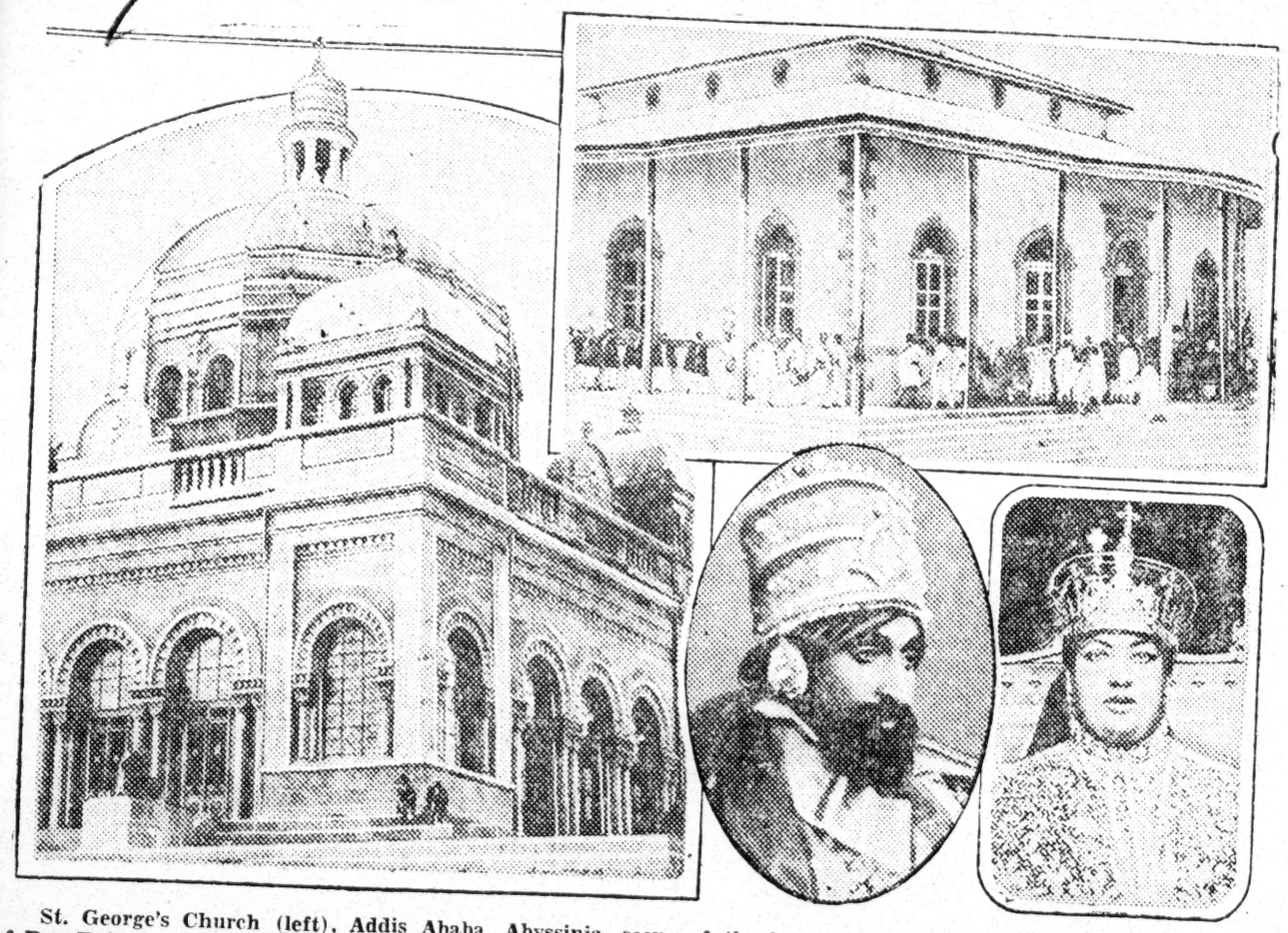
"When the unchivalrous circumstances in which these color varia-

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Scenes Of Coronation Pageant In Abyssinia



St. George's Church (left), Addis Ababa, Abyssinia, scene of the brilliant pageant attending the enthronement of Ras Tafari as Haile Selasse I., Emperor of the Ethopians. His queen, Waizeru Menen, is shown lower right. Above is one of the buildings in the palace group.—Associated Press Photo.

Ras Tafari To Be Crowned Emperor Of Abyssinia At Ceremonial Today

Overdue 1-30-30

ADDIS ABABA, ABYSSINIA, Nov. 1.—(AP)—There was no sleep in the mud-thatched cottages of this amazing town tonight; none in the field of tents pitched about its edges, nor in the palace of Ras Tafari Makonnen, for when the dawn breaks tomorrow over the 8,000-foot mountains which hem in the capital of Abyssinia Ras Tafari will be crowned Emperor Haile Selassie I.

Emperor Haile Selassie, Raz of Razzes, Lord King of Kings of Ethopia, conquering lion of the tribe of Judah, the elect of God and the Light of the World. The little man whose luxuriant hair and coal black beard contrast so strangely with his frail frame is to bear those titles as descendant in the royal line from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

Americans have come 6,000 miles to bear the good wishes of their President; England has sent her Duke of Gloucester; all the kingdoms of the world have sent their representatives bearing costly gifts, and tens of thousands of native tribesmen have come out of the hills to take their part in the coronation of their Emperor.

There was no sleep in the palace because Ras Tafari and his buxom wife, the Princess Waziru Menen, were on their knees in the Church of St. George, where the coronation ceremony is to take place. Among the tents which have sprung up because all the buildings of Addis Ababa could not house the visiting throng, pariah dogs slunk about in the unaccustomed abundance of food.

Addis Ababa, sprawled across two mountains and surrounded by forests of Eucalyptus trees, looks like an African Coney Island. Flags of a dozen nations wave in the sharp breeze which comes with the evening. The hum of an extraordinary activity comes from the city of tents. American automobiles swing to the curb to pass swaying camels. Barefoot natives astride donkeys move about their business.

American motion picture crews, "on location," wherever they turn, have been making pictures for a week in preparation for the bizarre ceremonies which will begin with the dawn. Distinguished visitors have been received for days with the pomp appropriate to their rank.

It is the beginning of a new era for Addis Ababa and for all of Ethopia, for Ras Tafari's wish is to make of his country a counterpart of the European civilization he admires. He wants new factories to rise above the forests; he wants his people to know of the world with which he can keep in touch by the elaborate radio receiving set an American company has sent him.

It was but one of a thousand lavish gifts. There is a refrigerator which makes ice cubes for the cocktails Ethiopia has come to like; modern rifles from the King of England; motion picture cameras and the reels of Admiral Richard E. Byrd's Antarctic explorations.

In the open spaces near the tents of the encamped thousands, black warriors of imposing physique ride through the evolutions of the demonstration which will come tomorrow. Amazon women, heavily armed, ride horses and donkeys in the gaudy costumes they will wear tomorrow. Petals of flowers are thrust into their ears and noses, and the pagan custom contracts strangely with the gold crucifixes about their necks.

For Abyssinia, the only unconquered empire left in Africa, has been a Christian nation for 1,600 years. Addis Ababa itself was founded only 40 years ago by King Menelek after his armies had routed the Italians in a battle among the protecting mountains. Its name, translated, is "Blossoming Flower."

Nothing has been left undone to impress the world with as splendid a ceremony as it has seen in generations. Preparations for this celebration have cost the government nearly $3,000,000, it is said. Ethopia's technicians have worked wonders in the construction of roads and the provision of electric lights.

In the press of the nations to showed honors upon the new emperor, the United States alone has stood somewhat aside. Her laws preclude the bestowal of honorary titles upon the ruler and she has been content to send assurances of her good will, friendship, and sympathetic assistance when assistance is needed.

She has sent no costly gifts, but a simple photograph of President Hoover, who signed the portrait with his own hand. Her commercial companies, however, in token of their understanding of Ras Tafari's modernization of his country, have sent him gifts which the emperor and empress are said to regard even more highly than the often more costly presents from other sources.

Six weeks of work have gone into the construction of a great hall adjoining the church where the coronation ceremony will take place. The church itself will hardly accommodate the great number of distinguished guests from other nations. Some of the 45,000 tribesmen, invited to be present by the emperor, will be seated in the hall. The others, such of them as are fortunate enough to have tickets, may sit in the grandstands which line the route over which the emperor and his consort will ride after the coronation.

Tomorrow evening the emperor will receive the heads of the foreign delegations and preside at the banquet which will close the most glorious day of his career thus far.

The first official ceremony in connection with the coronation took place today when the emperor, in a great purple cape stiffly encrusted with precious stones, unveiled a heroic equestrian statue to King Menelik in the square before the cathedral.

State And Religious Preparations Made For Coronation Of Ras Tafari

By JAMES A. MILLS
Associated Press Staff Writer

ADDIS ABABA, ABYSSINIA, Oct. 28. —This ancient seat of Ethiopian power today was in the midst of state and religious preparations for the coronation Nov. 2 of Ras Tafari as Emperor.

Foreign deputations already here from France, Japan, Poland, Egypt, Holland and the United States received truly royal receptions in which the gaily-decorated capital enthusiastically took part.

Day and night bishops and priests pray over the jewel-encrusted pure gold crowns of the Emperor and Empress, which rest in state in St. George's Church, conveyed there on Saturday according to ritual, by 1,000 coptic clergymen under guard of long lines of Ethiopian cavalrymen.

When Ras Tafari ascends the golden throne of David, a week hence, as Emperor Haile Selassie I, King of Kings of Ethiopia, he will, according to Ethiopian historians, be the 336th sovereign of that empire. These authorities hold that the Ethiopian empire was founded in the 97th year after the creation of the world, which, according to the Ethiopian calendar, occurred 5,500 years before the birth of Christ.

Thus Selassie, by his reckoning, will begin on Nov. 2 the 6,460th year of the reign of the Ethiopian dynasty, the oldest royal house in the world.

Adam is no longer claimed by Ethiopians as the original ancestor of the Kings of Ethiopia, modern Abyssinians claiming as their first King Ori or Aram, the son of Shem, who is mentioned in the Book of Genesis.

Although Ras Tafari would like the outside world to consider him a modern ruler he still signs himself "inheritor of the throne of David, King of Kings and annointed of God." This was evidenced by a letter sent to Addison E. Southard, U. S. consul general at Addis Ababa, today acknowledging President Hoover's coronation gift, the American Chief Executive's autographed photograph.

To make his coronation worthy of a descendant of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, Ras Tafari is spending $2,000,000 of his own money for imperial crowns, coronation robes, state carriages, triumphal arches, monuments, new roads, special trains, gifts to foreign potentates and bounties to ruling Ethiopian princes.

The government is raising another $2,000,000 by special levies upon the population.

Ras Tafari, in an interview with the Associated Press correspondent today, said that he expected his coronation to be not only a great national event for Ethiopia but that it would make the only remaining absolute monarchy in Africa better known throughout the world. He said he intended to modernize his country slowly and progressively, preserving all that is good in the ancient system while adopting every feature of modern life which will ensure advancement of the country.

The Abyssinian ruler has a tremendous admiration for America and its people. He said he means to introduce many features which have made America an outstanding progressive country. That is why, he said, he had awarded a contract to build a vast dam in Lake Tsana, with a highway leading to Addis Ababa, to an American firm of engineers.

Ras Tafari said also that his admiration for America had caused the appointment of an American as financial adviser and another as director of education for the whole of Ethiopia.

Giving a message to the Associated Press correspondent, Ras Tafari said in fluent French: "Tell the people of free, disinterested and progressive America that I wish for their help and sympathetic cooperation in making Ethiopia a really great and enlightened country patterned after their own.

"As a step in this direction I, like your great Lincoln, have abolished slavery, making my 10,000,000 people free, equal and independent.

"To develop the vast untouched natural resources of my country, I welcome here American engineers, industrialists, bankers and business men, assuring them of every facility for their work and the most favorable pecuniary inducements.

"My task in converting this 6,000-year-old country into a modern, 20th century state is colossal, but by the mercy of God and with the friendly assistance of the United States and other countries I know I shall succeed."

The frail, diminutive monarch then placed his hand over his heart and bowing said "May peace be unto you, and may God grant his blessings to the great American people."

Long Live Ethiopia!

TOMORROW, the second of November, Ras Tafari Haile Selassie will be officially crowned the NEGUS or Emperor of Abyssinia.

It will be a historic occasion, an occasion to inspire pride and self-respect among all the Negroes the world over, however callous and Uncle Tomish they may be. The Negroes outside of Abyssinia will be rejoicing tomorrow morning with as great a zeal as the citizens of Abyssinia themselves. Though physically absent every Negro will be spiritually present at Addis Ababa, the Capital, at the Coronation Ceremony as the bells and horns and drums proclaim the great event.

The coronation of the Emperor of Abyssinia is a significant event for the Negro. He sees and reads every day how eagerly the white kings, emperors, presidents and generals are rushing eagerly to pay tribute and obeisance to the ONLY BLACK EMPEROR in the world. They are bearing costly gifts and vie with each other to win the favor of the Lion of Judah.

The Emperor is BLACK. Indeed, he is! The Negro in the western world, the Negro all over Africa outside of Abyssinia, sees for himself that it is not his color that is despised by the white world but his lack of power, his impotency and his political and industrial subjection. Because Abyssinia is free even the most fanatical lily-whites are bending and bowing before a black Emperor.

Let the Negro wake up and work for the real thing, not for the shadow. Let him strive to carve an independent nation in Africa, a Federated and United Africa, wherein all the Negroes in the World will come together as free and equal men and women and live, love and work for the glory of the Mother Land.

May His Imperial Majesty, Haille Silassie, have a long, peaceful, prosperous reign.

Race Problem - 1930

Africa

Abyssinia

Tafari's Coronation to Rival the Splendors of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba



Ethiopia stretches forth her hand to place upon the brow of Ras Tafari, descendant of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, Sunday a golden crown weighing three pounds upon which is inscribed: "The Lion of Judah hath conquered." His new title is Emperor Haile Selassie I.

RAS TAFARI BECOMES SELASSIE I SUNDAY

336th Emperor of Black Empire Spends $2,000,000 for Coronation.

GETS MANY GIFTS

Has Ten Million Subjects and Army of 500,000.

ABDIS ABEBA, Abyssinia—Against the most resplendent and dazzling backgrund ever prepared for the crowning of an Ethiopian emperor Ras Tafari, sometimes called the key to the future of Africa, will be crowned Emperor Haile Selassi I, here Sunday.

More than $2,000,000 has been spent to add color and brilliance to this event which is attracting the attention of the leading nations of the world, whose representatives at the royal affair include some of the leading diplomats of a dozen nations.

$1,000,000 Crown

The high point in the ceremony will be reached Sunday just before dawn when a Coptic priest will place on the head of the ruler a richly jeweled crown said to be valued at more than a million dollars. Following this he will receive the felicitations of high dignitaries from the nations of the world.

The night previous to the ceremony, Sunday, will be spent in silent worship by the emperor and his consort. There will be a royal procession during which the emperor will be borne in the former coronation coach of the ex-Kaiser of Germany drawn by six cream white horses. The coronation will usher in a period of gala events which will mark another milestone in this knigdom which dates back to a period earlier than King Solomon.

AFRO Correspondent Here

The American delegation includes Brigadier-General William H. Harts, Charles J. Cook, ceremonial officer of the Department of State, and H. Murray Jacoby, the special ambassador to the coronation.

Among other Americans who will be here are J. A. Rogers, AFRO correspondent, and Lieut. Herbert Julian, who is connected with the Abyssinian air forces.

Rogers and the official U.S. party were on the steamer D'Artagnan of Wessageries Line and arrived at the capital together. Other passengers were M. Bayou who has studied medicine at Howard University. There was no race prejudice evident on board ship at the dances and other amusements. The crew was mostly colored and so were many of the passengers.

The importance of the occasion to the leading nations of the Eastern and Western hemispheres is apparent. Abyssinia is the only independent nation of Africa which has coped successfully with England, France, and Italy on terms of both war and diplomacy. The emperor has begun a program of modernization which has startled the world—a program, it is said, which is bound to have a profound effect on the future of Africa.

The natural position of Abyssinia is said to be the most "strategic" of any dominion on the continent.

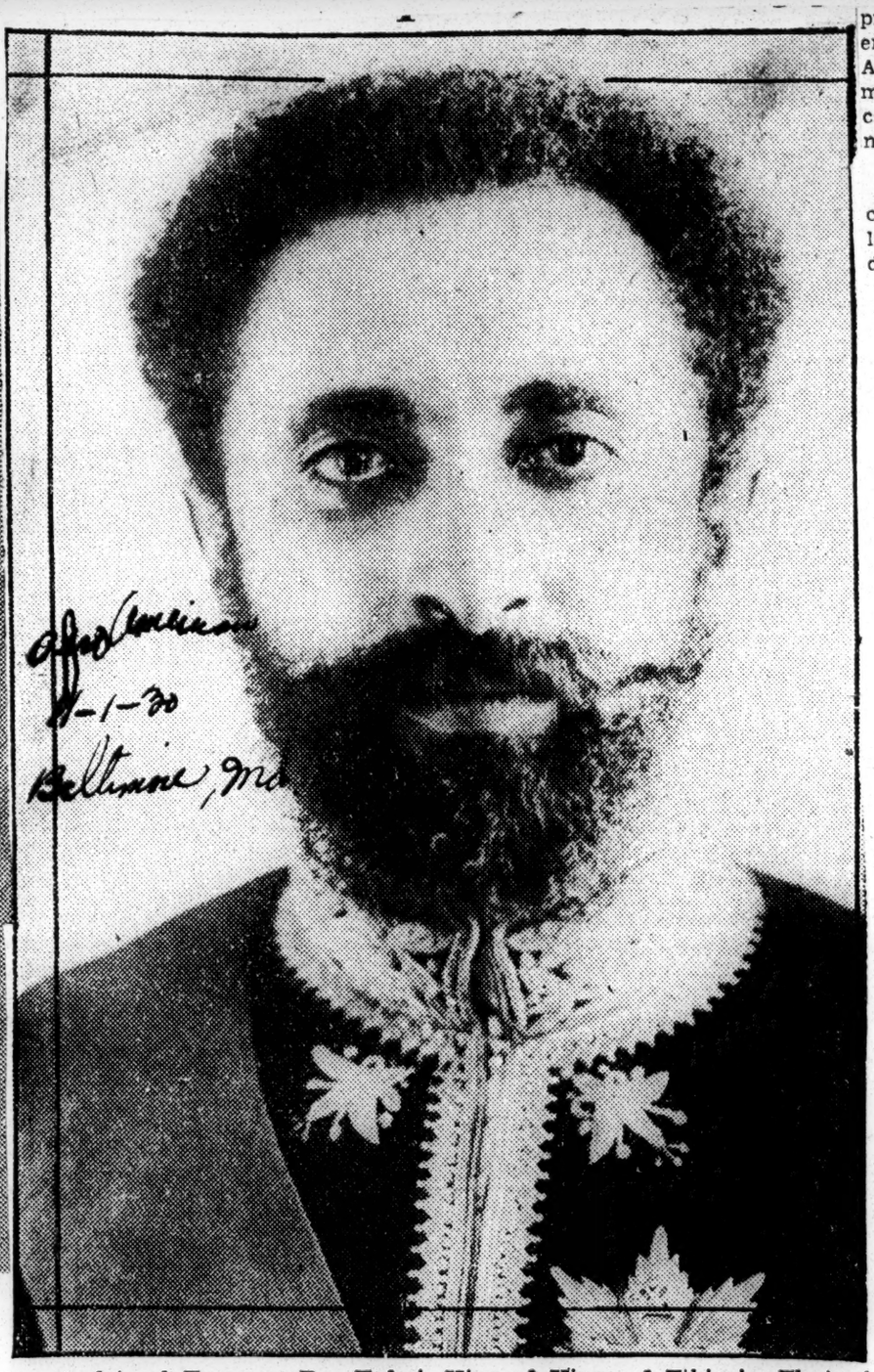
Ras Tafari is the successor of a long line of rulers. He succeeds Empress Zauditu, who died in April, 1929. She was the daughter of the late Emperor Menelik, and was the second woman ruler of the kingdom during a period of two thousand years. The other woman ruler was the Queen of Sheba, according to native tradition.



How the Emperor's wife looked when she was presented at the Italian Court in May, 1930. Women do the work and men the fighting in Ethiopia. The new emperor is 38 and has several children.



The crown prince of Ethiopia and a younger brother



Acclaimed Emperor—Ras Tafari, King of Kings of Ethiopia, Elect of God, Conquering Lion of Judah and Light of Ethiopia, at the death of his cousin, Judith, who died in April, 1929, and was the second woman ruler in 2,000 years. Abyssinians, or Ethiopians, claim that their country was founded 97 years after the creation of the world, which is placed at 5,500 years before the birth of Christ.

COLORFUL CEREMONIES FEATURE THE CORONATION OF RAS TAFARI, THE 334TH RULER OF ABYSSINIA

ADDIS ABADA, ABYSSINIA— The imperial crown of Ethiopia was placed upon the head of Ras Tafari at dawn Sunday making him the 334th ruler in an unbroken line of independent sovereigns which claims to antedate the great flood.

He assumed the titite of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, raz of razzies, king of kings of Abyssinia, elect of God, conquering lion of Judah, and the light of the world. Thirteen foreign delegations assembled here to witness the ceremony. The coronation, the royal procession, and the state ceremonies and festivities, coincident with the crowning of the emperor furnished one of the most brilliant displays of modern times.

Italians Arrive Last

The Italian delegation, headed by the Prince of Unline, was the last to arrive. The prince and his suit traveled by special train from Joubouti. Ras Tafari, surrounded by members of the royal family and Abyssinian notables and escorted by detachments of infantry and calvary, welcomed the Italians at the railway station.

The king wore a distinctive Ethiopian blue cape, lined and faced with scarlet. He rode in a scarlet automobile while footmen shaded him with a large pink umbrella. After a ceremonial greeting the Prince of Undine and members of his party were escorted to the Italian legation.

Diplomats Galore

Diplomats of many lands drove through the streets in their official automobiles, flying national flags and bearing diplomatic crests. Native chiefs on horseback and carrying rifles gazed in wonder at the modern forms of conveyance. The chiefs wore dark capes and broad hats and were attended by numerous white clad retainers.

Ethiopian officials, dressed in the latest Bond Street clothing rushed through the streets on business for their king. The entire city was in a state of gay and bustling excitement, much to the delight of the natives, who watched the proceedings with obvious enjoyment.

In St. George cathedral 100 priests pray night and day for the future emperor and empress. The crowns of Abyssinian gold, encrusted with diamonds and emeralds, are kept in the cathedral, where the coronation ceremony was held.

Hoover Sends Message

President Hoover last Saturday sent congratulations to Emperor Haile Selassie I, who was crowned last Sunday and said:

"On behalf of the American people and Government I have great pleasure in extending to your Majesty my most sincere felicitations on the happy occasion of your Majesty's coronation and my best wishes for your Majesty's health and happiness."

Race Problem - 1930

Abyssinia

Africa.

IMPRESSIVE CEREMONY VIEWED BY THOUSANDS

Courier 11-8-30

Colorful Pageantry Staged At Rites In Abyssinia—Ras Tafari's Coronation Has International Touch As Powerful Nations Pay Respects.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

(Special:—Mr. Alexander is an American Negro who has been in Abyssinia for twenty years. He was born in Chicago, but went to the African kingdom from Missouri as a missionary. He is now married to an Abyssinian woman. Mr. and Mrs. Alexander have one adopted son, seven years of age.)

By DANIEL ALEXANDER

ADDIS ABABA, Abyssinia, Nov. 2—(By ANP)—In twenty years there has been no such day as this in Abyssinia. There have been times when the great rasses or chiefs from the north and the south have converged upon the capital to have their hand in the ordering of their country's future, as in 1916, after the boy king, Lidj Yasu, was deposed and the late Zaudita, daughter of Menelik, and Ras Tafari were created co-rulers. But an occasion like that, pretentious and significant as it was, loomed principally as a domestic occurrence, important mostly to the Abyssinians themselves.

But today's coronation of Ras Tafari as emperor and king of kings had both its national and international aspects and was the culmination of a prolonged plan of internal and external diplomacy. It symbolized the first grand gesture of the new rulers of Ethiopia, the official name of Abyssinia, in their program of making Ethiopia a member of the family of great nations. The religious affirmation of the sovereignty of Ras Tafari signified further a domestic triumph for the new ruler against the reactionary forces within his own kingdom.

Ras Tafari represents that element of the Ethiopian nation which wishes the country to be modernized and to have its resources developed. He has supporting him several of the most powerful native rasses. The native population, in the densest ignorance, and the church, hate foreign influence and are suspicious of all "ferengies," as foreigners are called. Civilization, as it is known in Europe and America, means nothing to them. They prefer the good old way. At their head was the late queen, and sharing their sympathies now are many of the warriors who once served with Menelik and helped to crush the soldiers of Italy.

Ethiopia, thirty times the size of our own state of Maryland, is divided into twenty provinces, each governed by a ras or governor or king. Ras Tafari became king of them all today and is thus king of kings. It has been necessary for him to unite the most powerful of them behind him in order to attain his position. There were intimations before the coronation that some of the late queen's supporters and the adherents of the exiled Lidj Yasu were planning a coup to prevent the ceremony. But if they laid any plans they failed. In the old days it took the emperor's forces from thirty to forty days to make their way up into the rocky, mountainous provinces of Gojjam and Amhara, where there might be a recalcitrant chief. But today the emperor has airplanes which span the distance in a few hours to bomb the bad king of a province into submission. Thus, even though some of the rases are muttering and could persuade their feudal legions to join with them in defying the central authority, they recognize the emperor's superior strength in the matter of implements of war and hold their wrath for a better day. Thus Emperor Haile Selassie I, as Tafari was crowned, launches his program of development with the backing of the great rases of Amhara, Gojjam and Tigre and the fervent approval of his liege men of Shoa.

From north, south, east and west the caravans have been making their way here for two months. From the great hot lands to the south the richly caparisoned Galla horsemen made their way across the limitless expanse of the Arrusi plan, gathering to them scores of shums, or village leaders, as they passed through the towns. Enfolded in their beautiful snow-white shammas and bearing their long, sharp spears aloft, their hippopotamus hide shields against their breasts, they were a picture out of the middle ages—the Crusaders, with black and brown faces. Still hardier men came from the north, the marvelous gaff and cattle country in the north. In these mountains the finest horses in all Ethiopia are grown—strong, sensitive animals, 15 hands high. Coming from the borderland, near Eritrea, the Italian colony, they were more modernly armed. They bore, in addition to the spears and shields, rifles of many makes, shotguns, pistols and revolvers, and wore the inevitable cartridge belt, filled with used and unused cartridges.

The display made by them as they reached the capital was one of unimagined richness. The horses of the big chiefs wore rich trimmings, splendid, strongly made Abyssinian saddles, with fixtures of silver and gold out of the Abyssinian mountains. The bright and multi-colored blankets covering the animals which almost reached the ground, were trimmed with silver and gold. The rases brought to their new emperor rich gifts from their provinces, huge rings of soft gold, fatted calves and sheep and relics of the great days of the past.

Fully three hundred thousand imposed themselves upon this city of 70,000 souls.

For nearly three months the city of Addis Ababa, the capital which Menelik made forty years ago, had been undergoing an almost complete transformation. Situated on a plateau eight thousand feet above sea-level in the midst of a man-made forest of eucalyptus trees, Addis Ababa, or the new flower, as the name signifies in the Ethiopian language, has been a straggling, sleeping village of dirty roads and trails, grass-thatched mul tuculs and the corrugated iron-roofed shops of the French, Italian and Syrian traders.

But the new emperor took a trip through European capitals a few years ago, accompanied by some of his rases, and brought back to his country European ideas. In the preparations which were made for the coronation every effort was put forth to impress the visiting dignitaries from the leading nations of the earth with the modernity of the Ethiopian chief city. Until now there have been no roads for wheeled vehicles outside Addis Ababa. But new roads were built, sewer and water mains laid, electric lights installed and a variety of forms of entertainment provided for the visitors. Palaces, or gibbis, churches, stores and dwellings were remodeled and triumphal arches put up.

The church rites preceding the coronation consumed twenty-one days, during which the Coptic priests prayed over the million dollar crowns of Tafari and his wife, Waizeru Menen. The crowns, weighing three pounds, were made with gold from Abyssinian mines and set with precious stones, purchased in Europe.

Yesterday afternoon Ras Tafari and the queen entered St. George's Catherral, where they spent the entire night in prayer. At dawn today they were served communion by Archbishop Cyrilli, the Coptic prelate appointed from Egypt, who annointed them with oil from Gethsemane, where Christ shed his tears. No one except the bishops of the church, the state dignitaries and the rases of the provinces were allowed to witness this ceremony.

After communion, Tafari and Waizeru, preceded by 200 elaborately robed Coptic ecclesiastics, carrying corsiers, a crucifix, shepherds' staffs and incense lamps, proceeded majestically to the newly built coronation hall adjoining the church, where obeissances before the high altar they took their places on two golden thrones, about ten feet apart.

Promptly at 9 o'clock the archbishop, after pronouncing the benediction and reciting a special coronation ritual in the Geez language, placed the dazzling crown of gold and diamonds, emeralds, sapphires and rubies on the emperor's brow.

With the words "Take this symbol of imperial power and gird this sword on your loins and rule in peace," the archbishop handed the emperor a magnificent scepter-like emblem of power, surmounted by a cross and the Lion of Judah and a superb golden sword, made in France.

Then the archbishop led the queen from her throne to that of the emperor, where he placed upon her head a glistening, highdomed crown, with the words, addressed to them both, "God has anointed you today to rule with justice, wisdom and moderation, May the Lord God, the Supreme Ruler of men, glorify your reign and may He ever keep you in His bosom."

On either side of the monarch's throne sat foreign dukes, princes and ambasadors, resident ministers, Ethiopian princes, members of the cabinet, the governor of British, French and Italian Somaliland, the British governors of Sudan and Adan, all of which colonies surround Abyssinia. In front of the emperor and empress sat their five children with Ras Hailu, the country's richest citizen and prince of the province of Gojjam, Ras Ayalu of Amhara, Ras Guksa of Tigre and other famous rases.

After the ceremony the crowned pair rode among their subjects in the carriage of the former Kaiser of Germany, drawn by six snow-white horses.

The city was then given over to general merrymaking and entertainment.

The emperor entertained 25,000 of his subjects at a great raw meat feast, the animals for which were killed on the spot. The habit of eating raw meat is very old among the Ethiopians. They claim that it gives them vigor and that the custom started centuries ago. They were at war and the enemy had forced them into a retreat. When night came and their army was forced to eat, fires were lighted to cook their meat. The enemy saw the fires and were thus able to locate the retreating army. Disaster followed. From that time on it became a habit with Ethiopian soldiers not to cook their meat.

The older Ethiopians, a people of Negro, Jewish and Arabian mixture, the negroid element predominating, are watching out of the corners of their eyes the moves of the foreigners who came to attend the coronation. They sense that the "ferengies" are after something, Ethiopian lands, mines, forests, water, the opportunity to exploit the country. Lavish gifts came from the rulers of Europe, Asia and America. But the Ethiopian is not impressed by these things. They remember the revered Menelik and the lessons he taught them about the Italians who sought to destroy the unity of the Ethiopians in order to take sections of the country. They are suspicious that there is some design in the white man's encroachment and his apparent friendship. They are hoping that their new emperor will not go too far. If he does, the people will not go with him, especially the church. Ethiopia has been a Christian nation since the fourth century, but they have their own kind of Christianity. In the seventeenth century they were being oppressed by Mohammedans, who sought to change their religion. They sought help from Portugal and received it. But when the Portuguese priests started to tamper with the Ethiopian brand of Christianity all the Portuguese were bundled up and sent back home. The church is the most powerful influence in all Ethiopia.

En Route to the Coronation

Amsterdam News New York N.Y. 11-5-30

By J. A. ROGERS

I AM writing this on board the steamship D'Artagnan of the Messageries Maritime on my way to Abyssinia to attend the coronation of the Emperor Tafari, and I hope to give the readers of The Amsterdam News a first-hand impression of that event, as well as of Abyssinia and its people.

On board are the Princess Taha Tafari, daughter of the Emperor, an accomplished lady who speaks English, French and German correctly. There are also the Prince Makonnen, a cousin of the Emperor and Ethiopian Minister in London; his excellency, Bitwededе Abate, Ethiopian Minister to France; Mr. Tadla, secretary of the Abyssinian Legation in London; Mr. Bayan, a relative of the Emperor, who has been studying medicine at Howard University; and five other young Ethiopian students, who are going from Paris also to attend the coronation. There is also Mr. Bahgat, Egyptian vice-consul at Liverpool, England, who is also going to be present at the ceremony.

On board, too, are the United States Ambassador, H. Murray Jacoby, and his aide, General W. W. Harts, with his wife and daughter, who are going as special representatives of the American government.

The service on the D'Artagnan, while good, by no means equals that on the transatlantic liners. And it costs much more! A second-class passage from Marseilles to Djibouti, the port of debarkation for Addis Ababa, the Abyssinian capital, costs $224. This would be the cost of an excellent first-class passage from New York. And the distance from Havre or Cherbourg to New York is greater than that of from Marseilles to Djibouti.

Add to this the cost of railroad fare from Paris to Marseilles, as well as that from Djibouti to Addis Ababa—a total of $38—and it will be seen that the total cost of a trip from New York to Abyssinia, travelling third-class tourist from New York to Paris, costs a minimum of $400.

There are third and fourth classes on the French liners plying the Mediterranean, but the fourth is unthinkable, while the third is uncomfortable.

To an American the most striking thing on board this ship is the number of different races that compose the crew, all of which are working in perfect harmony. In the first and second class dining rooms Negroes, white Frenchmen, Chinese, and Indo-Chinese, and an occasional Arab, are serving as waiters. The same holds true as to the rest of the crew.

On board also are a detachment of white marines and another of Indo-Chinese, going to the Far East. There are seven very dark Negroes in the white one and one Negro among the Indo-Chinese. In the quarter reserved for them Negroes, whites, and Indo-Chinese are bunking together. They play cards, eat in the same dining room, joke together, and generally enjoy themselves.

Here, indeed, is a lesson for America, who aspires to teach good manners to the rest of the world. When human beings are not taken young and taught to hate one another, they will act as intelligently as horses, or cows, or dogs, and despised donkeys who never squabble about color and so-called race.

On the Mediterranean the weather is perfection itself, neither too hot nor too cold. The sea is as calm as a pond, the furrow caused by the ship resembles undulating blue marble, while a gentle breeze gives a wonderful diaper pattern to the sea.

The rheumatism, which has been incessantly stabbing me in the damp, rainy atmosphere of Paris has disappeared as if by magic. One's appeite is perfect. The climate is responsible for a good many of our shortcomings, physical and otherwise, cannot be denied.

Sailing from Marseilles, we passed Corsica and Sardinia, then through the Lipari Island. Through here the great volcano of Stromboli loomed over us, rising out of the sea like an admiral's hat. For a plume there was a great mass of white steam which issued majestically forth with now and then a shower of sparks.

A little later we passed the toe of Italy's long boot, on the point of which is the beautiful white city of Messina, with the island of Sicily just across the narrow strait.

Here are a whirlpool and a reef, the famous Charybdis and Scylla of Greek mythology. Later in the evening we passed the island of Crete, the intermediate post from which Egyptian civilization came to Greece.

Among the passengers in second class are several colored persons, including one Chinese, and it is interesting to note how we drifted together. We got a table of our own and sat together, finding much in common. One Hindu gentleman, who is a graduate of one of the best English universities, tells of treatment in England which sounds strikingly like that of the Negro in parts of America. He told of applying for a position in the government service in his own country, and how he was refused because of his color, while another less competent got it because of his color. At another occasion when he was about to fill a blank for another position, one of the English officials, he said, very frankly told that it was a waste of time since he hadn't a chance of getting it because of his color. His stay in England has done two things, he said—namely, to throw overboard the Chrisaian religion in which he had been carefully reared, and to make him even more eager for Indian independence.

As to the white passengers, most of whom are French, they show no prejudice whatever. In dances and other amusements they invite the colored men to take part.

Our first stop will be at Port Said, Egypt, from where we will pass through the Suez Canal.

British Guiana Negroes Send Illumined Address to Tafari

11-8-30

GEORGETOWN, Oct. 7. — There was a large appreciative gathering at the town hall last evening at the concert organized by the New Negro Development Association in aid of funds to erect an auditorium, the chair being taken by Dr. Frank Hunte, D.D.S. 11-8-30

Opportunity was taken during the course of the evening's function, to unveil an illustrated address to be sent to King Ras Tafari of Ethiopia, on the occasion of his coronation which takes place on November 2.

The address which was beautifully illuminated, was the handiwork of Master S. Cummings, a lad of about 17 years of age. The unveiling ceremony was performed by Miss J. Phillips ,the Evangelist.

The following is the text of the address:

His Royal Highness,
The King of Kings of Ethiopia,
The Lion of Judah:

May it please your most gracious majesty to accept greetings from the scattered sons and daughters of Ethiopia, those domiciled in British Guiana.

We adore thee and our spirits shall prostrate before thee paying homage and tribute.

We thank Almighty God for having protected and preserved thee to be King of Kings; now His prophecy is being fulfilled.

Princes shall come out of Egypt. who is the first born of Ethiopia.

Ethiopia herself shall stretch forth her hand and there shall be lasting peace on earth.

We continue to pray that God give to thee health, long life and wisdom to mtaintain the ancient glories.

With loving hearts, we are yours, believe us. 11-8-30

In the year of our Lord 1930. Promoters of this address: Ferdinand Christopher Archer and others representing Africa's cause.

Plantation Songs

The plantation songs and choruses by Mr. F. C. Archer, secretary-treasurer of the association, and his company provided quite a deal of entertainment for the audience. The songs included "De Ole Banjo," "Oh De Darling Coon," "De Lecture," "But It Is So" and "Good Night."

Mr. Archer acted his part quite cleverly and one is inclined to think that Mr. Archer has had some theatrical training.

The orchestra rendered two marches, "Double Eagle' and "Toy Maker's Dream," which were well received, Master F. C. Archer-Eversley having acted as pianist. Miss R. Holdip recited "He was such a nice young man. A recitation was also contributed by Miss Phillips. A few Negro spirituals added to the evening's performance. Miss Gwen Holder sang "Joshua Fight the Battle of Jericho' and in response to an encore sung "Little David Play on Your Harp.' The audience demanded another encore from Miss Holder, who was unable to accede to their request in view of her recent illness. Miss E Cyrus who was heard to advantage in the singing of "My Way is Cloudy," however, filled the breach and sang "Go Down Moses" for which she was loudly applauded. Other spirituals were rendered by Mr. C David "Nobody Knows the Trouble I See"; Miss D. Skeete, "Peter Go Ring Dem Bells"; Miss J. H. Glasgow and H. Porter.

The playing of the National Anthem brought the evening's function to a close.

Race Problem-1930

Abyssinia.

Africa

When an Ethiopian Is Not an Ethiopian

American

11-1-30

WHITE nations the world over are interested in the crowning Sunday of the Negus Ras Tafari as Emperor of Abyssinia, known also as Ethiopia. Fifteen powerful countries have sent envoys to the African nation. The daily press devotes columns to all the activities of the Ehtiopian potentate and his queen. Abyssinia, you see, has considerable natural resources and has won the rsepect of our imperialistic civilization by repulsing all attempts to conquer and seize her lands.

Gary Indiana

The fact that Ethiopia has been able to stretch forth her hand in self defense and smite those nations which coveted her lands has led Nordic "authorities" to stay up nights and perform mental contortions in an effort to remove her inhabitants from the confines of the Negro race. Says A. H. Keane in Websters' International:

". . . . there are Abyssinians who may certainly be called black, and in whom the Negro strain is revealed in the somewhat tumid lips, small nose, broad at base ,and frizzly black hair. But the majority may be described as a mixed Hamito-Semitic people who . . . . belong fundamentally to the Caucasic division."

So an Ethiopian is not an Ethiopian because he has a strain of Jewish blood in his veins. By this same reasoning an Aframerican would not be fundamentally a Negro because he has English, Irish, German, or Spanish blood in his veins. And that immediately makes all but twenty per cent of us belong to some other race, for no more than twenty per cent of American Negroes, due to slavery and Southern gentlemen, are of pure African descent.

But in reality these same Nordic scholars who worked so diligently removing Ethiopians from the Ethiopian race because of a strain of Hebrew blood, find that in America the presence of any traceable amount of Negroid blood makes its possessor a Negro. Strange, but it's true.

It seems to be the policy of your Nordic to claim everybody who achieves. After the Olympic games of 1924, Finland, who carried off many high honors, was described in the daily press as being a Nordic country, although she was scientifically classed with the Mongolian or yellow race. It was indeed regrettable that the anthropologists could not, at the time of their classification, have foreseen Finland's future.

Possibly in self-defense, many a Negro has for a long time been trying to prove to the world that Jesus Christ, David, and many another Biblical character was a Negro. So it goes.

Until Ethiopia is conquered by some strong European nation or indulges in too many of Western civiliaztion's taboos, an Ethiopian will not be an Ethiopian. So the country which lends its name to a race, according to Blumenbach's accepted classification, is not peopled by members of that race.

Three cheers for Nordic logic!

WHEN AN ETHIOPIAN IS NOT AN ETHIOPIAN

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Recorder

NOV 5 - 1930

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11-8-30

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—THE GARY AMERICAN

COLUMBIA, S. C.
STATE

Are the Abyssinians Blacks?

This an easier way of framing the question than asking if the Abyssinians are Negroes.

All races are black in "the courts of the sun." No Caucasian . . . Aryan . . . White man . . . could remain long in the climate of Ethiopia, and not have his skin burned black as the name means—and take on the "shadowed livery of the burnished sun," like Shakspere's Moor. The Semitic Arab, who is by race, white, is, at least in lower Arabia, the Sudan and in the deserts, as black as the Negro . . . often, indeed, of a darker, or deeper, hue. So, also are now the Aryans of India and lower Asia.

We are again hearing this question reiterated over and over, in view of the brilliant and barbaric splendors of the coronation of Ras Tafari Makonnen, as Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia (Abyssinia). There are, of course, Negroes, of various degrees of blood and coloration, in that conglomerate nationality. And there are some light-colored tribes like the restless and conquering Gallas (no relation, so far as known of our Gullahs and "Gullah Jack") who are a blend of Hamidic . . . Arabic, Semitic . . . and Negro, with a low order of Hamidic language and culture; and some other remnants. Then here are the interesting estrays from Israel, the Falashas, their name coming from the Abyssinian falasa, an immigrant or stranger, who keep up their Jewry in isolated communities —some 100,000 in number.

The Ethiopian, therefore, can hardly be claimed by the Black race or Negroes. They were named by the Greeks of the Homeric period "Aithiops" because of what the Hellenes supposed to be their "burnt faces" . . . not naturally black, but scorched by the tropic sun. They are probably best classed as Hamidic, as of descendants of Noah through Ham, as the Semites derive from his brother Shem.

But the word Ethiop has become a synonym of blackness—a darkness that thick, heavy, and Cimmerian, "a darkness that may be felt." We are told that Juliet's beauty was of such a high whiteness that "it seems she hangs upon the cheek of night like a rich jewel in an Ethiope's ear."

It would be interesting to know how the Ethiopians themselves consider this. There is a strong temptation for Ras Makonnen, with the prestige of the victory of Adowa and of the semi-barbarism of Abyssinia, to assume the hegemony of the African peoples and tribes, But such a dream, if he cherishes it, is beyond all waking reality Abyssinia should have a fine destiny but it will not be in any leadership of Africa. There are more intelligent peoples to the north and west, and more powerful and vigorous tribes to the west and south. It is true these ack leadership and training—but these must come from within the tribes, not from without

U.S. Whites are Surprised to Find Abyssinians are Negroes

Europeans at Tafari's $3,000,000 Coronation Have Eye on Country's Platinum Mines. Guests Mourn Lack of Bath Rooms, Soft Beds and Home Cooking. Real Lions Chained to Emperor's Tent.

ADDIS ABABA, Abyssinia (Special)—Americans accustomed to all-night parties at home felt comfortable here when Ras Tafari Makonnen with his guests from fourteen nations remained awake all night Saturday in prayer as a preparation for the coronation Sunday.

In addition to the white official U.S. party, other Americans here include J. A. Rogers of the AFRO staff, and Augusta Savage, New York sculptress. 11-8-30

Their knees were sore Sunday and many of the glories of a $3,000,000 coronation were lost upon the foreigners who longed for home-cooked food, an easy chair, a bed with springs, a bath tub and a lavatory indoors, all of which comforts this city hasn't. Baltimore Md

Found Abyssinians Colored

It was worth all the discomforts, however, to see the surprise of white Americans who had come expecting the Emperor Selassei I to be a Jew and his subjects white. Instead they found the Abyssinians such colored folk as live all over the South.

There is this exception; Abyssinians have no inferiority complex so that "Mister Charley" always takes a back seat here. For they know that whites have attempted to steal their country for centuries and have been defeated every time because the roads wer ebad and the mountains impassable.

In the back of the heads of Abyssinians was the notion that whites had come with one eye for a coronation and one on concessions Platinum mines, gold mines and the country which has the only climate in North Africa which is healthful to the white man are here.

Kinky Hair

It was worth also the trip over and the discomforts to see black kniky haired, thick lipped Negroes walk proudly through palace and street, their patriotic and warlike spirit an evidence of 15,000 years of independence.

Proud black women barefoot, carry burdens upon their heads. Others ride donkeys. A few of the rich have autos.

Archbishop Officiates

At the coronation Sunday in the true splendor of the time of King Solomon, the venerable archbishop of the Coptic Church of Ethiopia performed the ceremony which preceded the ride in the golden carriage once owned by the German Kaiser to the church of St. George where the $1,000,000 crown was placed on his head and he was anointed Emperor of Abyssinia, King of Kings Lion of the Tribe of Judah and Light of the World. Princess Waziru Menen was crowned Empress Etega Menen, queen of f Queens. The couple occupied thrones of gold. Their five children looked on.

The procession from the coronation hall to the church was marked with the most fervent devotion on the part of the people of Ethiopia, hundreds of them falling down behind the carriage to kiss the ground over which it passed.

Richly clad tribal dignitaries in formal European dress contrasted sharply with the scarlet, purple, gold and silver, green or yellow vestments of some of the tribal chiefs who wore costly but primitive robes and carried glittering armor.

Raw Meat Banquet

Next in interest to the all night vigil imposed upon all foreigners and other guests in the palace, was perhaps the witnessing of the great banquet of raw meat and wine tendered by the emperor to his chiefs and visiting subjects. On the spot animals were killed and passed to the 25,000 revelling guests, the banquet officially beginning a week of such festivity. Priests danced a sort of jazz before their altars and five roaring lions were chained to the entrance of the coronation tent.

What is perhaps the most outstanding point of observation which is greeting the foreigner is the wide contrasts in civilization of subjects of the kingdom, the multi-colored and dazzling costumes and the solidarity of the people.

The Ethiopian kingdom is the oldest in the world, and its young ruler, who is 39 years of age, is not only one of the most astute, but one of the most modern minded rulers in the world today. It is conceded that within his hand he holds the key to the future of Africa. He is the 334th ruler. Those who oppose him in the empire do so because they fear his friendliness with whites will bring them into the country and give them a foothold they never have been able to gain before.

Julian Expelled

An incident of interest to Americans was the expulsion of Lieutenant Herbert Julian, aviator, whom the ruler had placed at the head of his flying forces. Julian, it is said, against instruction of the emperor, took up the royal airplane and wrecked it in a fall. Although Julian blamed the accident on the jealousy of a European aviator, the emperor not only dismissed him but ordered that he leave the capital immediately. But for the fact that Julian is now a naturalized Abyssinian, he would have been deported.

The Emperor previously had conferred upon Julian the star of Ethiopia for sensational parachute jumping. He also gave him $1,800 to come to the U.S. and return with his family.

Ras Tafari Becomes Emperor Of Abyssinia At Lavish Ceremony

By JAMES A. MILLS
Associated Press Staff Writer

ADDIS ABABA, ABYSSINIA, Nov. 2—(AP)—Amidst barbaric splendor and lavish pageantry, Ras Tafari Makonnen, the 39-year-old prince who has been regent of Abyssinia for 14 years, was crowned at dawn today as Emperor Haile Selassie I.

The United States was represented at the ceremonies by an official delegation and by private citizens from various sections of the country from Seattle to New York.

The coronation gives Ras Tafari, who claims descent from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, the titles of Emperor, Lord King of Kings of Ethiopia, Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, the Elect of God, and the Light of the World.

Simultaneously, the Royal Consort, Princess Waziru Menen, a short, rotund woman of 40, was crowned as Queen Etega Menen, Queen of Queens of Ethiopia. This was virtually the Queen's "coming-out party," as she heretofore has been confined to her housewifery and motherly duties in the royal household. She has five children, one of them married, and has taken no active part in court and state affairs. 11-3-30

The coronation ceremony, performed by the venerable coptic Archbishop of Ethiopia, was unparalleled in modern times for quaintness, color, and magnificence. The cost to the government was estimated at $3,000,000. For six months the nation has been preparing holiday garb for the occasion.

As their majesties rode to the church through the dusty, rubble streets of the mountain capital, which were packed with tens of thousands of their braves and chieftains, the masses thundered forth cheers and wild, savage cries of acclaim. Scores of natives were trampled in the dust as the crowd surged to catch sight of the coronation party.

On either side of the potentates, acting as escorts of honor, were olive-skinned, black-bearded and curly-headed Ethiopian princes and tribal chiefs. They wore multi-colored costumes of silk and satin, embroidered in gold and silver. Their shields were of hippopotamus hides, and they had medieval swords and scabbards. Behind the monarch and his queen were the high priests in vestments of scarlet, green, yellow or purple, carrying gold and silver croziers and incense lamps. Following the ecclesiastics were groups of princes and grandees in black silk ceremonial capes, and the members of the cabinet and government in their national shammas.

Ras Tafari and his queen rode in the imperial chariot which once belonged to former Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany. The carriage was drawn by six snow-white horses.

Arriving at the Church of St. George, they descended from the chariot, their coronation robes of scarlet and gold glittering in the sun. The sunlight was reflected fiercely from the gold and diamonds on their crowns, where the figures of the Lion of Judah symbolized the national power.

The foreign princes, ministers, and delegates had already taken their places in the church, which proved too small, in spite of recent additions, for the throngs which clamored for admission. Their majesties found difficulty in making their way through the crowd to the inner sanctuary, where the coptic archbishop performed the religious rites and ceremonies. The atmosphere was murky, almost suffocating with incense and the thick, stifling smoke of tallow candles.

Small of stature, thin, frail, with delicate, almost feminine features, Ras Tafari nevertheless assumed a look of great dignity and solemnity as the archbishop placed the crown upon his head. Yet the emperor seemed dwafted by Queen Waziru Menen, who is of Amazon proportions.

"God has annointed you to rule with justice," intoned the archbishop, as he crowned his liege. Then spoke the pontiff: "Gird the sword on your loins, and rule in peace. May the Lord God, Supreme Ruler of men, bless and glorify your reign, and may He ever keep you and your consort in His bosom."

The coronation was followed by a dance of the high priests in front of the church, to the time of low, rhythmical chants, accented by monotonous drumbeats and the clash of cymbals. The priests, bearded and mantled, swayed their bodies violently to and fro according to the peculiar Ethiopian ritual, and waved their long, gold-headed "prayer-sticks" like wands.

After the royal pair left the church, they were driven, admist fresh outbursts of applause, to a great, lavishly decorated coronation dais in the big square in front of the palace. In front of them, tethered to the platform and growling like captive beasts in a Roman arena, were a quintet of fierce-looking lions with beautiful golden-brown manes, guardians of the throne of Ethiopia and national symbols of power.

The ruling princes and chiefs from the outlying provinces were admitted to their presence in processional order. As they approached the rulers, they prostrated themselves, touching the earth with their foreheads as an indication of their submission and homage. Beside the sovereigns stood the crack guardsmen of the palace, tall, stalwart youths, brilliantly uniformed, who guard their monarchs lives and lead the way into battle.

To signalize his coronation and spread peace and good will among the country's 10,000,000 population, the king released several hundred political and criminal offenders and also conferred the Order of the Conquering Lion of Judah upon a number of cabinet members, princes, and tribal chiefs.

The most striking of the day's festivities was a gargantuan open-air banquet of raw meat and "Tej," or wine, made from fermented honey and flavored with herbs, which the emperor gave to 25,000 of his tribesmen. Five thousand cattle were slaughtered on the spot for the feast.

The young emperor considered it a day of triumph. At the end of the ceremonies, he fell on his knees and gave thanks to God. Abyssinia has been a Christian country for 1,600 years.

Abyssinia

Race Problem - 1930

Africa

Correspondent's Dispatch From Cairo Says Aviator's Glib Tongue Killed Him

Amsterdam News 12-31-30

Report Partially Confirmed That Abyssinian Colonel Was Poisoned by French Flyer Whose Enmity He Had Incurred

By J. A. ROGERS.

CAIRO, Egypt.

I HAVE just arrived here after a two months' trip to Somaliland, Abyssinia, and through the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Egypt. During this period I have worked hard in the hope of being able to give, as real as possible, an account of conditions in those countries—an account minus the "color" and the exaggerations.

I find this preface necessary because I have been reading the accounts of the coronation and of Abyssinia as they appeared in both the white and the colored press and have found much that I personally know was not true, and also much that I think that has been misinterpreted. My articles will be by no means a defense of Abyssinia, but a statement of facts.

May I begin by correcting an impression about myself? I did not go as a guest of the Abyssinian government. I went in the hope of being able to give to colored Americans as true as possible an answer to some of the following questions:

What is the "race" of the Abyssinians? Do they consider themselves as white people, as has been reported.

What is their attitude towards colored Americans, and do they welcome them in their land?

International Situation.

What is the real international situation in Abyssinia, and just why are the white nations of the world so much interested in it. What nation is the favored one there? One reads much of these things in books, but books are rarely written with the intention of stating facts. They are written for money, and usually side with those from whom most can be expected. In any case I found that the mental picture I had of the country from what I had read of it was almost wholly wrong.

What are the commercial prospects, and as a field for Afro-American migration?

These are some of the questions I wished to answer for colored Americans.

From the Abyssinian government I received neither more nor less than the white reporters, and that was a press card and an invitation to the various affairs. These were secured for me through the courtesy of the American Legation. Each legation did the same for the reporters of its own nationality. I had expected no more nor did I ask for more.

My articles of the coronation and the military review were perforce late because the cost of cablegrams was high—about 75 cents a word. A certain press agency has made it appear that it received a 1,000-word or more telegram from Addis-Ababa the day of the coronation. Personally I know this is not true. Moreover, as it happened that day, some of the leading European papers did not get their stories over, the wires were down—cut, I understand, by the Somalis who are in the habit of doing so. I happen to know all who sent cablegrams of the coronation.

Only American Negro Present.

I may state simply as a matter of truth that I was the only colored American present at any of the functions, including the coronation. Entry was by card and most difficult to obtain as the improvised church was a small one, and many, including Abyssinians of prominence, could not get in. It is possible that D. R. Alexander, an old colored resident, might have been at the coronation, as the Associated Press dispatch said, but I did not see him neither on the grounds nor in the small section reserved for visitors or anywhere else in the church.

I call attention to this incident and shall say more about it in due time for this reason. The journey to Abyssinia was a difficult and costly one. Covering the affair was equally so. Moreover, the coronation was of first-class importance internationally, and hence of importance even to colored Americans, also. But if an editor can write up the affair merely by sitting in a swivel-chair, and produce a cable costing a $1,000, what's the use of ever bothering to take any pains or going to any expense?

Another story I would like to correct is that regarding Hubert Julian. Both the white and the colored press carried the story that Julian was dismissed by the emperor and exiled from Abyssinia because he smashed the emperor's favorite airplane. Also that Julian was at the coronation dressed in his regalia.

Airplane Crash.

The airplane incident played but a very minor part in the whole affair. The fact is that as early as September, that is a week after Julian had left Paris for his second voyage to Abyssinia, I learned from official sources here in Paris that "Julian was not going to last long because he talked too much and said too many things that were not true."

This inkling of his approaching dismissal developed into a certainty the day after I was on the ship, for there I met a Mr. Bayane, a relative of the emperor, and the one who had taken Julian to Abyssinia and had got him his position. Mr. Bayane said that he intended to have Julian discharged, but before Mr. Bayane arrived in Addis-Ababa Julian was already in disgrace.

It was difficult for me to get at the real truth of the affair short of asking the Foreign Minister or the Emperor himself, but I have good cause to believe that Julian was dismissed—for it practically amounted to that—because of his swagger and his talkativeness. He spouted very much to the press on his first visit, and as the emperor receives all the clippings from all the papers over the world concerning Abyssinia, it was easy for him to understand what Julian had been doing.

"Bull in China Closet."

Abyssinians, as a rule, talk very little to strangers. Information, especially concerning international affairs, is had with great difficulty from them, and only when their confidence has been won. With the leading nations of the world, including America, striving for the favored position in their land, they have to be diplomats. Here now was Julian, who was a colonel, and claimed that he was on a special mission for the emperor, smashing around like a bull in a china shop.

That Julian ever came to the United States on a mission for the emperor was officially denied by Mr. Bayane before Julian had left America and later by the Paris Legation. He had left Abyssinia to return with his wife and child, I was told. This now I have reason to believe was nearer the truth but not the real cause of his trip.

Moreover, even at Addis-Ababa, he talked too much. He lived for a time at a hotel run by a Frenchman, and here I was told he was forever talking against the French, and saying how he was going to discharge the French aviators. On the train he also had a quarrel with a French official. The French resented this; they have millions invested in a railroad here and are naturally going to protect their own interests. Moreover, the situation is a ticklish one in Abyssinia from a racial point of view.

Conditions in U. S.

Let me illustrate: I was telling a group of light-colored foreigners about color conditions in America. One of them offered to get an audience of 500 leading Abyssinians to hear me; whereupon one of them, a man in a high government position, in alarm, begged me not to do so. "If you were ever to tell the Abyssinians what you have been telling us about how they treat the colored people," he said, "they would rise and kill all the white people here. And since we are light-colored they would treat us in the same way, since they don't know the difference." I am giving his exact words. This may be true or not, but I am convinced that when the truth of America's treatment of her colored citizens gets to the ears of the darker peoples of the world, along with their own grievances, there is going to be hell to pay for all white people, good and bad, living among them. This is America's great contribution to the cause of universal brotherhood. Is it any wonder that the United States is anxious to keep her colored citizens at home?

Julian, therefore, by his injudicious talk, created much difficulty. He was poisoned, it is said, by a French aviator, but his life was saved at the American Hospital. Soon after he left the country and this, I believe, was the real cause of his leaving—to get him out of the way for a time. Indeed, now that I reflect on it, this much was inferred by his talk to me.

Julian Warmly Received.

I have it on the word of the American Minister, Mr. Southard, that Julian was most warmly received by the Abyssinian people, and regarded as a hero after he had made his parachute descent. The emperor, I also learned, thought very highly of him, and conferred Abyssinian citizenship on him, the rank of colonel, and the gold Order of Menelik II, the same as he conferred on several high European diplomats, in addition to presents. For that first drop Julian received a purse of 40,000 francs from the Abyssinian people.

The story that Julian left Abyssinia penniless is also not true. A few days after his second arrival the emperor gave him 300 pounds ($1,500), but Julian, evidently expecting trouble, had sent all his money to America, with the result that when he was leaving he had none. Meeting him on my way to Addis-Ababa I lent him enough to telegraph to America for money, which sum he has since returned to me. He showed me a deposit slip of $1,400 in the Dunbar National Bank.

Thus the story that he was dismissed chiefly because of the airplane accident is not true. I believe that the emperor is too humane and too much of a sport to have dismissed him for that. Airplane accidents are common. A few days after the coronation an experienced French aviator crashed his plane on the same field, while two others lost their lives in trying to reach the city.

Confessed His Error.

It was Julian's conduct. And he himself recognized that because in leaving me he confessed that he had talked too much, and advised me to be careful. He had as splendid a chance as any young Negro of the present day could have had, but he threw it away because of his love for exhibition and his swagger. I heard that he was in the habit of walking on streets with a whip, with which he would strike those of the humbler people who did not move out of his way fast enough.

It may be, as he said, that the aeroplane was tampered with by one of his enemies, and perhaps the emperor did not tell him in so many words to leave the country—the Abyssinians are a polite people and generally avoid hurting another's feeling—but I am sure enough was said to make Julian feel that it was best for him to go.

It was also Julian's talkativeness that caused the story to come out as it did. He told me the story as I was sitting at a dinner table with a number of tourists who were going to the coronation. Two of them, French countesses, listened to him, and expressed their great sympathy for him, saying that they had never seen a man so downcast before. In another tent were the reporters and the cinema men dining with the American Legation. The reporters, hearing the story, snapped it up, and when they reached Addis-Ababa at once began to burn the wires with it. Julian had left Addis-Ababa on October 19, two weeks before the coronation.

In the ensuing articles I will begin an account of my trip.

Did He Talk Too Much?



Mr. and Mrs. Hubert Julian

Race Problem – 1930

Africa.

Abyssinia

"BEWARE OF GREEKS BEARING GIFTS"

Courier 1-8-30

RAS TAFARI MAKONNEN, already king of kings, received last week his second coronation, entitling him to be known as Power of Trinity the First, Emperor of Ethiopia. The coronation, according to the public press, was a glittering affair. The king of kings and emperor of Ethiopia was flattered not only by telegrams from the heads of many of the great countries of the world, but he was presented, like the Babe in the manger, with many pretty things in the form of gifts, presents, etc., and whatnot.

It must be remembered that this emperor of Ethiopia is of dark skin and he presides over a dark people; but, notwithstanding his dark skin, the white races of the globe vied with each other in sending pretty presents and saying nice things. Of course, Abyssinia is quite a distance from the United States and in all probability the king of kings is not in position to appreciate what goes on over here. Lest he may have lost his head because President Hoover sent him a typical Nordic telegram, we want to remind him people as dark as he is get in lynched over here in this country and nothing is said about it, and nothing is done about it—it is just one of the habits of this highly civilized nation. We understand that quite a few of the modern inventions were sent over to the king to impress him with the type of civilization he may find when he makes his journey around the globe.

The king of kings may not understand why he received an electric refrigerator, a red typewriter emblazoned with Ethiopian royal arms, a radio set, 100 records of American music, 500 rose bushes, to say nothing of three moving picture films—"Ben Hur," "King of Kings," "With Byrd at the South Pole," and what have you and other things. We repeat he may not understand why he received all these presents. But we serve notice on him now that he will understand a little later why he received all these gifts. A few years from now the king of kings, unless he is more wise than royal, will be having trouble with these same white people. Some of them will be taking the oil out from under his land; others will be digging gold, if there is any; others will be mining the coal, if there is any; others will be seeking what they may appropriate to their various pocketbooks at the expense of the king; and, if he raises any objection, he will look out on the ocean and he will see two or three battleships sitting out there to protect the gentlemen who are helping themselves to the king's property. When all this happens, the king will understand why he received so many nice messages and pretty gifts.

We hope we are all wrong, but we hope when this prediction comes true the king will remember that a dark-skinned brother, several thousand miles away, informed him in advance of exactly what would happen. The king of kings knows the white man theoretically. American Negroes know them because they have learned them in the great and bitter school of experience.

AMERICA CHECKS EMPIRES IN ABYSSINIAN GRAB GAME

Presence Of Our Envoy At Ras Tafari's Coronation Probably Will Stop Encroachments On His Territory; Britain, France And Italy Have All Tried To Dominate Country; Britain Particularly Wants Lake Tsana As Source Of Blue Nile, But American Interests Are Now Concerned In This Region; Our Activity Marks Another Advance In The Open Door Policy Of Africa.

By EUGENE J. YOUNG

In the spectacular ceremonies which have marked the coronation of Ras Tafari as Emperor of Haile Selassie of Abyssinia there has been one manifestation which has attracted more attention in Europe than in this country, although it has warranted much interest here. The new Emperor of the interior African land gave his warmest welcome to the American delegation and made no bones of his intention in future to work in close accord with this country. In effect, he put himself under the protection of the United States; and welcomed the assurances of friendship which our delegation expressed.

Often such diplomatic amenities have little significance; they are merely polite compliments. But in this case there is a real significance. Abyssinia is coveted by Britain, France and Italy. It holds the key to control of the upper waters of the Nile. It has many undeveloped mineral and water-power riches and is capable of a high agricultural development. And, so far as Italy is concerned it is the only land still left open in Africa for colonization.

Thus threatened, Abyssinia for years has been seeking our interest and protection. We have been reluctant to take any decided position, for we have found the British foreign office and others inclined to resent any activities on our part. But now we have acted decisively. We have a full-fledged Minister in Abyssinia, and it is the intention to keep one there—and in future, following our marked display of friendship, no European power can undertake to make inroads on the country, without consulting Washington.

Open Door Policy

Not for many years will America reap any large benefits from this action; but it takes special importance from the fact that it is another advance of the Open Door Policy which we have been pursuing steadily in Africa since the World War. This advance has been made so quietly that only those who follow foreign affairs closely can gauge it, but it is nevertheless steady and important.

It began with the allotment of German African colonies in the Paris Peace Conference. There President Wilson insisted on the mandate system under which we are entitled to equal rights in the future of all the territories taken from Germany. These included little Togo, larger Kameruns and still larger German Southwest Africa on the west of the continent and German East Africa on the east side. These are highly important lands.

Next we asserted the Open Door in Morocco, which France and Spain had undertaken to divide between them; and after much diplomatic by-play, that right has been conceded. Our equality of opportunity is there for us to exercise whenever we may choose.

Next we challenged the right of the British to control the trade of Egypt and our minister in Cairo has insisted on treating with the Government there as though we placed full faith in the British declaration that freedom had been given back to the land. Britain does not yet concede our equal status, but cannot prevent our steady advance towards it.

Liberia Practically A Colony

On the upper West Coast we have a solid foothold, for Liberia is practically an American colony and is being developed with American money. Until recent years we had paid little attention to it and the British were making an effort to get control of it—the excuse being a desire to put down the slave trade—but recently it has been realized that here is a fine field for production of rubber and other raw materials. So, diplomatically, we have our advance post in this region.

We also have a special position with relation to the Belgian Congo. In the scandals over the Belgian administration before the World War, we took a hand with other powers and compelled reforms. We still claim a right of oversight; and, besides, our capital is going into the colony in large sums to help in development of its riches.

And now we are planting our diplomacy firmly in the northeast at Haileisish Selassie's capital. As we are also in close diplomatic relations with South Africa, it can be seen that American influence is pretty well spread over the continent and that we are likely to have more to say about its future. We were late in getting interested in Africa, but it may be said we are overlooking no bets now. We do not intend to leave the rich domain to the European empires.

Intrigues of Empires Failed

Abyssinia, or Ethiopia, can thank the World War for its continued independence. For, before that conflict, the scene had all been set for its absorption by the empires; and the drama would doubtless have been played out had not the powers concerned become involved in a death grapple at home.

The country offered to British diplomacy two especial points. First, Italy was clamoring for a share of colonies and had to be kept satisfied if it were to be detached from the Triple Alliance in case of a war: For that reason, the Eastern part of Abyssinia was put in an Italian "sphere of influence", subject to a French claim based on a small colony on the Red Sea.

Secondly, on the West, Abyssinia jutted into the British Sudan, flanking the Cape-to-Cairo route which was then one of the prime plans of the Empire. Also it contained the headwaters of the Blue Nile and Lake Tsana, which could be dammed and used to control the floods of that stream, as well as to give tremendous water-power development. So, in agreement with Italy, the British took the Western half of the country as their sphere. Thus, in theory, was split up an area as large as Texas, Oklahoma and Louisiana, with a population of 10,000,000 or more.

Before the World War Italy had sent a military expedition to take its "sphere" but it found the warlike Abyssinians not easy to conquer; and, after some big disasters, had to content itself with holding strips along the Eastern coast, leading to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. Britain was so busy elsewhere that it preferred to try to get its objects by diplomacy and quiet penetration. So, with the beginning of the war, the Ethiopians still held their mountain fastnesses.

Protected by the League

France had been so busy in Western and Central Africa that it had not been able to check the British-Italian deal, and had been able to get only a small piece of the Eastern coast between the two Italian possessions. But it had built a railroad to the Ethiopian capital and so had a key position in diplomacy and a strong desire to hold it.

So after the war, French influence was used to put the country into the League of Nations. Britain tried to prevent this recognition by raising the issue of slavery practices in Ethiopia, but the government passed a law forbidding slavery and membership in the League was accorded late in 1923.

London and Rome, however, did not give up even then. Power in Abyssinia was divided between the weak Empress and the strong Regent, Ras Tafari, and the country was in need of many things. So the diplomats of these two powers in 1926 wrested a treaty giving recognition to Italian "rights" in the East and British primacy in the Tsana region. France, however, stirred up a row in the League backed Ras Tafari and got him to make a formal protest to that body; and Britain and Italy had to make a retreat which was far from graceful. Even the British Dominions would not stand for such an attempt to gobble up a member.

Turn to America For Help

It was then that Ras Tafari decided he must get help to develop his counrty and this help must come from those who would not forward imperial ambitions

He made a vigorous campaign to interest American diplomacy and capital. He sent missions to this country and invited us to reciprocate and to study the riches he had to offer. We, in return, first sent some scientific expeditions and agents from the Cairo legation to look into the country's situation and possibilities; and in 1928 we sent a minister.

The issue was drawn between Britain and America when Ras Tafari asked Washington to recommend an American concern to take over the construction of the works at Lake Tsana and below for the control of the waters of the Blue Nile and the development of water-power. The J. G. White Construction Company, of New York, took the contract. The London Foreign office has thrown every possible obstacle in the way of this project—even going so far as to protest to the League (unofficially) that the White Company intended to use slave labor—but Washington has been firm. Now the American company is sending out its field forces and the work of harnessing the Blue Nile has at last been put under way.

As this work prgoresses there is no doubt that American capital will explore the possibilities in the water-power and irrigation and will have something to say about future development. And Washington will undoubtedly back it up.

There will be sentimental aspects to our protection, as well as economic and diplomatic ones. The Ethiopians, who are a mixture of Semitic and Hamitic bloods —with the Semitic dominant in the upper classes, have kept Christianity alive in Africa in spite of the utmost attempts of Mohammedanism to wipe it out. The ruling line claims direct descent from King Menelik, son of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. And, now, Ras Tafari, the new monarch, is reaching out to get into touch with the most modern ways and things of civilization for the reawakening of his people.

Coronation of Ras Tafari Marked With Splendor

By LOUIS J. MORAND
[Chicago Defender Foreign Correspondent]

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia, Nov. 7. — (Special) — The oldest kingdom in the world has just crowned its 334th ruler. Sunday, at daybreak, the coronation ceremony that made Ras Tafari Makonnen Emperor Haile Selassie I, Lord King of Kings of Ethiopia, Conquering Lion of Judah and the elect of God was performed amid the splendors of the old world that transformed this city of 60,000 into something approaching a page from the "Arabian Nights."

It was such a scene that has not been witnessed in many centuries in Africa, and rarely, if ever before in any other part of the world.

By this ceremony, that had its beginning three weeks ago when the new ruler with his wife, Princess Waziru Menen, opened into the ancient period of prayer that has marked the coronations of new Ethiopian rulers for centuries past.

Then, following a series of ceremonies of lesser importance, the ras and his princess prepared themselves Saturday afternoon for an all night vigil in the Cathedral of St. George where they remained in one long, continuous prayer for strength to rule their people justly, until the break of dawn Sunday morning when, led by the priests and high priests of the kingdom, Ras Tafari and Princess Waziru passed through a long line of bowing subjects to the newly built coronation hall where the Coptic archbishop of Ethiopia placed a crown of gold and jewels upon the head of Ras Tafari.

"This crown shall be the crown of thy glory," chanted the archbishop in a clear voice and in the picturesque language of Ethiopia, and the emperor answered, "I am the least of thy brethren."

The next crown of lesser proportions was placed upon the head of the princess and she became empress and the ceremony ended with the handing of a diadem to the eldest son of the emperor who now become crown prince of Ethiopia.

"Do you intend during all your life to be the servant of your father?" the archbishop asked the crown prince.

And in clear, steady voice came back the answer: "I submit myself to that obligation with all my heart because it is commanded of God to honor thy father and thy mother."

Absolute quiet reigned throughout the town during the ceremony. Although 300,000 souls had crowded into a territory that normally housed and fed just 60,000, there was the peace and quiet of an ordinary Sunday morning. The voices of the archbishop and the emperor could be heard clearly by the throng outside the hall (none but guests and high officials of state were admitted to the ceremony). Then, when the last word was spoken, and the new emperor, mighty ruler of the Lions of Judah, arose from his kneeling position before the altar, a mighty cheer went up that rebounded against the three hills upon which Addis Ababa is situated, 8,000 feet above sea level, and sent roaring echoes into the jungle. Cymbals and drums that had remained quiet during the ceremony took up their jubilant beating, and voices once again resumed their hurrahs for their master.

Out upon a raised platform, the emperor greeted his subjects in the order of their importance. First came the rasses of Ethiopia's 30 states, many of whom were bowing in complete submission to the King of Kings of Ethiopia for the first time in their lives. Then came the priests and other high churchmen, followed by dignitaries of foreign countries. The Duke of Gloucester, son of the king of England, led the delegations of foreign countries.

After the official greetings were over, the natives assembled were treated to a huge banquet of raw beef, 25,000 of them said to have partaken of the feast for which 5,000 cattle were slaughtered. The eating of raw meat is a custom in Ethiopia as old as the kingdom itself, and is believed by all to make for strength of body and character.

The ceremonies over, the feast having been completed, medals and honors of state having been conferred upon numerous chiefs as well as visiting diplomats, the emperor and his queen having ridden through the town in their fine chariot drawn by four snow-white Hungarian horses, the celebration calmed down gradually from its frenzy to a normal state which continued throughout Sunday and Monday. By Tuesday delegates and visitors were on their way back to their distant homes. Many of the natives had come from great distances to be at the coronation. They had trekked across desert and mountain from far inland, and had to hasten home to attend their cattle and live stock before the rains set in.

Ethiopia is one of the most unique and picturesque countries of the world. The country is believed to have been founded more than 2,000 years before the birth of Christ. The reigning house of which Ras Tafari comes was founded, according to authentic history, when the Queen of Sheba visited King Solomon to seek advice from him about her country. She remained with the wise king for several months, and shortly after her return to Ethiopia gave birth to a son whom she named Menelik, and whose father she said was Solomon. This son grew to manhood and ruled over his country wisely and for a long period. By direct line from the Queen of Sheba have descended all the rulers of Ethiopia.

The greatest ruler the country ever had was Menelik II, who died in 1913 after withstanding attempts of the Italians and other European countries to partition Ethiopia for their own use. Upon the death of Menelik II, Princess Zoaditu, his daughter, became empress with Ras Tafari, her cousin as heir-apparent and regent. Zoaditu died in April of this year, and Ras Taffari ascended to the throne.

One of the interesting things about Ethiopia is that it is surrounded by foreign territory. Italian and French Somaliland shut the country off from the Gulf of Aden, the nearest outlet to the sea, and the country is bounded on the northwest by British Egyptian Sudan; west by French Equatorial Africa, and southwest by the Belgian Congo. At no point does Ethiopia have free communication with sections of Africa that the white man has not claimed. Yet this country remains independent, its 10,000,000 inhabitants expressing fealty only to their ruler, Ras Tafari, King of Kings and of the Lions of Judah.

One spectacle marred the entire coronation ceremonies, Hubert Julian, American parachute jumper, who hasn't learned the rudiments of good behavior and who knows less about aviation, came here to get in the limelight and succeeded in getting himself banished from the country in disgrace. This happened Friday of last week when this New York adventurer who seems to have a knack of getting himself in the spotlight where he has no business, took the favorite airplane of the emperor, a gift from the daughter of Gordon Selfridge, head of the largest department store in London, and smashed it at the very feet of Ras Tafari. Julian, who never has demonstrated that he can fly, took the plane expressly against orders of the ras, and managed to get it into the air. After getting up, Julian did just what he always does when he gets up in a plane—picked out a suitable place to fall and fell.

Abyssinia's New Ruler Has Rare Charm And High Degree of Intelligence

To the Editor of The New York Times:

Theirs were the faces of poets, dreamers and philosophers, and one could not help feeling the spell of their marked repose and indescribable gentleness. The Prince had a dignity mingled with strength and placidity that bespoke a broad, observing mind and sympathetic character. I recall and fine, exceptional charm, culture and intelligence. Reading of the preparations for his coronation, I received the vivid impressions I received These Ethiopians, though not on tall men, have a certain stateliness about them. And not the least interesting aspect of them is that their distinctly Hebraic cast of countenance, which gave color to the legend of their being descended from the offspring of the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and his Ministers also spoke English, Spanish and Italian. They had voices of rare softness and beauty.

All of them spoke French, and his Ministers, secretaries and attendants and be able to study of countenance, which gave color them at close range was an experience of extraordinary interest. This Ras Tafari, who on Sunday is to be crowned Emperor of Ethiopia, is a personality of quite exceptional charm, culture and intelligence. Reading of the preparations for his coronation, I recall the vivid impressions I received These Ethiopians, though not on tall men, have a certain stateliness about them. And not the least interesting aspect of them is that their distinctly Hebraic cast of countenance, which gave color to the legend of their being descended from the offspring of the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

FELIX ORMAN.

Boston, Mass., Oct. 29, 1930

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Race Problem – 1930
Asia

White Arrogance in China

The Volunteer

Feb 1930
Vol. VI No 2
Bombay, Qid

The offensive sign-board reading "Dogs and Chinese Not Allowed" have been removed from Shanghai's parks. But the spirit which put this arrogant, insulting piece of effrontery up is not yet dead among certain elements of Shanghai's foreign population, remarks the "China Weekly Review" (Shanghai), so it reports that the Chinese may enter office buildings in Shanghai, but a very irritating regulation obliges them to enter some buildings by the rear entrance. This weekly continues:

"This was forcibly brought to our attention recently when we entered an elevator in a foreign building on the Bund. Two Chinese attempted to enter the same elevator, but were stopped by the operator, who pointing to a sign which hung above his head, indicated that this particular conveyance was for the use of foreigners only. The Chinese were not indifferent; they protested. For answer, the operator closed the door in their faces.

"Since that incident we have learned that there are a number of buildings in Shanghai which enforce this petty, obnoxious ruling. In several of them Chinese clerks are required to use the rear entrances: in some cases they are obliged to walk up the stairs, being barred from the lifts.

"Such a discrimination is made where the "Review" happens to have its offices—the Great Northern Telegraph Building. There are two entrances and two systems of elevators—one on the east for foreigners and another on the west for Chinese. There is a sign, in Chinese and English, hung in each of the elevators reserved for foreigners which reads somthing like this: 'Chinese employed in the building will please use the eastern entrance.' The other day, we were descending in the foreign lift with a Chinese friend of ours (since he was not employed in the building, this transgression of the inferior race was tolerated), who, upon seeing this sign, exclaimed: 'Chih Hsu bu pien!' Roughly translated this idiom some what corresponds to the English. "A leopard does not change his spots."

Race Problem-1930

Europe

NATIVES HELP BUILD FRENCH COLONIES

Hold Important Places in Agricultural and Financial Councils and Assemblies.

Afro-American

EXERCISE THE BALLOT

1-4-30

Madagascar Has Native Section Equal to French.

Baltimore, Md.

PARIS, France. — That Negroes have participated in the development of the French colonies throughout the world is shown by the important posts they have held in the various local councils and assemblies, according to a bulletin just issued by the French chamber of commerce.

In Algeria

In Algeria, since 1878, they have elected representatives to the colonial financial delegation which votes the colony's budget, subject to the control of the French Parliament. All natives have not been granted the right to vote, but a law passed in 1919 increased the electors and gave the municipal councilors the right to help elect mayors.

In Tunisia

In Tunisia, a Consulting Conference comprising a native section whose members are appointed by economic groups was begun in 1907. In 1922, an extended right to vote was granted to the natives. Two deliberating councils were formed, the Caidet Councils and the Local Councils. They were compsed in principle entirely of native Tunisians. A Grand council, with a native section whose members were elected by local councils. They were composed in principle the Consulting Conference. Since 1920 a native consulting chamber for agricultural interests has existed in the north, and a chamber of commercial and industrial interests in the city of Tunis.

In West Africa

Councils of prominent natives, to be consulte on taxation and its distribution, and on questions of general administration, were organized in West Africa in 1920. The various councils then existing in the colony were reorganized and a certain number of natives were admitted to each.

In 1925 a decree was made that those admitted to the councils would be elected by an electoral body, composed of the social and economic elite, who had given proof of their value and loyalty. Native members have also been admitted to the chambers of commerce and industry since 1925.

In Madagascar

In Madagascar, financial and economic delegations were established on a trial in 1921, definitely in 1924. There is a native section of 24 members equal to the French section, appointed by a vote of the village chiefs. Natives are also represented in the district and provincial bodies.

In Togo-Cameroon

In the African mandates of Togo and Cameroon there is a governor assisted by the Council of Administration. In each zone a council of notables is appointed by the governor, on the proposal of the experienced native councilors. It is composed of seven members, two being natives. It is consulted on all important questions and may dispute the governor

REVOLUTION IN INDIA THREATENS PRESTIGE

Riots in Africa, Uprising in Samoa Recorded.

CHINA MAKES TROUBLE

Britain Hardest Hit of All Nations By Extra Territoriality Revocation—Egypts and Mesopotamia Smouldering.

BY ROBERT WELLES RITCHIE.
Universal Service Staff Correspondent.

LONDON, Jan. 4.—The "White Man's Burden," heralded by Rudyard Kipling at the height of the British imperialistic are a generation ago, finaly escaped at the end of 1929 out of the realms of poetry into cold and sober fact.

With the exception of the years of the Great War, not in a quarter of a century has the glorified burden been heavier than it is today. The mother country, supposed to be the heart of the "commonwealth of nations"—and only supposed to be such by sufferance of the self-supporting and practically independent dominions—at the beginning of the new year faces these major incidents threatening her authority:

India Again Threatens.

1. Secession and campaign for complete independence by India.
2. China's revocation of extra-territorial rights, which affects Great Britain more than any other nation.
3. The conclusion of the sitting of the British commission of inquiry into the Palestine Arab-Zionist bitterness, which beforehand is discounted as settling nothing.
4. Riots of the natives in Nigeria, Africa, so far resulting in 34 dead.
5. Intertribal warfare in Bulowa, South Africa, where the Matabele and Mashona natives attacked each other, some armed with bicycle chains attached to clubs, others with bayonets, knives, "knob-kerries" and war clubs.
6—The uprising at Apia, Samoa, by the "Mau," a native society dedicated to opposition to the New Zealand government, wherein one white constable was beaten to death, eight native Samoans were killed, including Chief Tamasese, and 12 seriously wounded.

This survey includes only the list of active or immediate threats of active revolt against British dominion in both hemispheres. It does not include such smoldering volcanoes as Egypt and Mesopotamia, where the threat of open outbreaks is indicated only by subterranean murmurs.

Situation Is Uncertain.

So, the beginning of 1930 sees Britain's prestige threatened in a major manner in India, China, and Palestine, and in sporadic riots elsewhere.

The Indian situation is so changeable day by day that what is news one hour is dead 60 minutes later, especially with the British censorship so manifestly active.

The crux of the situation there is apparently how far the Indian national congress represents the will of the 350,000,000 persons of all races, creeds and castes, of which 296,000,000 are unable to read and write.

If Mahatma M. K. Gandhi and the extremists demanding complete independence from Britain have any considerable penetration through the illiterate mass, including Moslems, several million "untouchables" who are primitives little removed from the stone age, Britain's army of 68,000 white British soldiers in India may be called upon to face overwhelming odds.

These odds would be increased—in the event of actual secession—rather than diminished, by reason of the presence of 162,000 native Indian troops officered by Britain's finest officers.

Under the hourly change in the Indian situation, it is impossible to prophesy whether the present turbulence immediately threatens British suzerainty.

One can only cite the temper of the session of the Indian congress as indicative of the temper of the apparent minority of irreconcilables.

Hit by Chinese Ruling.

"At the mercy of Chinese justice," is the way one London paper mourns Nanking's proclamation announcing the withdrawal of extra-territoriality rights established in 1842. Boiled down to hard facts, here is a partial list of the property values, the majority of which are British, which will be under the peculiar jurisdiction of the Chinese courts subject to the fluctuations of unstable gopernments:

First—Five hundred million dollars indebtedness of China to individuals and firms.

Second—Six thousand miles of railway.

Third—British insurance exceeding $100,000,000.

Unmeasurable in terms of pounds sterling and American dollars will be the British "loss of face" to their prestige, hitherto built up on the principle of white superiority.

Anent Palestine, whatever the official report may be, the government cannot escape the recent charge of Lloyd George, Lord Balfour and Gen. Jan C. Smuts and all the members of the war cabinet responsible for Britain's acceptance of the Palestine mandate, that the mandate is not working satisfactorily.

Britain knows that all the Moslem world, under and outside its dominion, is jealously awaiting any intimation of a report discriminating against the Arabs.

As Britain faces 1930 Britain faces trouble—serious trouble in India and Palestine—trouble that Britain will probably see its way through, but which will see prestige bullet-ridden and power diminishing.

The "white man's burden" is no longer a pretty, rythmic, strongly cadenced poem—it is not fable; it is fact.

MY TRIP ABROAD

BY ROBERT S. ABBOTT—

X—THE CARDIFF RIOT

IN CARDIFF, WALES, is to be found the largest settlement of Colored people in Europe. There are some 4,000 of them permanently there, while the number of seamen who drift in and out runs up to hundreds more.

Chicago Defender 1/17/30

The settlement is in the neighborhood of the docks in a section called Bute Town, but which has come to be known as Tiger Bay, because of the fights that used to take place there among the seamen.

Cardiff is said to be the best town for Negroes in the British Isles, which is not saying very much. It is a great coal center and colliers leave here for all parts of the world. Most of the ships are owned by small companies and they employ Negroes readily because they cannot only get them cheaper than white men, but can get more work out of them.

They also do nearly all the rough work at an average wage of about $47.50 a month. The highest position a Negro gets on one of these ships is steward, although several of them have a captain's license.

I arrived at Tiger Bay just at the height of a quarrel between two sailors and had a good chance of getting a view at the general appearance of the inhabitants. There were so many Colored people that I really believed myself to be back in the neighborhood of some Colored town in the South, except for the few white faces and the children, who were all mulattoes.

The history of this Colored settlement goes back many years. Negroes have been living here even before the advent of the steam boat. The oldest resident, Mr. Prevost, aged 80, has been living there for 50 years.

Nearly all the men have white wives, while some of those born in the town have married the Colored girls also born there. The white parents, it is said, usually object to a mixed marriage, but the girls, as a rule, have their own way, after which the parents generally accept the situation. As to the white men they go around with the Colored girls, but will not marry them. One or two have married Colored girls, but it is said that their relatives and friends made life difficult for them.

No Segregation

There are some 600 Colored children in the town, all of them being as was said of mixed descent. In one short block on Nelson St. alone there were some 70 children, one man having 12.

There is no segregation, and many white people live in the same house as the Colored. All go to the same school in the neighborhood, the Colored children, of course, being in the majority. There are no Colored teachers. Indeed, no Colored person occupies a position of even minor importance in the town.

The only work open to Negroes in Cardiff is at sea, and the brightest boys must sooner or later go to sea at the rate of $47.50. Even those

who learn trades find no opening, while the girls must go to domestic work or on the stage. Some of these children have won scholarships, but it makes no difference when it comes to getting employment later. All seamen must belong to the National Sailors and Firemen's union.

Hundreds of Negroes belong to this union and minor officials are sometimes Colored. As to getting the Negroes themselves to unite, this is a difficult task due to differences of birthplace and religion. Most of them are from the West Indies and bring their island differences with them, or are from Africa or Asia, in which case they are mostly Mohammedans.

Two highly intelligent Negroes from the West Indies, Messrs. A. Sheppard and Knowles, with whom I talked, said that they have tried hard to organize them, but the difficulties mentioned above as well as the fact that the men are away so much at sea made it impossible.

Most of the business of the town is run by Jews, Arabs, Italians and one or two of the white people, Arthur Ford of 11 Nelson St., however, has a grocery store and a shoe repairing establishment, both of which he industriously runs himself.

One of the richest men in the town is Peter Link. Mr. Link was born in Africa and came to Cardiff as a seaman. Now he owns several houses, has one of the finest race horses in Wales, an Alsatian dog that won seven first prizes and lives in a beautifully furnished home on Loudon Pl. He has five daughters, to whom he has given good educations as well as trips to the continent from time to time.

The Cardiff Riot

He is well liked by everybody, Colored and white. And the astonishing thing about him is that he can neither read nor write; a fact that he will tell you himself. All of which proves that a man of real worth will rise no matter what the difficulty.

There is also D. Elliott, who has a tailor shop near the railroad station, as well as a few smaller businesses. A mission for seamen is on Angelina St. in charge of Mr. Boyer.

Cardiff was the scene of one of the worst series of race riots that swept over England at the close of the war. In Tiger Bal itself the Negroes, regardless of island or religious differences, stood together and defied the mob, but lone Negroes who found themselves in other parts of the towns were murdered or brutally mistreated.

A Negro funeral procession was mobbed and the corpse was taken from the coffin and all set on fire. It was charged that the head of the dead man was cut off and used as a football, but this is denied by many.

The Colored people were organized for defense by Dr. R. E. Fennel, who was mentioned in the last article. When the white mob came to attack the Colored settlement, it is said that the white policemen who were guarding it stepped aside and told the mob to go in if it dared. "The darkies are waiting in there for you," said the sergeant grimly. The mob thought better of it and kept out of Tiger Bay.

And the Negroes, armed to the teeth, were indeed waiting for them. "This is black man's territory," said one of the Negroes to me, "no John Bull can come down here and run us." Policemen in the town find it better to humor the Negroes than to use high-handed methods for, as a rule, they are a war-like lot.

The white newspapers, however, are always attacking the Negroes. Mr. Sheppard was kind enough to give me a copy of the Western Mail and South Wales in which a long article was devoted to this purpose. It was entitled, "Colored Pests," and was based chiefly on the report of the chief of police. It attacked chiefly the presence of white women in cafes and the general association of white women and Colored men.

This article caused a great indignation in Tiger Bay, and a good many of the white wives of those Colored men called on the editor, I heard, and gave him a piece of their mind, and generally made it hot for him.

They told him that they were respectable women, rearing their children, and that their husbands took care of them better than white men would have done. This attack was unwarranted, for the fact is that although there is a certain low and disorderly element, the bulk of the regular residents of Tiger Bay are respectable and law-abiding just as anywhere else. The fact is that it is only economic conditions that have thrust everybody, good and bad, into the same neighborhood.

The children looked healthy and on Sunday were well dressed. The only ones who looked like wrecks were the white men. The Negroes all kept themselves up in some way or other. Having traveled so much about the world they were generally well informed.

In Liverpool

From Cardiff I went to Liverpool, where a good many Negroes also live. Colored people have been living in this town since the days of the slave trade, and I saw some of the old auction rooms in which they were once sold. Most of the Negroes are also seamen and work principally for Elder Dempster & Co., a firm that trades with West Africa and the West Indies.

As to other employment, conditions are the same as elsewhere—nothing else but on ships and that is hard to get. Colored and white live in the same buildings and Colored and white children use the same playground. In one playground at Stanhope St., in which neighborhood most of the Negroes live, I saw Colored and white boys and girls playing together. All the Colored children in Liverpool are also of mixed ancestry, white mothers and black fathers. I understood, however, that a Negro rarely went out together with his wife on the streets because of the insulting remarks with which they are usually greeted.

An African and West Indian mission, under the auspices of the Liverpool Wesleyan mission, is conducted in a fine well kept building on Parliament St. The pastor is Rev. Ernest Adkin, white, who takes a keen interest in his work. In addition to the services, he talks to the parents and sometimes takes all the children out on excursions. He does excellent work and is very highly thought of. A rooming house for seamen is conducted by Eustace Lynch at 16 George Sq. Mr. Lynch has eight fine children.

Liverpool was also the scene of a big race riot and here the Colored people fared worse because they were scattered. Several were killed and although it was the white men who started the riot, the Negroes were given the longer terms of imprisonment.

I could go on to say much about the Negro in these and other parts of England, as in Manchester, Hull and South Shields, but I have promised to tell how to make an economical trip to Europe and I must reserve space for that.

Once in Europe, one can travel cheaply, except in England, where a third-class fare on the railroad is higher than a day coach in America. On the continent it is cheaper and there are three classes, while in England there are but two, first and third.

For $80 Expenditure

A second class fare from Paris to Berlin and back again costs $49. And this means that one may go by the following route, which, as will be seen on the map, is pretty comprehensive, from Paris to Ostend, Bruges, Brussels, Antwerp, Rotterdam, La Hague, Amsterdam, Bremen, Hamburg, Berlin, Wiesbaden, down the Rhine to Cologne Aix-la-Chapelle, Liege, Paris. A third class fare costs about one-fourth less. Should one desire to visit southern Germany, going as far as Munich, thence to Wiesbaden and down the Rhine a second class is about $8 more, or $57. These tickets, sold at the different agencies, permit one to step off when and where he likes.

For $80 or less one may visit most of the countries of western Europe, including Austria, Italy and Spain, traveling third class.

The difference between second and third class is that the seat of the former is upholstered and that of the latter is wooden, while that between the first and second is largely the color of the plush. We traveled first class and I noted that often the second class compartment was in the same coach as the first. Most of the better class Europeans travel second and a good many third class.

Living on the continent is from one-half to one-third cheaper than in the United States, and sometimes less if one knows how. I shall give you a list of the places to stay and restaurants, with the approximate prices. This includes the tip, or services, which is expected and even added in some countries like Italy and Germany.

Paris, Hotel le Sorbonne, 6 rue Victor Cousin, near the Sorbonne, 80 cents a day; Hotel Casino, 41 rue Clichy, $1 (English spoken); Hotel Apollo, $1; Hotel du Globe, 50 rue des Escoles, 80 cents. At all these hotels, except the first, more expensive rooms can be had. All have hot and cold running water. When an inexpensive room is wanted be sure to ask for "un petite chambre par jour."

If one speaks French he may still obtain cheaper rooms without hot and cold running water in the neighborhood of the Hotel de Ville or city hall. A franc is about four cents.

Restaurants: Boulant, 34 Boulevard St. Michel, a la carte, 60 cents; Chartier, Rue Racine, 40 cents, a la carte; Duval, 24 Boulevard St. Michel, a la carte, 80 cents; Chinese restaurant, Rue Royer-Collard, 20 cents and up; Chaumiere Polonaise, 4 Rue L'Ecole de Medicine, the same. The cooking in all these places can be recommended.

For a very good restaurant, Reuzier's, Place St. Michel, from $1.50 to $10, a la carte, and for a very cheap one, 19 Rue Soufflet, a regular dinner, including soup, meat, vegetables, bread, dessert and wine, 25 cents. The same at 61 Boulevard St. Michel. All are in the Latin quarter and near to one another.

Brussels Cheap

Brussels: Hotel a la Ville D'Anvers, 27B Boulevard Baudouin, near the Gare du Nord, or North Station, 60 cents, no running water. A good many hotels are also in this neighborhood. Excellent meals may be had at the Restaurant Viennois (Jewish) near the American Express for from 50 cents to $1, and there are many low-priced eating places on Rue Neuve, the next street. The Belgian franc is three cents.

Amsterdam: Hotel Hollandia, Singel 18, near the station, $1, which includes room and a good breakfast. It is a very clean boarding house, run by a pleasant Dutch lady. For other meals, Haagschekoppelins, on Damrak, the main street, 60 cents. There are also many reasonable hotels on the main street. English is spoken at all the places on the main street. None spoken in the first named place, which is the best and most reasonable.

Bremen: Hotel Bach, $1, or almost any hotel facing the station. Hamburg, Hotel Darmstadter Hof, or Kieler Hof, on Bremeriche Strasse, just off the street facing the railroad station going south. Many reasonable hotels are in this neighborhood, as well as restaurants at which meals may be had for two marks, or 50 cents.

Berlin: Hotel Hermes, 6 Schiffdauerdamm, N. W. 6, near the Friedrichstrasse station, $1.20, hot and cold running water. Few of the cheaper European hotels, outside of France, have running water in the rooms. Breakfast may be had at Admiral's cafe, nearby, for 25 cents, and dinner at Aschinger's, nearby (upstairs), for 50 cents.

Wiesbaden: Hotel Berg, or any other place near the station, $1. Berlin is cheaper than other German towns, except Munich.

Munich: Hotel Wurzburger Hof, 8 Goethestrasse, $1.

Cologne, Dom Hotel, Domstrasse, or Hotel Minerva, both near the station, $1.

London: Bedford Hotel, 79 Southampton Row, W. C. 1, $2.15 a day, including breakfast and bath. Many other places of the same in the vicinity. For a cheaper place, Northumberland Hotel, 7 Chesterfield St., W. C., opposite King's Cross station, $1.25. There are also many others of the same class in the neighborhood. The same holds true of the neighborhoods of most of the railroad stations.

Nice, France: Hotel Victor Hugo, Boulevard Victor Hugo, $1 a day. Many reasonable hotels in front of the station.

Rome: Hotel Lago Maggiore, Via Cavour, near the station, from $1.19 up. On the side street, Via Principe Umberto No. 1, rooms may be had for 60 cents up. There are also several reasonable hotels on this street, as well as restaurants at which a full meal may be had for 45 cents.

Venice: Hotel Nazionale, near the station, 90 cents, hot and cold running water. Many reasonable restaurants in the neighborhood, or stop at Mestre, the railroad station of Venice, where rooms may be had at the Moderno Hotel Zordan for 60 cents.

Some Clean Hotels

In Vienna, Hotel Mariahilf, 121 Mariahilferstrasse, $1 and up. These hotels represent varying grades, but all can be recommended as being clean. The European hotels, even of the lower class, are as a rule clean.

The biggest single expense is steamship passage. A third class return can be had for as low as $80 and a third class tourists return, which is somewhat better accommodation, costs $125.

Visa fees must also be counted. The following countries are free: Belgium, Holland, Germany, Denmark and Italy. The following cost about $2 each: France, Spain and Austria. England, $10. Visa fees are expensive for Americans. Most other nationalities get them for nothing. A British subject or a Cuban may go around the world for something like $20 in visas. The same would cost an American $324. A British subject may travel all over Europe for about $2. The same would cost an American about $84. The United States charges all these people $10 visa fees and some of them retaliate by charging Americans the same.

Americans must also pay $10 for a passport good for only two years; a British passport for five years costs $1.25.

With $400 then one ought to be able to make a 40-day tour of the continent. Here are the items: Steamship passage from New York and return, third class, $175, including tax; railroad fare to Paris, passport, visa and other tax, $16; railroad fare, third class, to Belgium, Holland, Germany, passing through France again, visiting Marseilles, Nice, Monte Carlo and through Italy as far as Rome, or even Naples, and returning to Paris, passing through Austria and Switzerland, $85; hotel accommodations, food and other expenses for 40 days, at $3 per day, $120; grand total, $386.

By visiting fewer countries, the sum may be reduced. For second class travel the fare will be about $105. Those stop-over tickets may be had at almost any tourist agency in Paris.

As was said, one may travel cheaply through Europe if one knows how. The figures could be put lower yet, but we are making allowances for lack of knowledge of the language, also for pretty good accommodations and food.

(Next week: The conclusion of my visit in England, Austria and Italy.).

Race Problem—1930
Europe

A Royal True Story of France's Black Princess

A Black Child Born in Royal Household of Louis XIV. Doctor Explained That Queen "Looked" at Negro Dwarf, Nabo who was Her Intimate Companion. The Child Hidden in a Convent, Became Sister Louise Marie, Princess of the Blood and Lived as a Nun.

Afro-American

By J. A. ROGERS

Written exclusively for the AFRO-AMERICAN
(Reproduction forbidden without consent of this Newspaper)

Shakespeare, in "Titus Andronicus," tells the story of a Roman Empress who had a child by a black menial. Here is a true story of a French Queen, daughter of one of the oldest royal families of Europe, the Hapsburgs of Spain and Austria, who did the same.

5—10—30

As may be imagined, the story was hushed up at the time, but enough of it came out to create a first-class scandal. It was, however, not until the death of all parties concerned that the full story was told with the result that there arose many written versions of it. Besides, the many stories and romances that have been written around the incident have complicated matters. This, however, is a presentation of the story, shorn of romance.

Baltimore Md.

THE STORY

Several years after the death of the Queen, Marie-Theresa, of Austria and Spain, wife of Louis XIV, and about the time the King had secretly married his favorite, Mme. de Maintenon, an unknown man who said that he was a shoeing smith from an adjoining province, presented himself at the gates of Versailles and demanded to see the King. The guards took him for a crank, but as he insisted that he had a secret of great importance for the ears of the King alone, the gentlemen of the household finally decided to report the matter to their chief, the Marshal Duras. The latter, when he saw this peasant with his shifty eyes and his clumsy speech and manners also decided that he was a fool, and bade him give his message and be gone.

A Peasant Brings a Message from the Dead Queen

The peasant then told this astonishing story:

He said that as he was returning home two or three nights before, he saw in the corner of a wood a dazzling white light which turned out to be a woman in very bright garments with a face that shone like the sun, and who said to him that she was the dead Queen. She then spoke to him and told him a secret that was to be whispered only in the King's ear.

Although Marshal Duras questioned him in many different ways, the sly old fellow was obdurate. Finally the nobleman losing all patience, drove him away, and told him if he did not keep still he'd be clapped in prison.

After that bit of advice the peasant made himself scarce. Marshal Duras, not thinking the matter worth while, said nothing about it to the King.

But what was his surprise when the king, himself, mentioned it a few days later, and ordered the man brought before him.

The peasant again related his story of the vision on which the King became so agitated that he could hardly speak. Louis was very superstitious, but even had he been the most sceptical of mortals he would have had cause for astonishment as the peasant was relating, detail for detail, a dream, he, himself, had had on the same night.

"Sire," the peasant concluded, "the phantom has appeared to me again. Twice, now, it has bid me find you and tell you to publish your marriage."

At this there was a lightning change in the King. His superstition and fear had suddenly turned to great wrath. It was all clear to him now, this "dream" of the peasant. It was court intrigue. A certain clique had been urging him to make public his marriage, and hearing of his own dream, some one had told it to this peasant, and had sent the peasant to him.

Rising to his feet the King lifted his stick to strike the man, but the latter falling on his knees implored: "Sire, if you doubt me, I can give you infallible proof. The spectre I saw told me to speak to you **in the name of the Negro woman of Moret."**

Again there was another great change in the King. He became as pale as a corpse and seizing the hand of the peasant, imposed silence on him. That same evening the man was conducted to the Bastille, where luxuries were heaped on him, but where nevertheless he was held a prisoner in great secret.

A Negro Dwarf Had Been Companion of the Queen

Twenty years before, the King of Dahomey had sent to the Queen, by the Grand Admiral of France, the present of a little Negro dwarf. The Queen was very much attached to the Negro. He could now be seen on the carpet playing like a little cat, making somersaults, or mounting on tables and bureau drawers; sometimes on the sofa and even on the knees of the Queen.

He was dressed after the manner of his native Africa, and wore rich bracelets, armlets, a string of precious stones, his turban was magnificent, and Mme. de Maintenon gave him a superb aigrette of rubies and diamonds.

All the other ladies, following the example of the Queen wished to have little Negroes to accompany them in order better to show off the whiteness of their complexions, and to carry their trains.

This is how it happens that Mignard and the other painters of the time placed Negroes in all their great portraits; it was a mode, a frenzy which did not last after the accident of which the misadventure of the Queen was the innocent cause.

It happened that the Queen was about to become a mother when she became inquiet and said all the time:

"I no longer recognize myself. I experience strange disgusts and caprices such as never happened before. If I were to do as I wanted to I would be cutting somersaults on the carpet like my little Negro, and eating green fruits and living birds like him."

"Ah, Madame," replied the King, "you make me shiver. Forget your foolish fancies or you will have a child, bizarre, ridiculous and against nature."

Queen's Child Born Black; Hidden in a Convent

The King's predictions were fulfilled. There was born to her some time later a pretty little girl "black from head to foot." The doctors were assembled in one room; the bishops and the chaplains in another. One of the prelates was opposed to baptizing her, and another would consent only under condition. The majority decided that the little Negro girl would be baptized, and that she should be sent away at once, which they did to the coast of Gisors to be reared by a nurse. A notice was placed in the Gazette of France that the royal infant had died. Later the Queen in explanation, declared that the Negro dwarf had hidden himself behind a chair and frightened her.

The mysterious child lived. As soon as she could reason she was placed in the convent of Moret, where the King himself went once to make sure that she was alive. She lived and died there under the name of the Black Nun.

One day when the Dauphin (heir to the throne) was hunting in a wood nearby and she heard who it was, she was heard to sob behind the bars of her cell and murmur as she wiped her eyes:

"It is my brother who is hunting."

The Duke de St. Simon in his "Memoirs," Volume II, says:

"Speaking of the secrets of the King, it is necessary to make amends for something else I had forgotten. Everyone was astonished at Fontainbleau this year to see that nardly had the princess arrived than Mme. de Maintenon took her to the little convent of Moret, where there was likely to be no amusements or persons of her acquaintance. She returned there several times which awoke curiosity and rumours—Mme. de Maintenon went often to Fontainbleau and finally one got accustomed to seeing her go there.

"In this convent was a professed nun, a Negro woman, unknown to everyone and who never showed herself to anyone. Bontemps, first valet to the King and governor of Versailles, to whom I have spoken and to whom the domestic secrets of the king are known, had placed her there quite young after paying a large sum, and a regular pension. He took great care that everything that could add to her comfort was provided. The late Queen went often to Fontainebleau to see her and after her Mme. de Maintenon.

"The Dauphin went there several times and the princess and the children several times, and all asked for this Negro woman and treated her

with kindness. She was receiving more marks of distinction than the best known or the most distinguished person there.

Historians Differ as to Paternity of Black Nun

"It is said that she was the daughter of the king and the Queen, that her color had caused her to be hidden there, and after her disappearance, to be published that the Queen had had a mis-carriage. Many of the people of the Court believe this. But whatever it be, it remains a mystery."

Voltaire was of the opinion that the Black Nun was the daughter the King by a Negro woman. Speaking of the King's children he s (Vol. XVI of his works: "The Century of Louis XIV"):

"It is believed and with good reason that the Nun in the convent of Moret is his daughter. She was very dark, almost black, and resembled the king. The King gave her a dot of 20,000 crowns and placed her in the convent. The belief that she was of royal birth gave her a pride of which the Mother Superior complained."

Voltaire adds that he visited the convent himself and saw her. He was accompanied by M. de Gaumartin, treasurer of France; who, he says, "had a right to visit the convent."

But were the Black Nun the illegitimate daughter of the King by a black woman would the queen and her children have shown so much interest in and affection towards her? As Le Notre, historian, asks; "Would the Queen, Marie-Theresa, the Dauphin, the Duke and the Duchess of Bourgogne, have shown the same attachment to her? Besides the King had other adulterine children. Further, she bore the names of both the King and Queen: Louise-Marie."

Touchard LaFosse, French historian, who wrote an intimate account of the reign of Louis XIV, says in "Oeil-de-Boeuf":

"Marie-Theresa died at the age of forty-five. . . . How reconcile the stainless reputation of this Queen with the existence of a little Negro girl reared in the greatest mystery in the convent of Moret, and which passes for the illegitimate daughter of Marie-Theresa?

"Let us record here what is generally believed about the birth of this child. Duquesne had given to the Queen a young Negro, named Nabo, who was very pleasing in his manners, and amused Her Majesty in the solitude in which most of her time was passed. When this African learnt to speak French his chatter was funny, naive, and full fo vivacity; he finished, it is said, by pleasing the queen so much that all her virtue could not protect her from yielding to a weakness that the finest gentleman in Christendom would have solicited in vain.

"Nabo died suddenly, and soon after, Her Majesty gave birth to a girl so black that Dr. Felix thought it his duty to say that it had been born dead. The black child was sent to the nuns of Moret who reared it in ignorance of its origin.

Dwarf "Looked" at the Queen; "A Penetrating Look," said Louis

"It is said with assurance that the Queen, in dying, revealed the existence of the child to the King. The doctors, thereupon, hastened to explain its color and swore to the King that it had been caused by the Negro's looking at the Queen.

"'A look,' retored his Majesty, 'hm-m, it must have been a very penetrating look, indeed.'

"After this revelation the king went a single time to Moret, in order to assure himself of this fatal mystery, and no one dared speak of it before him.

"Now, how much of this story is really true? That it would be difficult for me to say, but of this much I am positive: a young Negro lived with the Queen; a Negro baby girl was sent to Moret soon after the Queen's confinement, and each year Bontemps sent her a large sum of money in gold and a coral necklace."

In conclusion there is no doubt that a black child was born to the Queen. Mlle. de Montpensier, Duchess of Orleans, and cousin of the King, who kept a diary, says in her "Memoirs," that the Queen gave birth to an eight-months' old girl that resembled a Negro due to the fact that the Queen had the Negro dwarf under her eyes, and that the dwarf had been taken away when she became pregnant "but it was too late."

Modern science has demonstrated the impossibility of even a mulatto and a white person producing a child darker in color than the darker of the two parents. Further, in this case, a black dwarf was the intimate companion of the neglected Queen.

Nabo's death, too, was mysterious, as well as the Queen's fear that she was going to have a black child.

Authentic Picture in Library in Paris

Very little is known of the Black Nun's real life, but she lived to a good old age. Her picture hangs in the art gallery of the Library of St. Genevieve in the Latin Quarter of Paris.

It represents a black woman with bright eyes; a fleshy nose; rather thick lips, and a long chin. The upper part of the face is Caucasian; the lower part, Negro. She wears a nun's veil, while around her neck is a scapulary of the cloistered order of the 17th Century. It is easy to see that her blackness is exaggerated in the picture. There are still extant specimens of her handwriting.

"What cannot be doubted," says Le Notre, "is the existence and the perfect authenticity of the picture that the Library of St. Genevieve possesses. It was already celebrated in the 17th Century, and the St. Geneviveans showed it, with discretion, it is true, as one of the most precious pieces of their treasure."

He adds: "What is also certain is that life was a long and unhappy martyrdom for this innocent woman, thus to see herself separated from the world against her will, and condemned from her infancy to perpetual confinement."

Rambling Ruminations

BY J. A. ROGERS

PARIS.

NEGRO slavery still flourishes in Abyssinia, East Africa, Arabia and Persia, according to the report of an expedition sent into that region by Le Matin, French daily. The expedition was headed by Joseph Kessel, a French explorer, accompanied by an army doctor and a naval lieutenant. For the past two weeks these articles have been appearing, abundantly illustrated with photographs, and to say the least they have created a sensation.

According to M. Kessel, it is not local slavery such as still exists in most parts of Africa, Persia and Arabia, but a regular slave trade. Black men and women are still captured in Abyssinia and the Sudan, he says, and taken along regular caravan routes to secret points on the east African coast over into Asia, and sold publicly at auction in the markets there.

His attention was called to slavery three years ago, he said, when he was received by Abdallah, Emir of Transjordania, in his capital, Aman. "A guard of black men, heavily armed, and bearing no resemblance to the Bedouins, protected his palace. When I asked the Emir to what tribe these soldiers belonged, he replied: "They are my slaves which have been brought from the other side of the sea.'"

Fifteen months later, he said, he was invited to dinner by a great chief in Arabia, and again he saw another guard of these black men, and at once he thought again of the first. Since then he met them again and again in the East.

"For centuries and centuries," he says, "the bush and the forests of Equatorial Africa have furnished human flesh for the American planters, the Abyssinian warriors, and the Arab chiefs.

"If the United States has abandoned slavery, if the Europeans wiped it out little by little and not without a great deal of trouble in their colonies, there still exists in the basin of the Red Sea three independent nations, which still retain it in all its primitive beauty and cruelty, namely, Abyssinia, Yeman and Hedjaz."

These slaves, he said, are taken over into Asia either through English, French or Italian territory since Abyssinia has no seaport. Police boats patrol the narrow strip of sea, he says, but the slavers find means to smuggle them through to waiting markets in Persia, Syria and Arabia. M. Kessel tells of seeing "black men and women, their bodies bowed with animal labor, their faces more sombre and more mysterious than the night" in the depths of an Abyssinian forest at night," and what appeared especially moving to me in my proximity to them," he said, "was not their chains, nor their weird songs, nor the glint of the sparkling flame on their white teeth, but the sensation of surprising, almost at its source, one of the supreme secrets of barbarism in our own day."

M. Kessel tells of meeting an Italian doctor, with a Negro slave that had been given him by the Ras Ayelou, one of the most powerful of the Abyssinian chiefs. He expressed surprise, whereupon the doctor replied:

"I am persuaded that the sincerity of the Emperor Tafari makes him opposed to such conditions. You, yourself, have seen what a fine man he is, both physically and mentally, but he is, perhaps, the only powerful man in his country with modern ideas. Between him and the rest of Abyssinia there goes on the usual struggle between the great reformers and the backward peoples. The least novelty causes a misunderstanding, sometimes a revolt."

The Italian doctor, he said, went on to explain that some of the Abyssinian chiefs are independent in all but name, and that any attempt of the Emperor to introduce new customs would cause a revolt. "You can imagine what would happen among the old feudal chiefs, jealous of their power," he said, "and who rule at least two months by march from the Ethiopian capital. Certainly, Tafari's influence increases each day; little by little he is changing the country, but the progress must be slow. The Abyssinians are warriors. Three-fourths of the country they occupy has been conquered, and necessarily there are overlords and slaves. Certain tribes even seem destined for slavery. They are the Wakamo, Sidamo and Chankalla. These are the human cattle."

The guide of the three French adventurers is a Frenchman who, entering the country penniless, engaged in the illicit traffic of arms and is now worth a fortune.

Abyssinians in Paris declare that while a form of servitude exists in their country that it is different from slavery as the western world knows it, and that a good many of the people sold themselves into it as a means of making a living.

who claim that they are too heavily taxed. At Chomoi, Cantho and elsewhere peasants have risen in thousands, and many have been killed on both sides. Recently, many members of a native garrison rose and killed some of their white officers. Each day brings news of additional revolts. The French press is devoting considerable space to discussion of the matter, and is generally blaming the Communists as being the instigators.

It will be interesting to recall that it was two Negroes who played the most important part in the subjugation of Indo-China, namely, Generals Briere de L'Isle and Alfred Dodds, the former a native of the French West Indies and the latter a Senegalese.

Briere de L'Isle, noted general of engineers, commanding a white army, was its conqueror. After him came Dodds, who quelled a revolt there and was later commander-in-chief there. Subsequently, Dodds went into China and was for a time commander-in-chief of the Allied Army—French, English, Germans, Americans, Japanese—fighting the Boxers.

Race Problem 1930

Europe

-:- Rambling Ruminations -:-

By J. A. ROGERS

AMERICAN race prejudice menaces the peace of France, according to Maurice Ajam, French Under-Secretary of State. In a remarkable article in La Depeche Coloniale, M. Ajam, writing on the recent revolt in Haiti against white Americans, declares that it is bound to have a repercussion in the French colonies.

Amsterdam News 1/29/30

The Monroe Doctrine, he says, gives to France no right to interfere in the affairs of the New World and that the best thing for her to do would be to ignore "the manifestations of the black cancer in the United States if France was not placed in the first rank of the nations for which a conflict of race would offer a vital interest."

He adds: "We have colonized our Africa with much skill, with a benevolence so natural for our subjects that if we were alone in the world we would have nothing to fear from a people whose good native sense understands all the advantages of our contact.

"But in the same way that storms come to us from the New World so does the Negro agitation from there; it is capable of provoking trouble on the borders of the Niger.

"Something curious, the American press which is at last taking a keen interest in the race question is attributing the agitation for justice to the ideas that the Negro soldiers brought back with them from France. These troops were stupefied to see the friendliness that existed between our Senegalese sharpshooter and our white troops."

M. Ajam points out among other things the fruitful field for Communist activities among Negroes in America because of their ill treatment. The N. A. A. C. P., he says, sent three Negro delegates, Carlton, Ford, and Jones to the Third International at Moscow.

He continues: "There is a nationalism based on blackness of skin being formed in America, which is dangerous for our colonies...our government and our colonial officials need to be on the lookout."

* * *

While Negroes in America are spending fortunes on skin-whiteners, Europeans are considering ways to make themselves darker. Comedia, leading French paper, gives the following advice on the subject:

"One may get a brown skin pretty cheaply. Speaking of our article on those ladies who burn themselves in the sun in order to have a blackened skin, one of our readers has sent in the following recipe, which is already known to the ladies:

"Put one gramme of permanganate in a quart of water, then with a sponge apply to the skin. Water may be added or taken away according to degree of darkness one wishes to get. The price? A little less than one cent.

"This is cheaper than a stay at the seaside, and good for all seasons, summer or winter.

"And when one is tired of playing the Ethiopian all that is necessary is to wash oneself with a solution of bisulphate of soda."

* * *

"Samba," a motion picture played entirely by native Africans, is creating a sensation in Paris. St. Cyr, critic, says in Cinema, that it is superior to "Nanook," "Moana," "Chang," or any of the films played by primitive peoples. "It marks," he says, "a date in the history of the moving picture art."

M. St. Cyr thinks the principal actor, Samba, is superior to Douglas Fairbanks or Emil Jannings and that the heroine, Fatou, is better than Bridgette Helm or Corinne Griffith. The whole film, he declares, is marked by "its intense reality."

He continues: "Ah, the bound of that lordly lion! The action, what action! Love, kidnapping, war, death—such as these have been known in Africa—such as they still exist. True romance, but this time it is real life—the life as it still exists there. Compare that picture with the life of the whites and you'll at once feel the great difference. I have just written the word "white." Let it be well understood there is not a single white face in the picture. It is the free life of the blacks, simply.

"I repeat once more what I have said a hundred times. Occasional actors are sometimes far superior to the regular ones. This Samba, who appears for the first time—and perhaps for the last—is superior to a Jannings or a Fairbanks, simply because he does not play. He lives his part...

"And all the others in the picture are equally good. And as to Fatou—the young girl—she is the best of all. The manner of Fatou! How poor in comparison is the acting of a Bridgette Helm or a Corinne Griffith!"

* * *

Interest in Negro art is on the increase, and a woman, Mlle. Hamburger of the National Institute of Anthropology, has, according to Le Quotidien, Paris daily, created a stir at the last meeting of the Institute by declaring that Negro art of the present day is a product of ancient Egyptian one. Mlle. Hamburger arrived at her conclusions by studying the language of the Peuhls, Mandingos and other Central African peoples and comparing it with that of the ancient Egyptians.

Egypt, she insists, had colonies in all that part of Africa. On the other hand, M. Pierre Mille, writer, asks whether that Negro art on which at the present time "so high a price" is placed might not be entirely native to Central Africa. "There may have been," he said, "a very ancient civilization in Africa from which that of Egypt issued."

* * *

In a recent book on Alexander Dumas by Henri D'Almeras, published in Paris, the writer says that while Dumas had many assistants, none of them could give "the movement, the life, the animation" that Dumas gave. He also declares among other things that Dumas was very vain of both his literary ability and his color.

"Dumas," he says, "was always surrounded by parasites, male and female, who exploited his well-known generosity, and especially his literary vanity and his vanity of being a Negro. In flattering him they could get whatever they wished from him. He spent little on himself, a great deal on others. He received in grand style, kept open house and gave liberally to all comers, to pretended paupers, and even to rogues. He had a drawer, never locked, which served him as a money-box from which his mistresses for the moment or his occasional friends helped themselves without the least scruple."



— J. A. Rogers —



PHOTO BY HENRI MANUEL, PARIS

DEPUTY—M. Frossard, a native of Martinique, French West Africa, who was elected a member of the French chamber of deputies in 1928.



PHOTO BY HENRI MANUEL, PARIS

A SENATOR—M. Lemery, one of the leaders in the French senate. Senator Lemery was elected to the upper house for the first time in 1920 and again in 1924 and 1928. He was born at St. Pierre, Martinique.



PHOTO BY HENRI MANUEL, PARIS

IN CABINET—Alcide Delmont, also of St. Pierre, Martinique, who holds a portfolio in the government of Premier Tardieu present head of the French government. He was appointed undersecretary of state in November, 1929. Delmont, who served several years in the French chamber of deputies, was born in 1874.

-:- Who Are His Friends? -:-

By J. A. ROGERS

IN Africa there are two powers now struggling for supremacy—France and England. There can be little doubt as to which one will eventually win.

Let us consider their respective methods of dealing with the natives, who are progressing with astonishing rapidity.

England, proud and haughty, looks down on the blacks with that race prejudice that so-called Anglo-Saxons love to boast of; France, on the other hand, treats them as human beings, endeavors to make Frenchmen out of them. The result at present is that the aspiring and the educated natives love France, while those in the British colonies are at all times in a state of smouldering discontent.

The difference between the two nations is very clearly stated by Leslie M. Buell in his very able work, "The Native Problem in Africa," though it would appear that Mr. Buell inclines to the English method of throwing the educated native back into the ranks of the primitive ones, instead of taking him in socially as do the French.

"The Englishman," says Buell, "believes in the cultural superiority of things English just as much as the Frenchman believes in the cultural superiority of things French. The Englishman, however, believes that his superiority is so innate that it cannot possibly be absorbed by peoples of other races. Consequently, the English in Africa, at least, have not attempted to force their institutions upon the native peoples as have the French; they have not fraternized nor mingled their blood with the native races to the same extent as the Latin peoples.

"The French, on the other hand, believe so strongly in the merits of their culture that with a proselyting zeal found in the great religions, in the French Revolution, and in Soviet Russia, they wish to expand it throughout the world . . . .

"The chief end of the French educational system in Africa has been to teach the native French so that they will 'think' like Frenchmen and be able to acquire the fruits of French science and literature. The educational system has preached racial equality, but above all it has preached gratitude and respect for the French State.

"On the contrary, the British have left educational work to the missionary; the native regards the missionary as a defender against the government. There is no such division of allegiance in French territory where mission education is virtually prohibited in favor of a state educational policy."

Buell goes on to say that once the native absorbs French culture and becomes a citizen by naturalization, he enters into full and social life and "acquires a social status of equality with the European in French territory which an educated native cannot acquire in British territory."

The French teach the native that he has become an integral part of the French spirit. In December, 1926, M. Carde, the Governor-General of French West Africa, declared that as a result of conscription, "native individualism is being rapidly trasnformed, the races are mixing; the ideas and institutions of the population are being blended by progress . . .!

"There is no color bar in the French colonies. Frenchmen not only have native mistresses, but they have native wives. They acknowledge sons born to native women out of wedlock, take them into their homes, and send them to France to be educated.

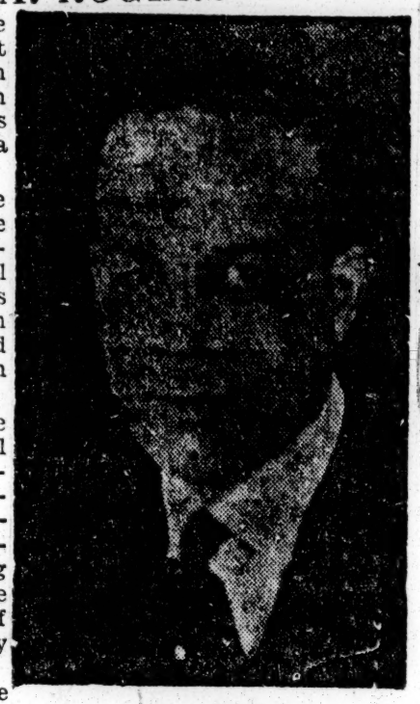
"White and black men eat at the same table and argue with each other in the same council hall. A European in Senegal has difficulty in securing a seat in a first-class railway carriage on the train from Dakar to St. Louis because they are monopolized by dusky Oulofs, their flowing robes, their bundles and their wives.

"The visitors to the market of Dagar will see European women selling fish to natives; if he enters a restaurant or store, he will see European women waiting on natives and Europeans alike. Both the French and the Belgian colonies have imported a large number of artisans and unskilled European workers who labor side by side with the blacks and perform work which in British territory is performed by Indians or natives. French women work along with their husbands in stores to a much greater extent than do English women in British territory.

"The willingness of the Latin to perform work done by natives increases the belief of both in racial equality."

What a diffeernce between this picture and the Smut-ty one!

M. Blaise Diagne, member of the French Parliament from Senegal, can therefore be easily understood when he flatly refused overtures



— J. A. Rogers —

from Garvey in 1922. M. Diagne said at the time: "We French natives wish to remain French since France has given us every liberty and since she has unreservedly accepted us upon the same basis as her own European children . . . No propaganda, no influence of the blacks or of the whites will take from us the pure sentiment that France alone is capable of working generously for the advancement of the black race."

And what Diagne says of Africa is truer of the French West Indies. The French West Indian in France has full rights with the white Frenchman, and may be found in positions of the highest importance, with hundreds of white persons working under his orders.

At another time we shall give a list of these West Indians. Suffice it to name two here: Alcide Delmont, deputy from Martinique, who is in the French Cabinet, and M. Isaac, who is first assistant to the Secretary of the Interior.

These colored men come mostly from the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe with a combined population of less than half a million. There are many American States that do not make as fine a showing in the national government as these two little islands do in the French government.

This spirit of the French towards the Negro goes far back in history. Both the Virgin Mary and Christ are represented as black in many French cathedrals. Napoleon had no less than nine Negro generals.

Some day the Negro might work out his own destiny himself. In the meantime, however, it is important that he knows who his friends are. Those friends certainly aren't the haughty Anglo-Saxons.

Think where the American Negro would be today were he fairly treated!

Negro Deputy in the French Cabinet

PARIS—With the return of the Tardieu government to power, M. Alcide Delmont, colored deputy from Martinique, has regained his place in the French Cabinet as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

GERMAN COUNTESSES WANT BLACK PAGES

PARIS, (Afro Bureau)—La Depeche Coloniale, white Paris daily, speaking of the Reichstag bill to bar interracial marriages in Germany, says:

"The German people, as everyone knows, consider themselves as God's own people. In their eyes, men of color, are not human beings and as such merit no consideration They have never been able to understand why our black sharpshooters should be treated as men.

"The cruelties of a Peters or a Jeske von Prittkamer in South-East Africa, or the Cameroons, without speaking of the methodical extermination of the Herreres, have forever fixed the opinion of the world on the attitude of the Germans towards black people.

"Before the war a Negro was not permitted in the German ranks. Besides the noise that the German press has made about the so-called 'Black Shame' is well-known. Indeed one also knows only too well the keen curiosity of the German women in everything that concerns Negroes, and we recall very clearly what we, personally, saw of the suggestive scenes between these German women and Negroes in Berlin, Leipzig, Hamburg, and other cities.

"Rcently even black boys seem to be enjoying special favor in certain high Prussian quarters, as one may see by reading the advertisements. Here, for instance, is one, that was just published:

Negroes Sought as Pages

"'Handsome young Negro wanted as page in a chateau des Masures belonging to a Count. Good salary.' But whilst these handsome young Negroes are being sought to serve in the homes of German countesses, the German Parliament is occupying itself with a law that is truly monstrous—a project that emanates from the National-Socialists of Hitler, and the Nationalists of Hugenberg.

Race Problem - 1930

Europe

Rambling Ruminations

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS.

IN spite of strong opposition from labor unions of many European countries, the natives of French West Africa will be forced to devote a certain period to the construction of public works and other improvements in their lands.

The Minister of the Colonies, M. Francois Petri, in signing the decree, strenuously denies that it is forced labor, in the popular meaning of the term, and declares that the measure was necessary to stave off periods of starvation, to wipe out certain diseases, and to stop the carrying of loads on the heads of natives for long distances.

In an interview in Le Journal, M. Pietri says: "The term 'forced labor,' so much used by the conference at Geneva, is rejected by us. The term is altogether unrelated to prison labor, which is unpaid. In Africa labor requisitioned for public works is paid for at the same rate as the voluntary labor."

In some of the French colonies in Africa, he said, the method of recruiting native labor was the same as that that had been practiced, or was being practiced, by Belgium, Holland, and England in some of their colonies.

The International Bureau of Labor, headed by Albert Thomas, member of the British Cabinet, in opposing forced labor, defined it as any labor for which the Negroes do not offer themselves voluntarily.

M. Blaise Diagne, Negro member from Senegal, in supporting the motion for forced labor, said that it was necessary in order to teach them modern methods of agriculture.

9-17-30

THE action of the Soviet government in sentencing the two Americans,, Lewis and Brown, who attacked a Negro worker, to two years' imprisonment, which was suspended, and ten years' banishment, is being widely commented on here. Capitalistic circles see in it a direct bid for the favor of the Negro, while Communist and Labor circles generally feel that Russia has set an example in good government for the United States, since the attackers of the Negro worker at Stalingrad were taught a lesson, while the far more serious crime of lynch murder in the United States always goes unpunished.

According to Russian papers in Paris, which carried accounts of the affair for three weeks, Lewis and Brown apologized humbly for their action, and placed the blame on the fact that they had been taught as children to hate Negroes. It was in consideration of this that the judges suspended the prison sentence.

New York, Jr.

PARIS.

CANDIDE, Paris weekly, comments on the fact that the colored Gold Star Mothers do not stop at the same hotels as the white ones, thinks that this was done in order that the segregation between American white and American colored should be complete.

It says: "The Negroes of America did not come to France only to play jazz and to initiate us to the intoxication of the Charleston. They came during the war as soldiers, and when they left for home many were missing, leaving and being nothing more than little white crosses among many other little white crosses.

"At the same time the white Gold Star Mothers came to see these little white crosses also came the colored mothers. But 'at the same time' does not mean 'with.' Race prejudice remained intact, in spite of all. You would think that death would be sufficient to efface it in such a case—but, no! The Gold Star Mothers all went to the same hotel, from which all the Americans fled immediately.

"Each day the officers conduct the Gold Star Mothers to the Eiffel Tower, Napoleon's Tomb, or the Catacombs, but the colored mothers are never taken into those places of perdition' where the white mothers go to get acquainted with the last word in Parisian debauch.'"

Race Problem - 1930

Europe

-:- Rambling Ruminations -:-

amsterdam News

BY J. A. ROGERS

PARIS.

S. JAY KAUFMAN, writing in the New York Herald (Paris edition), denies that Paul Robeson was refused service at the Savoy, one of London's most exclusive hotels. He declares that it was Robeson's host, and not the well-known singer, that was barred. 4-16-30

"Paul Robeson, the famous singer," he says, "was not barred from the Hotel Savoy in London. You may recall that a few months ago there was a rather huge stir when the incident was printed. The position of Robeson in London is what it is in Paris. And this was the first time a Negro had come into the limelight in Europe this way. New York,

"Now, if what I happened on by chance chat with a man on a train is the fact—and I am inclined to believe it is—Robeson was not barred. It seems that a man who owed the Savoy a considerable sum was told he must pay or he would not be served. Robeson, by one of those weird coincidences, was to be the man's guest! Robeson arrived. No service. And the wires burned. 'And,' adds my informant, 'Robeson had lunched and dined in the hotel a great many times before and did not come to the hotel again because a day or two later he sailed for New York.'"

Mr. Kaufman errs on several points. The first Negro to come into the limelight last year—and we are omitting previous years—was not Robeson, but Robert S. Abbott, editor of the Chicago Defender, who was asked to leave three hotels. Later, when a well-known tourist agency tried to get him rooms in other hotels, evidently telling what color he was in advance, these hotels refused to take him. Later, an investigation conducted by a member of Parliament proved that Mr. Abbott had told the truth. When the M. P. offered

ing a Negro into one of the ls, the management said that would not accept him.

Two years before, Marcus Garvey reported a similar happening when he was refused service in some eight or ten places.

The position of the Negro in London is not what it is in Paris. This may be set down as a fact: In no place in Paris, except those actually run by Americans, will a decent Negro be refused service. And this holds true also of ninety-nine per cent of the places run by the French people for Americans. In the remaining one per cent, if the Negro insists, he will be served.

This fact holds, also, for Germany, Holland, Belgium, Scandinavia, Russia, Poland, all Nordic lands, as well as the rest of Europe.

The white race in its native land has no prejudice against a black skin. Some individuals coming in contact with it for the first time might shy a bit, but this is not anywhere so strong as the primitive African's aversion for a white skin. Most of the latter, as reported by the earlier African travellers, on seeing a white man for the first time took him for a ghost and ran off into the woods. This would not be true in the case of a black man's going into the most backward part of Europe. It may truly be said that the black man has more color-fear than the white.

The people of the British Isles are no exception to the rest of the Europeans. Left to themselves, they will show as little prejudice. But colorphobia is spread by the large number of English people who, going to the colonies, bring it back with them.

There is also the influence of the white Australians, South Africans and, above all, that of the white Americans, who, like the Wandering Jew, carried the plague wherever he went.

On the Continent these white Americans are powerless to spread their poison, because they do not speak the language. They can only register their hate by signs or walk out. But in England they are at home, and money talks.

As to the rest of the color prejudice in England, it is purely an economic manifestation. And, above all, one must not forget to mention the very shocking behavior of some of these Negroes who, repressed at home, cut loose in the worst manner in Europe, especially in London and Paris. It would be a fine thing for all concerned if these could be herded and packed home on the next ship. These are types of missionaries of which the Negro group could be well rid.

* * *

PARIS.

Protests against black French troops by German newspapers which created such a stir some years ago have not quite ceased. The Boerser Zeitung, a leading Berlin paper, has just protested against France's use of black troops in Alsace-Lorraine, territory returned to France at the close of the last war.

The Boerser Zeitung alleges that the worst form of militarism exists in Alsace-Lorraine. "To that," it declares, "must be added 'the black shame.' In Lorraine at present is a division of Africans—Algerians, Moroccans and Senegalese. Until recently they were garrisoned in the forts around Metz; now they are scattered all over Lorraine. Moerchingen, St. Avold, Deuze, all have garrisons of Negro soldiers. The same story is going to happen again—the same that happened in the Rhineland, with the same consequences.

"The people of Lorraine, following the lead of others in French garrison towns, are demanding the withdrawal of these black troops. The Minister of War has not heeded them. It is said that the French War Minister has even reproached the Alsatians, telling them that it was thanks to the Negro troops that they were freed from Germany.

"It must also be noted the white soldiers from Alsace-Lorraine are being sent to Morocco and southern Algeria to provide cannon-fodder. In the last battles at Mount Atlas several Alsatians were killed.

"Return to France has not been a happy exchange for Alsace. Now, for the first time, it is learning what is real militarism and how happy it was to have been under the German Empire. The lash and the 'black shame' did not exist in those days, neither did Generals Gouraud and Mittelhauser."

La Depeche Coloniale, leading daily of colonial interests, denies that the Alsatians are protesting, as these men are well-behaved, as are other Negro garrisons in France. It adds:

"For years and years the Berlin press has been conducting its campaign against the so-called 'black shame'—against our soldiers from Africa and Asia stationed in the Rhineland. Now it is the turn of the unannexed territory to excite the false pity of the German publicists.

"As to Generals Gouraud and Mittelhauser, it is a pity that they have never given the lash to those who deserve it. . . . As to General Gouraud, who entered Strassburg in triumph Nov. 22, 1918, he is still the idol there."

It will be recalled that the attack on the character of Negro troops, led principally by American whites, one of whom was the wife of Congressman Britten, fell flat. It developed that, instead of the Negro soldiers pursuing the white women, it was the other way about.

Gen. Henry T. Allen, in his report to the U. S. Secretary of State, as quoted by J. Ellis Barker in Current History, July, 1921, said:

"I was told that the German police and the French authorities in the occupied districts found it very difficult to prevent the German women from pestering and pursuing the Negro troops. In many cases these soldiers themselves complained to their officers about the shameless advances made to them by the German women, and frequently a military guard had to be called to keep women from entering the barracks by the window."

Barker himself wrote as his own experiences:

"Even ladies belonging to the upper and middle classes, both married and single, were shamelessly running after the French soldiers, and the Negro men seemed to have a particular attraction for them. . . . I saw German girls, whose dress and fluent French indicated that they belonged to the upper class, make love to the colored soldiers and their advances bordered only too frequently upon the indecent."

When these German girls had children they would accuse the Negroes of rape, but in every case but one it was found to be false. In that single other case the soldier was found not guilty by an impartial court-martial.

* * *

MOSCOW.

The Society for Internal Defense has fixed as its goal the training, during the next two years, of 5,000,000 women and young girls to the use of the rifle and the machine-gun.

It is said that the Russian military chiefs intend to use only a fraction of this 5,000,000, in case of war, on the front. The rest will be used to maintain order, protect the munition factories and guard soldiers. This would appear to have no bearing on the color question, but it does.

ALL INDIAN CLASSES JOIN IN LIBERTY PLEA

Constitution

11-21-30

LONDON, Nov. 20.—(AP)—Ranging the gamut of Indian races, creeds and castes, delegates to the round table conference on Indian affairs today continued to lash the British administration in India with criticism.

It began with an appeal for an Indian federation by the beautiful young Begum Sah Nawaz, a picturesque figure in her pale blue sari edged with delicate embroidery. It continued through addresses by spokesmen for every Indian rank, from proud princes to "untouchables."

Atlanta Ga.

All day long Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald sat in his big chair, thumping the table when each speaker had talked 10 minutes, but usually each delegate had his full say. The result was that MacDonald's anxiety awaited speech which will wind up the debate and is expected to give some hint of the government's Indian policy, will not be heard until tomorrow.

The voice of Indian womanhood, raised so appealingly by the Begum, brought sustained applause from the delegates when she had finished.

The little woman from the Moslem family which for generations has observed the custom of seclusion and worn the "purdah" veil stirred her listeners with the declaration that things in our country are moving at such a tremendous pace that we ourselves are startled."

"THE AMERICAN NEGRO IN EUROPE"

"The Aframerican who goes to Europe for the first time finds himself in a state of bewilderment as great as that of a lifer out on parole, or a canary tossed out of its cage. No more bars to beat against; they have disappeared as if by magic. In their place is a sense of freedom that is almost alarming." Thus reads the first paragraph of a highly interesting article by J. A. Rogers in the May edition of the American Mercury magazine. The subject of Mr. Rogers' article is "The American Negro in Europe" although he doesn't stick to it throughout his discourse. That, however, is unimportant, as Mr. Rogers has given us an authentic document upon research, travel and observation. 5/10/30

We are told in the notes on "The American Mercury Authors" J. A. Rogers was born in Jamaica; that he is self-educated, and author of several books some of which are "From Superman to Man," "As Nature Leads," "The Approaching Storm," "The Ku Klux Klan, Past and Present." He was contributing editor of the Messenger. Mr. Rogers has contributed several articles of historic value to the Illustrated Feature Section of our Negro newspapers on the accomplishments of Negroes in other hemispheres.

We can not give a full review of Mr. Rogers' article, but we hope that a few quotations from it may suffice to send our readers to the article itself: "In Stockholm not long ago the Americanized proprietor of a restaurant refused to serve a ten-year old Negro dancer called Little Esther, who had been having a great success elsewhere in Europe. A Swedish nobleman who was present, by way of protest, invited the child, her mother and her manager, both colored, to his home. The newspapers of the city without a single exception condemned the proprietor, and several of them cartooned him." Palmetto Leader

This is interesting: "At a recent social function in Vienna at which the ex-crown prince of Germany was present, he danced with a colored American girl who is studying music there, while her male Negro escort danced with the white women present. The prince of Wales and his father, the king of England have danced many times with colored women during their tours of the Empire. The same is true of the Crown Prince of Italy, the King of Spain and others. On his visit to Europe Booker T. Washington was invited to dinner by both the King of Denmark and the King of Sweden. But when he dined with President Theodore Roosevelt at the White House there was a storm in the American press and the white South foresaw the downfall of white civilization." Columbia, S. C.

Can you believe this: "White Americans despise or affect to despise the frizzly hair of Negroes, and the Negroes, as good Americans, follow suit. But most Europeans, so far as I can judge, hold an opposite view. Once a German woman placed her hand on the wooly head of a friend of mine and told him that he ought to be ashamed to have hair like that, adding that it was she who as a woman, ought to have it. In Europe I saw many white women with their hair so frizzled that one would have thought they were of Negro ancestry. On Oxford street in London there is, or was, a sign reading: 'Straight Hair is a Nuisance.' "

The article is brim full of interesting cases, and would make a splendid addition to anybody's collection of articles and essays by Negroes about Negroes.

Britain's Move to Annex Tanganyika Mandate to Be Fought by League Powers

negro world 6-7-30 New York N.Y.

Germany and Italy Look At Step with Great Apprehension

GENEVA, June 23.—**The Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, having finally agreed on its recommendations to the Council on what to do about the Palestine situation, which it has been considering in extraordinary session for three weeks, turned today to the ordinary work of examining the regular annual reports of the other mandatories.**

The decision of the British government advocating a virtual union of the South African territories of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika is creating lively excitement in the Candates Commission of the League of Nations, now sitting here. Tanganyika is a mandated area subject to league supervision, and the publication last week of a British White Paper supporting the merger of this area with its two adjacent British colonies is interpreted by some members of the commission as indicating a cavalier attitude toward the supposedly special position of mandated territories.

While the Mandates Commission has not yet officially taken up the suggestion of a union, it is said that formidable opposition will be voiced by that body. The German and Italian representatives on the commission especially may be expected to interest themselves in blocking the foreshadowed British move. The German viewpoint is very comprehensive, seeing that Tanganyika was Germany's wealthiest colony before the war, while the Italians (who did not receive any mandated areas under the peace treaties) are always alert to see that the mandatory powers do not take any improper advantage of their position as such.

It is certain that the German and Italian representatives on the Mandates Commission can cause Britain a good deal of trouble before the action foreshadowed could be made effective. The Tanganyika mandate stipulates that "the mandatory agrees that any dispute whatever that might arise between the mandatory and another member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation of the application of the provisions of the mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice."

Germany has not dropped her claim to at least a share in the administration of the colonies wrested from her by compulsion. It is not that any effort will be made to incorporate a "B" mandate in the larger British unit, but it is expected that the Germans will press their constitutional privileges of disagreeing unless Britain is willing to strike a bargain elsewhere. Tanganyika is the most important British war gain because it unites the older British possessions to the north and the south, making an "all red" railroad from Cairo to Capetown possible. Without Tanganyika a stretch of non-British territory would cut equatorial Africa from the Atlantic to the Indian oceans.

This fact is undoubtedly one of the motives behind the plan to incorporate Tanganyika in a single administrative unit with territory which has long been British. The fact, however, that the British are so anxious to put through this step makes it easier for Germany to demand compensating advantages elsewhere.

SEVEN MANDATORY REPORTS.

Manchester Guardian Weekly 8-29-30

General Approval at Geneva.

(From our Geneva Correspondent.)

The Mandates Commission's reports to the Council upon the administration of Tanganyika, New Guinea, Nauru, French Togoland, Syria and Lebanon, and South-west Africa, which are under the authority respectively of Britain, Australia, France, and South Africa, have now been circulated to members of the Council and the League. As a whole the Commission approves the administration during the past year in all these territories.

The question of ending the Mandatory regime in Iraq will be considered at the next session, as will the proposal for closer administrative Customs and fiscal union between Tanganyika and the neighbouring British colonies of Kenya and Uganda.

The Commission expresses approval of the British declaration that in making future land grants in Tanganyika to European settlers the safeguarding of the interests of the native population will be assured. The charges that the Indian population of Tanganyika territory were receiving differential treatment at the hands of the Government are dismissed as unjustified. Deep interest is expressed in the transfer of the supervision of native courts from the hands of the judicial authorities to administrative officers, the results of which the Mandates Commission will observe closely.

Australia's supervision of New Guinea in general is approved by the Commission, which regrets, however that the administration and recruiting of officials and their conditions of service have not yet been organised upon a permanent basis. The Commission expresses the hope that even at the cost of heavier financial sacrifices Australia will remedy this situation.

France is instructed to submit clearer statements of the public finance of Syria and Lebanon in future, but is praised for her energetic combating of the hashish evil and the improvement of the administration of justice. France is also congratulated for having laid the foundations of a Constitution for Syria and Lebanon in face of great difficulties.

[Hashish is an opiate widely consumed by smoking or eating, and the supply is maintained by illicit traffic.]

Race Problem - 1930

Moving Pictures Relating to.

LYNCHING FILMS ARE BANNED

NEW YORK, Oct. 16—Protest by the Terre Haute, Ind., branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has stopped the sale of pictures of the Marion lynching, where two colored boys were done to death.

Mrs. Grace Evans said the N. A. A. C. P. had objected to the public sale of the pictures because they were stirring ill feeling among the races.

JAMESTOWN, N. Y.
MORNING POST

OCT 6 1930

PROTEST AGAINST FAMOUS FILM.

With our lynching record not as good as it has been; with the growing inter-racial feeling in our industrial centers due to economic depression; and with the new consciousness of our negro citizens of their rights, it would seem a good time for the movie magnates to heed the protests of blacks and whites against the re-issuing of "The Birth of a Nation" as a talking film. But the Hays organization has turned a deaf ear to these reasoned protests and finds no cause to ban the film. Which means that the film which resuscitated the Ku Klux Klan will again glorify that post-bellum association.

"The Birth of a Nation" was an absorbing film, a great film, a film which remains to this day one of the authentic classics of the screen. Yet looked at through the eyes of our colored citizens, it was a dangerous film, a misleading film, a film not intended to breed race hatred but which succeeded in doing so nevertheless.

One cannot believe that Hollywood is at a loss for suitable screen material, or hard up for money. If the movie magnates dig down almost to the bottom of the barrel to revive this silent movie and give it voice, we may assume that they are not aware of the evil effects of the film in its original showing, and believe that a re-issue would not disrupt inter-racial relations. Some sober students of these matters believe otherwise. Chief among the protestants is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. A formidable group of white leaders have joined them in this request to Mr. Hays. It would seem a good time to go slow in Hollywood.

Race Problem-1930
South America

Law To Bar Negroes From South America

Drastic Action Is Taken by a Government of South America

CURACAO, Dutch West Indies, —Foreign Negroes, many from the United States, henceforth will be absolutely prohibited by law from entering Venezuela which lies on the northern portion of South America. Those already in the country will not be permitted to return once they leave. The wives and children of Negro residents will not be permitted to join their husbands or father.

Those foreign Negroes already in Venezuela will in the future only be permitted to travel from place to place under strict supervisions and carrying several documents, such as passports, vaccination and identity certificates and police permit, the failure to produce any one of which will render their liable to instant deportation.

Denied Work

Since Ford brought scores of Negroes to South America for work on his newly established rubber plantation there has been prejudice toward foreign Negroes. The new law was under consideration by the government for some time. Its passage was held due to the necessity of protecting native Venezuelans. Since the opening up of the large oil fields near Maracaibo, it is held that thousands of Negro laborers, artisans, chauffeurs and female domestics, lured by high wages, have swarmed into Venezuela from the Barbadoes, Curacao, Trinidad and the nearby West Indies. It is claimed that there are something like 10,000 newcomers.

Government Contends

The government contends that whereas the native Venezuelan spends his earnings in the country, the foreign Negro spends no more than the bare necessities of life demand and remits a substantial sum home to his native land. Though the Venezuela foreign oil compenies are required to employ 80 per cent natives they charge this is not being adhered to.

White Americans Take Part in Brazilian Celebration

[Chicago Defender Foreign News Service]

RIO DE JANEIRO, Brazil, May 16. —The 42d anniversary of the freeing of slaves in Brazil was celebrated throughout this country Tuesday, May 13. In every town and hamlet fitting ceremonies were held in which every group took part. Slavery was abolished by royal edict of Princess Isabel on May 3, 1888, who was acting regent during the absence of Emperor Don Pedro II, who was in Europe at the time.

One of the notable features of the celebration was that thousands of white southerners from the United States who have made their homes in this country entered into the celebration with a spirit that is entirely foreign to the attitude of their former homes. White men and women from Georgia, Florida, Mississippi and other southern states in the United States were conspicuous for their joyous participation into the festivities.

In Brazil, although slaves were freed 29 years after they were set free in the United States, there is none of the prejudice that exists in the country to the north. In every department of the public and private life of this country can be seen men and women of every hue. They live together, play together, eat and sleep together and work together. Dark blood is found wherever Brazilian progress is found. Men and women of dark and mixed blood are found as bankers, lawyers, governors, naval officers, high police officers, street commissioners, generals in the army, aviation experts, in fact, in everything that spells civilization in Brazil.

Former Americans, although they do everything to perpetuate slave conditions in their native country, have accepted Brazil's edict that there is no black race or white race, but that all are Brazilians. This note was sounded eloquently during the celebrations held Tuesday.

In the Brazilian Revolution

Defender, 10-18-30 Chicago, Ill.



Since Brazil knows no color line, men of all hues take part in her armies—not in Jim Crow regiments and divisions, but in mixed units. This photo shows a group of soldiers who have remained loyal to the government. They are training intensively in order to get into the battle which is raging in the southern part of Brazil between the rebels and the federals. Many officers in the Brazilian army are dark men as is also true of many of the rebel chiefs.

—P & A Photo

Race Problem - 1930
United States.

PREACHES "SOCIAL EQUALITY"; GIVEN SUIT OF TAR AND FEATHERS

MIAMI, Fla., Oct. 2—(ANP)—Because he is alleged to have preached social equality among Negroes and whites, and the tenets of communism, David Weinberg, 44-year-old white tailor, was beaten and tarred and feathered by three men here Sunday night.

Weinberg told the police that he was set upon by three men near his home late Sunday night, bound and gagged and placed in an automobile. He was carried near the outskirts of the city and there forced to disrobe.

Following the delivery of a lecture on what happens to white folks who believe that Negroes and whites are equal and should intermingle socially, the three men showed him by lashing him and then administering the coat of tar and feathers. Placing him in a long white robe, he was returned to the city and thrown out of the car in the downtown district.

Police held Weinberg, whom they described as a dangerous radical, for further investigation, but finally released him. It is believed here that his assailants are known and officers are seeking them.

Destroy White Chauvinism

AMERICAN slave owners, traders and political supporters of Negro slavery, in order to justify the buying, selling, and brutal exploitation of the slaves, propagated the theory that Negroes were mere dumb brutes, but little, if any, above the mule, and certainly far inferior to the whites. With such a theory as a basis the most vicious and brutal treatment was the lot of the Negro slave. After their "emancipation," in order to continue the same ruthless exploitation and persecution of the Negroes, and in order to prevent the unity of the white and colored workers against the bosses, the white capitalists and landowners have continued to propagate these poisoness white chauvinist (white hatred against Negroes) theories.

Many workers—even some who think they are "progressive"—uncritically accept this slave owners' poison. They practice the same discrimination and persecution as that used by the bosses who squeeze the last possible drop of blood out of the Negroes in the form of profits. And by doing so these white workers are aiding the bosses, not only in the vicious exploitation of the Negroes, but also of themselves. The white workers never can improve their own conditions, without at the same time joining in the fight to improve the much worse conditions of the Negroes. Only common struggle by all workers against the capitalists will bring working class victory.

Some "progressive" and "radical" workers, apparently have not learned this yet. A few weeks ago some Lithuanian groups in Chicago openly adopted the vicious practices of the white slave owners of the South. Some Jewish members of the International Workers Order in the South did likewise. And now, reports from Harlem indicate that members of the Finnish Progressive Society has joined hands with the bosses by refusing to dance with Negroes, refusing to permit them to remain in the hall and by threatening to gang up on them in an effort to force them to leave. There have even been instances where Party members have adopted a concilliatory attitude when the question of struggle against white chauvinism was thus sharply raised.

These instances emphasize the need for a sharp and continuous struggle against white chauvinism. In the Party the slightest evidence of white chauvinism, or even a concilliatory attitude toward it, must be burned out. It must be made clear that the holding of such views, or the failure to fight against such views, is incompatible with membership in a Communist Party. Likewise Party members, when working in trade unions, fraternal or other workers' organizations must uncompromisingly fight against this ideology of the slave owners and the capitalists. Especially must the Freiheit and the other language papers give serious and continuous attention to this struggle. Destroy white chauvinism! Negro and white workers, unite in common struggle against the bosses and landowners! White workers, march at the head in the struggle for Negro rights!

Our Contemporaries Say

AFTER THE JEW—WHAT?

So serious has become the question of employment, all over the land, that almost every dinner table talk is about unemployment and lack of work. In almost every household this all-absorbing topic is under discussion, day and night. Our social gatherings devote the time discussing unemployment and the depression. The topic will not down.

Negroes are the first to lose their jobs, although they are the last to get jobs. The situation of the Negro is almost alarming. He is in the most precarious position of all working groups. His case is pitiable.

But if he thinks he is the only target; if he thinks he is the only group or race hit hard by the depression, let him turn to the case of the Jew. Not only in cases of employment, but in schools and colleges, the jews are getting a bitter dose. The account recently given before the American Jewish congress meeting in Washington tells the story in language not to be misunderstood. The administrative committee reported through its executive director, Bernard G. Richards, that there is in this country an "anti-Jewish discrimination" practiced under a veil, but nevertheless of dangerous proportions. The report says:

There is evidence of an increasing tendency to deny employment to Jewish men and women on no other grounds than that of their faith and race.

Many Jewish boys and girls find themselves in a position well nigh hopeless.

An official of one of the largest employment agencies was quoted as saying that the Jew is now a "marginal worker." If there are more jobs than applicants, the Jew gets a place, but if the demand falls off, Jewish placements are difficult.

It is imperative that investigation of the situation be started on a wider and more extensive scale.

Many complaints have been made against discrimination against Jews in various phases of academic life, and "particularly trying has been the lot of Jewish studetns for admission to medical schools."

Jewish students who attained enviable records in their collegiate work found the door slammed in their faces when they tried to enter medical colleges."

It must be remembered that the Jews of this country have wealth, financial power, and not a little political strength. If these people are face to face with the conditions set forth in the report above quoted, what must be the plight of the American Negro, who has no wealth, no financial power, and

—THE PITTSBURGH COURIER.

the Jew, then what? We shudder to think of what is in the distance for a people who are so blind that they refuse to organize their buying power, their voting power, or any of their available means to protect themselves against the day of complete discrimination. After the utter destruction of

Pickens Says:-



Systematic Manufacture Of Race Prejudice

(For the Associated Negro Press.)

THE FALSE reports in the news about interracial troubles keep American white people from having even a chance to get rid of their prejudices against the Negro. In the daily newspapers, for example, we have just been reading about two "Negro bandits and their woman accomplice at Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, being under arrest for the cold-blooded murder of a white man and intent and effort to murder another. But after the inquest, and after this false and damaging news has traversed the entire newspaper world, never to be overtaken or recalled, it develops that the two colored men are not robbers, that no robbery was committed, and that no "cold-blooded" killing was done at all.

The two Negro men and a young woman friend hired a white man to drive them a short distance for a dollar. The white man took a friend of his along. On the way toward the Arkansas border, as is sometimes the habit of white men of southern Missouri and of Arkansas, the two white men made indecent advances to the colored woman. The colored men protested. White men of that kind resent the presumption of Negro men in defending a colored woman, even though she be escorted by the colored men. One of these white men struck one of the protesting Negro men and got shot through the heart. In the fight the other white man was also shot and supposed to be dead and both were thrown in the river.

That is the sad part about it: When colored men in the South commit violence in self-defense against white people, then through fear of prejudice and mobs they proceed to do what is unlawful—to hide the results of the action as if they were criminals.

And for this the Negro population of Ste. Genevieve, many of whom have lived there for generations, were driven out by mobs, while papers all over the country spoke palliatingly of the expulsion.

HOOVER'S MESSAGE

President Hoover, during his stay in the highest office in in the land, has taken a definite stand so far as the Negro and organized labor is concerned. It is very plain that he cares nothing for either.

So far as labor is concerned, he has demonstrated where he stands by the appointments of Judge Parker and Secretary of Labor Doak. Judge Parker has been considered an enemy of labor. Secretary Doak was not favored by labor. The President regards very lightly the more than 4,000,000 votes represented by organized labor, to say nothing of the additional millions of votes of the families and friends of labor.

The Negro, on the other hand, appears to be a nonentity in Mr. Hoover's calculations. Not one word of his message to Congress concerns the Negro. The President winks at his sworn duty to uphold the Constitution. Every Southern State violates the Constitution to a degree comparable with the violation of the Eighteenth Amendment. Yet President Hoover seeks no legislation to correct the evils, to protect the Constitution.

Millions are spent annually in an attempt to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment. Not one cent is spent to enforce the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Mr. Wickersham's commission investigates crime at Mr. Hoover's suggestion. They evidently do not consider lynching a crime. Southern members of the House of Representatives hold their seats in violation of the Constitution of the United States. The Constitution provides that representation be reduced in a state where its citizens are denied suffrage.

Is Mr. Hoover blind to these facts? No. Mr. Hoover has deliberately neglected his duty in his message to Congress. The oath to uphold the Constitution means that the President must strive to support the whole body of fundamental law, or else go down in history as a weakling and a failure.

Mr. Hoover, you've made your decision.

Much in Little

A SHORT ARTICLE in the American Mercury for December tells more about the birth and development of race prejudice than many volumes. It was written retrospectively by a young white woman who had attended a noted private school in New York. The policy of this school is to mix all races and nationalities of children, including a few Negroes, with the hope that close association will diminish or prevent the growth of interracial and interreligious hate. Nevertheless, the school is shown, in the article, to have failed in this, one of its most important, purposes.

THE ARTICLE deals with a colored boy and his sister who were admitted to the school. The white children, ten or eleven years old, took them up and made idols of them. For the first year or two their popularity grew; the boy dominated his classes. As the high school age approached there was a gradual dropping off, and in high school there was a decided change.

THE COLORED CHILDREN were no longer idols. They were not exactly shunned, but they were not sought after. The white pupils' world had been slowly but effectively instilling race hate, and almost insensibly they had conformed to their home environment. At graduation hardly any attention was paid the former idols.

EVERYONE, except the generality of white people, knows that race prejudice is not instinctive, that it has to be carefully indoctrinated. It could not be developed if children were left alone by their elders. Manufactured, not natural, hatred has caused most of the troubles of history. The children of Rome and Carthage were taught to hate each other; in the Eighteenth Century no English boy's education was considered complete till he had learned, as an English writer said, "to hate a Frenchman as he would the devil." If such hatred were natural England and France could not have fought side by side in the World War. In pre-war Germany hate for England was the national cult. People train their children to hate, and then wonder why we cannot get rid of war.

Race Problem - 1930

United States

Jacksonville, Fla.
Tuesday, [illegible]

STATUS OF THE NEGRO; NORTH AND SOUTH

The Hartford Courant, commenting upon the economic status of the negro as indicated by a committee appointed by the President, declares that the conclusions reached and mentioned in the first report are of especial interest at a time when unemployment seems to be accentuating the problem. "The report finds that the invasion by whites of the traditional negro callings in the South—particularly domestic service, tailoring and barbering—has thrown a large number of negroes out of work," says the Courant. "Many of these have moved to the North, where new difficulties with which they are not fitted by nature or training to deal have met them. This situation has resulted in distressing conditions existing in many Northern negro communities."

The Courant then says further:

> The remedy, according to the committee, lies in a well-co-ordinated program of education, which will fit the members of the race to deal more intelligently and effectively with the new conditions that face them. Specifically the report recommends that trained counselors in vocational and educational guidance be installed in the negro high schools, that existing facilities, such as the Federal Board of Vocational Education and the Department of Labor, be extended to include the specialized problem of the negro, that employment bureaus be established, and that the "basic importance of being practically trained for industry should be emphasized in the education of the negro." In other words, the committee asks that the training which members of the white race receive more or less as a matter of course, be extended to the negroes.

To a resident of the South the report and recommendations of the committee appear almost absurd. To suggest, for instance that the displacement of a few barbers and tailors and domestic servants through the taking up of these callings or trades, by whites has been a serious injury to the negroes—who must have first taken this employment from the whites—is far-fetched. There are yet many colored barbers and negroes in the trade of tailoring; the negro is employed and given excellent wages and good treatment in domestic service in the South almost to the exclusion of white help of this kind. The average negro woman cook or maid in Jacksonville gets from $8 to $15 a week, and carfare; has one or two afternoons "off" each week, and frequently comes to work after 8 a. m., and leaves after lunch. This is more pay and less work than is accorded the average, white employe in shop or store, and as good as many white employes get in offices and in industry.

It could be said of Jacksonville, and of Charleston, Savannah, Augusta, Columbia, and a score of other Southern cities, that there are thousands of negroes employed as chauffeurs, drivers of motor trucks, handlers of freight and workers in various industrial and commercial enterprises getting good pay and performing satisfactory service. They predominate on the wharves and at the docks; and in the fishing industry. They are found all over the South in the building trades—painting, plastering, carpentering, bricklaying; they form the majority of yard-men, taking care of the lawns and gardens to a very great extent, capably and well. Negroes, in the South as elsewhere, are doing a large part of the strictly "laboring work," but they often work side-by-side with white men, in road-building and ditch-digging, here as in New York and Pennsylvania.

The Courant's idea that some special attention is needed to the situation of the negro "in order that he may adjust himself to the industrial conditions," which are declared to be apparent, can well be applied in the North. The negro is by inheritance a child of the warm climates and does not generally become acclimated in the North and East. Often he has gone North with the false impression created by well-intentioned but ill-informed friends, that his great opportunity is there. Arriving, he finds that domestice service is the best that the North has to offer him—along with laboring work, where he must compete with the white races of Europe and everywhere; husky and willing to do anything for a minimum wage and without thought of surroundings or improvement.

The condition of the negroes in the South is not pitiful; neither is there any reason for the rest of the country worrying over the possibility of the whites crowding the negroes out of their rightful occupations. In the cities of the South there are colored men and women holding excellent positions; there are negro doctors and lawyers and preachers and dentists and undertakers and real estate dealers and merchants. The negroes of the South are given the opportunity to go to school, and to carry their studies further when they desire to do so. In the Southern States are technical colleges and institutions where the ambitious negro can go as far as pleases him in the pursuit of knowledge. Florida, Georgia, Alabama, the Carolinas, and other States have these establishments and they are doing good work.

In the rural sections, it should be added, the negro farmer can rent or buy land and live upon it, making his crops and selling them without prejudice and with the advice and help of all farm authorities. On the farms and groves and gardens of the whites, in every capacity up to foreman, competent negro help is found, practically to the extent that they care to go into this line of endeavor.

The South is the real home of the negro, and the Southern people, understanding them and being glad to help them, they would be better off always if remaining here, where they were brought from African slavery to become a fixture and useful part of the inhabitants. The Southern people do not urge the negroes to leave the South; they know that this section of the country best suits the colored man, and they know also that there is much that the colored man can do, well, in the South. The Courant, unfortunately, refers to "race prejudice" in the South, suggesting that this is keeping the negro from acquiring all that is due him in the matter of opportunity and consideration. This is not true. The negro's opportunity for success and attainment is in the South, to the height of his capability.

TIMES UNION
JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

NOV 1 1 1930

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> The remedy, according to the committee, lies in a well-co-ordinated program of education, which will fit the members of the race to deal more intelligently and effectively with the new conditions that face them. Specifically the report recommends that trained counselors in vocational and educational guidance be installed in the negro high schools, that existing facilities, such as the Federal Board of Vocational Education and the Department of Labor, be extended to include the specialized problem of the negro, that employment bureaus be established, and that the "basic importance of being practically trained for industry should be emphasized in the education of the negro." In other words, the committee asks that the training which members of the white race receive more or less as a matter of course, be extended to the negroes.

To a resident of the South the report and recommendations of the committee appear almost absurd. To suggest for instance that the displacement of a few barbers and tailors and domestic servants through the taking up o these callings or trades, by whites has been a serious injury to the negroes—who must have first taken this employmen from the whites—is far-fetched. There are yet many colored barbers and negroes in the trade of tailoring; the negro is employed and given excellent wages and good treatment in domestic service in the South almost to the exclusion of white help of this kind. The average negro woman cook or maid in Jacksonville gets from $8 to $15 a week, and carfare; has one or two afternoons "off" each week, and frequently comes to work after 8 a. m., and leaves after lunch. This is more pay and less work than is accorded the average, white employe in shop or store, and as good as many white employes get in offices and in industry.

It could be said of Jacksonville, and of Charleston, Savannah, Augusta, Columbia, and a score of other Southern cities, that there are thousands of negroes employed as chauffeurs, drivers of motor trucks, handlers of freight and workers in various industrial and commercial enterprises getting good pay and performing satisfactory service. They predominate on the wharves and at the docks; and in the fishing industry. They are found all over the South in the building trades—painting, plastering, carpentering, bricklaying; they form the majority of yard-men, taking care of the lawns and gardens to a very great extent, capably and well. Negroes, in the South as elsewhere, are doing a large

part of the strictly "laboring work," but they often work side-by-side with white men, in road-building and ditch-digging, here as in New York and Pennsylvania.

The Courant's idea that some special attention is needed to the situation of the negro "in order that he may adjust himself to the industrial conditions," which are declared to be apparent, can well be applied in the North. The negro is by inheritance a child of the warm climates and does not generally become acclimated in the North and East. Often he has gone North with the false impression created by well-intentioned but ill-informed friends, that his great opportunity is there. Arriving, he finds that domestice service is the best that the North has to offer him —along with laboring work, where he must compete with the white races of Europe and everywhere; husky and willing to do anything for a minimum wage and without thought of surroundings or improvement.

The condition of the negroes in the South is not pitiful, neither is there any reason for the rest of the country worrying over the possibility of the whites crowding the negroes out of their rightful occupations. In the cities of the South there are colored men and women holding excellent positions; there are negro doctors and lawyers and preachers and dentists and undertakers and real estate dealers and merchants. The negroes of the South are given the opportunity to go to school, and to carry their studies further when they desire to do so. In the Southern States are technical colleges and institutions where the ambitious negro can go as far as pleases him in the pursuit of knowledge. Florida, Georgia, Alabama, the Carolinas, and other States have these establishments and they are doing good work.

In the rural sections, it should be added, the negro farmer can rent or buy land and live upon it, making his crops and selling them without prejudice and with the advice and help of all farm authorities On the farms and groves and gardens of the whites, in every capacity up to foreman, competent negro help is found, practically to the extent that they care to go into this line of endeavor.

The South is the real home of the negro, and the Southern people, understanding them and being glad to help them, they would be better off always if remaining here where they were brought from African slavery to become a fixture and useful part of the inhabitants. The Southern people do not urge the negroes to leave the South; they know that this section of the country best suits the colored man, and they know also that there is much that the colored man can do, well, in the South. The Courant, unfortunately refers to "race prejudice" in the South, suggesting that this is keeping the negro from acquiring all that is due him in the matter of opportunity and consideration This is not true. The negro's opportunity for success and attainment is in the South, to the height of his capability.

Race Problem - 1930

United States.

A New Year's Epistle to the Negro

By KELLY MILLER

Greetings for 1931

THE CRYING demands of the times and the necessities of the situation must justify my assumption of intellectual and moral authority in this epistolary advice and admonition. We are entering upon a new year which will witness momentous movements throughout the world. Our own nation is in the midst of transforming processes whose outcome is not apparent to the wisest foresight.

The city is depleting the country. Depression and unemployment are nationwide. Agriculture and industry have come to grips. Capital and labor are in a state of armed neutrality. Man and the machine are engaged in a deadly duel. The boasted democracy of an agricultural era is threatened by the dictatorship of the machine and billionaire manipulators. Established religious, political, economic and social order, under pressure of present day agitation, are in a state of unstable equilibrium. Human wisdom knows not what the outcome will be. The world has never known it on this wise before.

In the midst of these cosmic forces which are sweeping around and through us, the Negro is looking on in supine aloofness as if he had no concern or did not comprehend what it was all about. He fails to fathom the influence by which he is impelled. We are satisfying our little souls by indulging in dramatizing our group grievances of which the world is bored and to which it turns a deaf ear.

We are sixty years behind the procession, and are trying to recall in 1930 the issues of 1870. The man with the toothache is a nuisance to his fellowmen who have no interest in the agonies of his aching organ. To him nothing else matters; but it matters nothing to anybody else. The man with the wound must utter the groan else the world would not be aware of his affliction; but too much groaning renders the world hardened and indifferent to it. Making grimaces and shaking the impotent fist of defiance do not modify the onward sweep of cosmic or national forces.

And yet I do not advise cessation of remonstrance against cruelty, injustice and wrong; but sage experience teaches us the inefficacy of impotent complaint as adequate remedy of the things complained of. At times it seems that the more bitterly we complain, the deeper grow the grievances against which we complain.

History shows that group grievances are rarely ever remedied by direct action, but by the wider sweep of indirect and ulterior motives and movements. The Irish bitterly complained of the unjust English overlords for seven hundred years: and yet relief came as an incident of the World War with which her historical grievances had no relation.

The Plebeians were at continuous strife with the Patricians for half



— Kelly Miller —

a thousand years, but equality was attained as an outcome of Rome's imperial policy. The natives of India have indulged in complaint against British rule ever since the days of Warren Hastings; but relief seems in sight only when the British Empire is on the brink of dissolution.

Even our racial rights, as much as we enjoy, are the result of economic and political adjustment between sections of the country differing in soil and climate.

The Negro needs a larger vision. His grievances will be removed, his wrongs remedied, not by specific but by general, remedies. This is the day of the syndicate and the merger. Economic, political and social processes operate on a nationwide scale. There is little or no room for class action.

The Negro must interest himself in what the nation is interested—how to adjust social order based upon outgrown tools to the demands of a machine age. In this new alignment lies the chief hope that long standing prejudices, wrongs and injustices, whether of race, class or sex, will be mollified or removed.

Let me now give a specific illustration of the foregoing general principles. During the next two years the whole nation will be stirred to its very depths by the fate of the Eighteenth Amendment. Moral agitation will result in political action. While the nation is in fever heat of commotion over the issue of prohibition it will boot the Negro little to stand aloofly by and insist on the dramatization of his specific grievances, however justly grounded. It will boot him better, a hundredfold better, to join in making the nation dry, with assurance that relief will be felt at all points of racial pressure as a result of this moral reform.

NEGRO NOT SINGLED OUT IN PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON NATION

Minority Group Dealt With Only as Constituent Part of Whole—National Legislators Told of Progress in Haiti

By LOUIS R. LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 2. — President Hoover again treated the Negro as a constituent part of the people of this nation and singled him out for no special reference in his message today to the final session of the Seventy-first Congress which convened Monday.

The message dealt primarily with economic depression, its causes and cures. Overspeculation in securities and world-wide overproduction of basic commodities and resultant unemployment were given as the chief causes.

While the short session will not permit of extensive legislative programs, the President recommended for consideration with a view to subsequent action effective regulation of interstate electrical power, a national policy of consolidation of the railways, an inquiry into the workings of the anti-trust laws, a study of the economic effects of the income tax law, revision of the immigration laws upon a more limited and more selective basis, strengthening of the deportation laws in order to rid the United States of criminal aliens, and authorizations for building post offices.

Foreign relations have been maintained upon a high basis of cordiality and good-will, the President reported.

"A commission which was supported by the Congress has completed its investigation and reported upon our future policies in respect to Haiti and proved of high value in securing the acceptance of these policies," he advised the Congress. "An election has been held and a new government established. We have replaced our high commissioner by a minister and have begun the gradual withdrawal of our activities with view to complete retirement at the expiration of the present treaty in 1935."

Role of U. S. Government in the Suppression of the Negro Masses

Daily Worker

By WILLIAM WILSON.

THE anti-lynching campaign of the Communist Party of the U. S. and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and the nation-wide support given it by the Negro masses has driven the Negro reformists, particularly of the "radical" group into a flurry of excitement. More and more loudly they emphasize the necessity of increasing their petitions to the United States Government and "asserting pressure" upon "sympathetic" senators and representatives in the Congress for the passing of a federal anti-lynching law.

These "extremely effective measures" for the curbing of lynching receive the "firmest" support from the inter-racial committees particularly in the South, where the reformist National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the semi-fascist National Urban League tells us the composition of these committees consist of the "best people" doctors, lawyers, editors, judges, legislators and even governors, all of whom are much "disturbed" at the "unaccountable" new wave of lynching and mob terror against the Negro masses.

Bosses Fear Militancy of Negro Masses.

There can be no doubt about it. The anxiety of the "best people" is real, but they are not concerned about the passage of a Federal Anti-Lynching Bill. They are, however, seriously disturbed by the growing militancy of the Negro masses. All of the Negro reformists and reactionaries, big and little, have been pressed into service. The best known and best trusted reactionaries have been sent on international missions either to quell the growing unrest of the exploited and oppressed Negro toilers on an international scale, or to prepare the way for a further penetration of American imperialism into Negro countries or both. Such were the tasks of the commissions upon which Dr. Russa Moton, the Dean of Negro reactionaries and also incidentally Dean of Tuskagee University, Alabama, Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University and George Haynes of the Inter-denominational Church Council served in Haiti, Liberia and South Africa respectively.

But in surveying the treacherous activities of these individual tools of American imperialism and even the larger activities of the reformist bourgeois and petty-bourgeois organizations; in reviewing the increasingly widespread lynching campaign of the fascist Ku Klux Klan and the American Legion organizations and the sanctimonious lies "deploring these horrors" which emanate from the ranks of the liberal wing of the American bourgeoisie and of the activities of the American Government with reference to these incidents, it is particularly important that we place the performance of these groups of betrayers and deluders of the Negro masses in their correct perspective. The Negro masses must be taken behind the scenes in order that they may see and be well aware of the game which is being played with the object of holding them fast to the ideology of the master class.

Want More Scraps of Paper.

They must be shown the social political significance of the maneuvers of the bourgeoisie and the Negro "leaders" who are so zealously petitioning for a Federal Anti-Lynching Bill. The 13th, 14th and 15th amendments, written into the Federal Constitution after the civil war were to guarantee all of the rights of citizens to the Negro masses. These have been nullified by various class and anti-Negro legislation in virtually every state of the union. Yet these same Negro "leaders" who "protest" the failure of the government to enforce these "guarantees" are seeking the addition of another such innocuous law. What game are these Negro reformers playing with the government? And what directives are the government giving in the matter of the suppression of the Negro masses?

The United States government takes its place in the front rank of the imperialist agencies, formulating, propaganding and disseminating the bourgeois "racial superiority" ideology. This is but natural, since as the Executive Committee of the "59" owners of America, one of the tasks of the government must necessarily be the formulation of the line to be followed by the corrupt bureaucracy of labor, the fascist organizations, the reformist elements, the prostitute press and the professional bourgeois ideologists in dealing with the Negro masses.

Tools of Ruling Class.

These imperialist agencies in keeping with their program of division of labor, popularize the official state policy, work out tactical measures surreptitiously or openly according to their nature, fermenting acts of provocation which terminate in race riots, lynching bees, arson, and even extend to the wholesale driving of Negroes from their homes as has happened this year in the states of Delaware, Oklahoma and Texas.

The subterfuges, lies, maneuvers and damnable hypocrisy, which feature the refusal of state and federal governments, to proceed against the fascist mobs, and murderers of Negro workers and farmers is proof of their approval, of their connivance with, and support for these agencies while their direct guidance of the activities of these tools of American imperialism is equally obvious.

In laying down its line of procedure for the suppression of the Negro masses, the government proceeds openly, particularly is this true in periods of sharpening social contradictions. For example, we have recently seen the open and notorious insult offered to the Negro "Gold-Star Mothers." When the Negro mothers were carried to France to visit the graves of the sons they had given to be butchered in the imperialist world struggle, under the illusion that it was a fight for the "right of oppressed nationalities to have a voice in their own government," they were forced to agree to the most humiliating segregation in transit, and at the hotels where they were quartered. The separation of the Negro working women from the white working class mothers, was but a consistent step in the policy of the United States government, with reference to the working class. Thus did the government publicly proclaim its endorsement of the segregation of the Negro toiling masses.

Government Jim Crows and Segregation.

The segregation and discrimination imposed upon the Negro employees of the government, particularly in the various departments of government, in the National Capitol is another example of the manner in which the state lays down the line to be followed where the Negro masses are concerned. The Jim Crowing of Negro soldiers, the shutting of the doors of military, naval and aviation schools in the face of Negro candidates, the mass trial and "legal" murder of Negro soldiers who only defended their lives in the honor of their women, the creation and partial subsidization of a Jim Crow College—Howard—are all notable cases of the leading role played by the United States government in the suppression of the social, political advancement of the Negro masses.

The reflection of this policy of the government in the educational matters is readily to be seen in a greater or lesser degree, in every state of the union without exception. On every side they seek to impress the white masses with the myth of "white race superiority." The line is followed by the bureaucracy of labor, in the exclusion of Negroes from the trade union; the murderous attacks of the fascist, Ku-Klux-Klan and American Legion, increase of the provocative anti-race activities of the prostitute press are outstanding examples. In industry the discrimination operates in many ways, of which the color wage scale—the paying of Negro labor a smaller wage than white labor on the same job is a glaring example.

The government now turns to a more extensive and intensive use of Negro reformist and reactionary elements. These are now being utilized to quiet the growing militancy of the native bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie in Haiti and the South African natives, and to prepare the way for a League of Nations mandate over Liberia, Nigeria and West Africa. The offensive of the American government against the Negro masses never ceases; open and concealed, it ramifies every phase of the economic-political life of the Negro toilers. Their struggle for social, national emancipation leads inevitably to a struggle against the federal and state governments.

Race Problem-1930

United States.

THERE IS ONE THING LACKING IN THE WHITE MAN'S RELIGION

And, that one thing is, love for his fellowman, or in other words, love for his brother in black. His attitude towards his brother in black contravenes the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God. His religion is rather theoretical and not practical, selecting whom it will serve or love, and rejecting those it will not serve or love.

His religion does not sit foursquare on the base that love is the fulfilling of the law; that we know that we have been redeemed from death unto salvation because we love our brethren. It sidesteps the new commandment of Christ: Love thy neighbor as thyself.

The white man's religion has a double standard, or a dual capacity—one love for white people and other love for colored people.

Christianity is unselfish and serves all races and creeds alike. It is no respector of persons, and is as broad as the human family. The white man's religion permits him to appropriate the Negro's rights and opportunities to his own selfish ends. In the division of the public school funds, his religion permits him to take the money the state provides for the education of the black child and use it for the education of the white child; it permits him to pass laws making it unlawful for black and white Christians to worship God under the same roof together; it permits him to jim crow the Negro Christian on the railroads, elevators, and street cars. It permits him to deny his black brother the humane treatment he affords his bird dog or poodle pup; it permits him to consolidate county schools and haul white children to school daily and make no preparation for the Negro child to get to and from the schoolhouse every day.

The white man's religion permits him to pay a white teacher living wages and the Negro teacher starvation wages. It permits him to pack Negro children in schools to the tune of triple sessions a day and provide a full day's time for the white child, out of money appropriated for education of the Negro youth. His religion permits him to legalize the theft of the black man's vote and appropriate unto himself the divine right to rule and control the Negro without his consent. His religion permits him to look on his black brother starve and perish while he has plenty to waste. It permits him to shut every door of hope and opportunity in his black brother's face and to pass legislation to reduce him to common serfdom while he rolls in luxury and avarice.

It permits him to hate the Negro, and teaches his children to despise and hate in like manner his brothers and sisters in black.

The white man's religion permits him to lynch and burn black men and women at the stake as a pastime, and the white pulpit dare not raise its voice against the barbarity of mass murder. It permits mob violence to shake the very foundation of our institution, and white Christianity approves murder by its eloquent silence.

The white man's religion allows him to take every dollar the Government appropriates for farm relief, the unemployed, or any other emergency and convert it to his own use, while Negroes at their door starve and suffer for work and the necessities of life. His religion permits him to obscure every virtue of the Negro in his newspapers and spread his vices to the world for the purpose of discrediting him as a world factor.

Surely, something is lacking in the white man's religion; it makes no effort to serve humanity. Surely, he has not the religion that Christ taught and practiced while on earth, that you must love your neighbor as yourself. He, who says, he loves God, whom he has never seen, and hates his brother, whom he has seen, is a liar and the truth is not in him.

The white man's religion lacks love. It is selfish, puffed up; and carries enmity in its heart. It serves not God but mammon. Pure and undefiled religion before God and man knows no color line, race, or kin; and rejoices in equal opportunities, rights and benefits for all men in common. Peter perceived that God was no respector of persons, and any religion that would take a dollar or a right from one man and give it to another, to whom it does not belong, is fundamentally at war with the religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and may find its teachings too late for correction.

PAULESVILLE, OKLA.

MORNING EXAMINER

NOV 18 1930

A THOUGHT FOR TODAY

Set thine house in order.—Isaiah 38:1.

* * * * *

Good order is the foundation of all things.—Burke.

Sunday millions of people studied race prejudice in the Sunday schools of the United States. Race prejudice in this country means one thing in one place, and another thing in another place. Along the Mexican border it means first the Mexican race problem. On the Pacific coast it means the Japanese race problem. In the south and much of the other parts of the United States it means the Negro race problem.

Two erroneous approaches are made. One assumes that there are inferior and superior races without understanding what differences make the different races different rather than inferior or superior. The other assumes that a war on race prejudice will wipe out the differences.

Take the Negro as an example of the race most generally rated as inferior and against whom more acute prejudice prevails over wide areas than against any other race. The Negro is more probably markedly different in color, in temperament, in background and history than any other race. But his inferiority is probably due to inferior opportunity rather than to inherent inferiority.

The Negro came to this country against his will. The white peoples came of their own free will, save for those deported in the early days of colonial history. The Negro has less background for civilization and less opportunity to acquire education, refinement, experience and culture than any other race within our borders. But Paul Lawrence Dunbar was a poet and Paul Robeson is an actor and others have been great in other lines. A race inherently inferior could not produce superior individuals or show growth and advancement. Taking everything into consideration, the Negro has made remarkable advancement and his advancement is the best refutation of the inferiority argument.

But the Negro is different, vastly different, just as the Japanese is different and the various brown and yellow races are different. It is not reasonable to expect the black, red, brown and yellow races to be just like the white race and it is not reasonable to expect the different white racial groups to be just alike. In fact, the white

permitting the Negro opportunity for growth and advancement and in aiding him in the maintenance of kindly relations with the other races living in this country. The Negro errs where he apes the white man, desires social recognition and insists that equal opportunity consists in foisting unnecessary contacts with such a widely different race upon the white people. The white people err where they rate the Negro a inferior, deny him equal opportunity and draw unreasonable lines in regard to contacts.

Prejudice; is giving way gradually to understanding. But it takes a lot of time and a lot of understanding to make the future safe for the Negro and for the white man.

Social intercourse, intermarriage and other problems are not inherently a part of the race problem. There are distinctions within the white race and between other races. Most unprejudiced white men and most better informed black men are opposed to intermarriage and deplore emphasis on social intercourse as an evidence of social, political or religious justice. The races should be kept pure and advancement be made along natural, not unnatural lines.

The Negro has made the most phenomenal progress in the history of backward people in his rise from slavery to his present status. True, there has been losses as well as gains—but that is true of the advance of the white race and all other races. The problem of the white man and the black man in this country is one of how two vastly different races can develop side by side and not of the dominance of a "superior" race or the dominating of an "inferior" race. There is much to be learned by both sides. The Negro and the white man have suffered because foolish agitators have stressed wrong things.

This racial problem is our greatest human problem and it will never be kept on a working basis as long as we treat the races as anything but different races whose lot has been cast together and whose future is inseparably bound together. Its crux is found in

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BARTLESVILLE, OKLA.
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The better informed Negro has at last gained a general acceptance of the name Negro. The Negroes are ceasing to insist upon being called by the nondescript name of "colored" people and are classing themselves correctly as Negroes. That bespeaks a growing pride of race which in itself denotes advancement and justifies its designation as a different and backward race rather than as an inferior race.

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This racial problem is our greatest human problem and it will never be kept on a working basis as long as we treat the races as anything but different races whose lot has been cast together and whose future is inseparably bound together. Its crux is found in permitting the Negro opportunity for growth and advancement and in aiding him in the maintenance of kindly relations with the other races living in this country. The Negro errs where he apes the white man, desires social recognition and insists that equal opportunity consists in foisting unnecessary contacts with such a widely different race upon the white people. The white people err where they rate the Negro a inferior, deny him equal opportunity and draw unreasonable lines in regard to contacts.

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NO CURSE OF GOD

Negro's Intelligence and Ability Are Unquestionable

By ROBERT B. ELEAZER
(Educational Director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation)

Yes, like measles, everybody has to have them, even the best of us. There the analogy ends, however, for most folks get over measles pretty promptly. Nobody wants to go around speckled forever with a million red bumps. And one would think that nobody would want to go through life with his mind bumpy with misinformation and inflamed with bad feeling concerning his fellow men. Yet lots of people do just that.

No Curse of God

1. For example, a college student gravely informed me the other day that God turned one of Noah's sons black and sentenced his descendants to perpetual servitude. He spent half an hour searching the Bible to prove it. He didn't find it, of course, for the Bible says nothing of the kind.

There is no suggestion that God cursed anybody or that anybody was turned black. (Read Genesis 9 and see for yourself.) The scientists tell us that our color variations are due to the influence of climate and environment working through long ages.

Probably we were all red at first; the name Adam means "red earth," you know. Then those of us who settled in the North faded out, while those farther South grew darker.

All Right in His Place

2. "Oh, yes," someone says, "the Negro is all right in his place." An obvious truth that often hides a fallacy; for generally it means that the man who uses it has already assumed to fix the Negro's place as one of inherent inferiority and servitude. But has one human being the right thus to rate another and to deny him the chance to improve his status? Am I God, that I should set limits to the possibilities of any of God's children?

Yet that is the philosophy of some today who would keep the Negro ignorant in order to keep him subservient and content. It is the philosophy of a past age and of paganism. The highest welfare of all, not the selfish convenience of a few, is the only standard that meets the test of twentieth century intelligence and Christianity.

Negro Intelligence and Ability

3. "But no genuine Negro ever showed real intelligence or ability." Do you think not? What about George Carver, the South's foremost agricultural chemist and Fellow of the London Royal Society of Arts?

What about Phyllis Wheatley, African-born slave who wrote such good poetry that she was complimented by President Washington and entertained by the royalty of England?

What of Robert R. Moton, head of Tuskegee Institute, a school with 2,000 students and an annual budget of half a million dollars?

What of Roland Hayes, world-famous tenor, who sings perfectly in four languages and has been honored by the crowned heads of Europe?

What of Mary McLeod Bethune, who has built up a great school for girls at Daytona, Florida, with a plant worth $500,000?

What about hundreds more who have achieved notably in spite of great handicaps. Better inquire before you retail that particular fallacy again.

No Part in History

4. "The Negro has had no worthy part in American history," some one says. No?

Had you heard that Crispus Attucks, a Negro, was the first martyr of American independence; that Peter Salem, a Negro, was the hero of the Battle of Bunker Hill; that Salem Poor, another Negro, distinguished himself in the same battle; that 3,000 American Negroes took part in the Revolutionary War; that General Andrew Jackson warmly commended the courage of the Negro troops at the Battle of New Orleans and credited one of them with the death of the British commander; that Commodore Perry spoke in high praise of his Negro sailors in the Battle of Lake Erie; that Negro soldiers distinguished themselves in the Spanish American War at Guasimas, El Caney and San Juan Hill; that two Negroes were the first American soldiers decorated in the World War; that four entire Negro regiments were cited for bravery in that war, and that sixty Negro officers received decorations? Look up the record. You'll find it interesting.

5. "But Negroes want to break down the social line between the races." Who told you so? The finest types of Negro leaders deny it emphatically. They say frankly that they prefer the society of their own people. Perfectly natural, too. Besides, experience does not justify any such charge. Negroes want justice, not social relations. Education, protection, decent living conditions, a chance to develop their best—these are the things they ask. And these requests the white man must grant, if he proposes to be even reasonably fair.

Race Superiority

6. Finally, the most fundamental fallacy of all—the universal "superiority complex." Every racial group has it. Each thinks itself better than the rest, and consequently entitled to exploit the others, if it can. Jews thought themselves better than Gentiles; Greeks felt superior to Romans and Romans to everybody.

We white Americans are just as bad. We think ourselves the pick of the world—"God's last and best." Meantime Chinese and Koreans and East Indians look down on us in turn, as vulgar, excitable, noisy newcomers, superficial thinkers and crass materialists. Nor do Europeans think much better of us, if the truth were told.

It is high time for the world to outgrow that fallacy. Nobody knows which is the superior race—or whether there be one. All we can say is that we differ in physical characteristics and in degree and kind of development. History shows that the backward race of one age often becomes the dominant race of the next, and vice versa.

It behooves us all to be humble; to remember that we are all human beings, owing to each other respect and good will. And the more advantaged any of us happen to be, the greater is our obligation to serve the others.

Race Problem – 1930
United States.

Appointment of Biased Judge Is Opposed by Race

Independent

Washington, D. C.—Announcement in the daily press that Judge Edwin Holmes of the Federal Court, Southern District, for Mississippi, will be among the names offered to President Hoover for appointment to fill the new judgeship on the Circiut Court of Appeals for the Fifth Federal Circuit at New Orleans, has provoked a storm of protests from Negroes who charge the jurist with exhibiting race prejudice against Negro lawyers in open court.

Affidavits have been received by the White House in support of these allegations. On one occasion Judge Holmes is accused of expressing dissatisfaction over B. A. Green, mayor of Mound Bayou and a Harvard graduate, representing white clients in the Federal Court at Clarkesdale, Miss.

When the case of Alex Henry was called for trial at the October term in 1928, Attorney Green was unable to be present, having been seriously ill since September 25 of that year. Because of the unavoidable absence of his legal representative, a constinuance was asked.

The following dialogue is alleged to have takken place between Judge Holmes and Henry:

Henry: "Your honor, my attorney is a very sick man and I have been informed that he has filed a petition with the court asking a continuance of my case."

Judge Holmes: "Who is your attorney?"

Henry: "Ben Green of Mound Bayou."

Judge Holmes: "Are you a white man?"

Henry: "I am."

Judge Holmes: "Did you not know that Ben Green was a Negro when you employed him to defend you?"

Henry: "Because I was told that he was an attorney of good standing before the court and could preperly present my case in this court."

Judge Holmes: "I will give you until tomorrow morning to employ a white lawyer to defend you."

Holmes: "Your honor, I have paid Attorney Green to defend me, and I have no more money to employ another lawyer."

It is further charged that Lester Fant, the U. S. District Attorney, then sarcastically said to the defendant:

"Did you hire a nigger lawyer to defend you?" to which question Henry replied in the affirmative.

The other clients of Mr. Green after hearing and seeing the hostile attitude of the officers in the court, are reported to have left, jumped their bail, and have never been located since.

Cal McAllister, white, also had engaged Green to represent him but later secured the services of a white lawyer. It is alleged that when his case was called Fant said:

"Your Honor, this is another one of those Mound Bayou nigger lawyer cases."

Senators Harrison and Stephens of Mississippi are reported to be urging the promotion of Holmes, who lives at Yazoo City, Miss.

THOSE WAR AMENDMENTS.

Constitution

The able editor of the Review of Reviews, Dr. Albert Shaw, referring editorially to the fourteenth and fifteenth constitutional amendments, says:

6-1-30

"Those amendments of more than sixty years ago established principles, although time must still elapse before we attain the conditions that will give them full effect."

Atlanta Ga

It would be highly interesting, perhaps instructive, to have Dr. Shaw tell the country what "the conditions" are that he has in mind and the "full effect" of the post-war amendments that he believes should yet be obtained?

The initial wrong principles established by those amendments cannot be righted. The real purposes of them, not expressed frankly in them, are manifestly incapable of being effectuated while human nature remains subject to instinct, environment and tradition. The makers of those amendments, as history of their time fully reveals, intended to humiliate and penalize the southern people by forcing them into civil, political and social amalgamation with the emancipated negroes in their midst.

He is a gross perverter of history who tries to read into those amendments any higher or nobler motive. But time and law have adjusted interracial relations in the affected region so as to avoid those evil purposes, and now the races in the south have reached a modus vivendi together that is better for both than the "full effect" to which Dr. Shaw evidently refers.

The amendments in question are accepted in the south at their full legal value. The supreme court has construed them long ago and here in the south we are holding with loyalty to those constructions. What more is needed?

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
EVE. UNION

JUN 30 1930

FUTURE BELONGS TO COLORED MAN, DR. HOLMES SAYS

Empire of Whites Falling, New York City Pastor Tells Convention of Negroes.

"BOLSHEVIK FLAG SIGN OF FUTURE"

Economic System Collapsing; Negro, Once Victim, Will Obtain Equality, He Declares.

"It is written on the very stars of heaven that the empire of the white man is falling," said Dr. John Haynes Holmes, pastor of the Community Church of New York, addressing 500 persons gathered yesterday afternoon at the massmeeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the Municipal Auditorium.

In a fiery address, interrupted time and time again by spontaneous applause from the audience, in which a few white people were present, Dr. Holmes asserted three main points. First, that the trend of civilization is from the West to the East and the dominating culture of the future is in the colored peoples; second, that the end of empire is approaching, not only the end of domination of black by white, but also the end of the domination of white by white; and lastly that there is a great economic upheaval now in progress throughout the world.

Program for Today.

The program for the convention for today calls for two business sessions in the Mahogany Room of the Auditorium, one at 10 o'clock in the morning with Mrs. H. H. Kennedy of Pittsburgh, presiding, at which women's auxiliaries will be considered, and the other at 2 o'clock in the afternoon at which junior branches will be discussed. Mrs. Bertha Baumann Randolph of Orange, N. J., will preside in the afternoon.

At 8 o'clock tonight another massmeeting will take place in the Auditorium, at which T. Gillis Nutter of Charleston W. Va., will preside. A musical program will precede a speech to be made by Elmer A. Carter, editor of "Opportunity" on "A Quest for Economic Emancipation," and an address, "Not For, But With," by Prof S. Ralph Harlow of Smith College.

Calls Emancipation Certain.

"The emancipation of the Negro is as certain as the dawn of a new day tomorrow," thundered Dr. Holmes, while his words were broadcast over

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

WBZ. "The future belongs to the colored races," he added as the applause of the audience called a halt in his speech. "The passing of a long supremacy of the white man, and the rise of the colored races to a position of full equality and dignity with their fellows, this constitutes the outstanding world-event of our age."

Dealing with the first phase of his subject in which he contended that the "drift of world predominance" is from West to East, Dr. Holmes said: "America is now on top, just entering upon its period of power. But the trend of the centuries will not stop here. Already in Asia there appear signs of the future—a world centered in the civilization and culture of the East. And the East is colored, which means that the future belongs not to the white man but the colored man." Applause followed.

The second movement as outlined by the speaker was the disappearance of empire, the conquest of countries and peoples for the economic interests of the conquerors or dominating nation.

"In modern times, it has been the supreme factor of the age. A little group of western nations has used their superior military and mechanical power to carve up the world and exploit it for their own advantage. Formerly, the curse of empire meant very largely the subjection of white man by other white men. Today it has meant predominantly the subjection of black, or yellow, or brown, by white men. This has meant the tragic fact of a division of mankind into so-called superior and inferior peoples along the line of color, and the full flowering of the superstitution of white superiority. What does this superiority consist of? Superiority based upon force and mechanical power. The passing of the empire of the white man will also mark the passing of the superstition of the superiority of the white man."

Points to India.

Dr. Holmes pointed out that India and China are freeing thewselves. He characterized Mahatma Gandhi as that little black man, one of the half-dozen greatest men who have lived for freedom.

"Africa," he said, "is quiet, but restless and bidding her time. The colored peoples through the world are destined to be free, and thus to enter at last upon their inheritance."

He said that the Negro has carried the sign of slavery in the color of the skin, just as the Untouchable of the Indian caste system have carried the mark of civil servitude.

The sign of the future order, said the speaker, is in the "flag of Bolshevik Russia," and the audience interrupted Dr. Holmes here with applause. Dr. Holmes qualified his statements with the assertion that there were many things he disagreed with in the Russian system, and that all clear-thinking people would disagree with them but in Russia was "sounded the cry to the new freedom, of the new Russia. The cry of the Russian revolution is the cry of the end of economic servitude."

Lastly, Dr. Holmes took up the change in the economic order which he saw forthcoming. The new order he termed a "cooperative commonwealth," in which wealth and privilege would be equitably distributed among all individuals, nations, and races."

The speaker took up the various forms of economic slavery which he said have been the basis of society: chattel slavery, serfdom, and capitalism.

"All these," he said, "are so many different stages in the economic development of the race. Capitalism is is in essence simply the latest form of slavery. Now the easiest way to conduct a slave-system is to seize whole masses of men, and force them to labor. This is the secret of the African salve trade, also of immigrant contract labor."

Black Man Victim.

"The black man has through all these years simply been the victim of this economic system. But this system is beginning to collapse. In our new economic world—the cooperative commonwealth—there will be no master and slave, no owner and worker. Every man will own and every man will work. The economic burden and the economic privilege, in other words, will be equitably distributed. This means that all men will be economically equal; and, since economic conditions lie at the foundation of life,

they will be equal politically and socially as well."

The audience stood applauding as Dr. Holmes completed his speech and took his seat.

Arthur B. Spingarn of New York city, as presiding officer, next introduced Richard B. Harrison, who as the "Lord" in "Green Pastures," the Pulitzer prize play making a remarkable run in New York, has made an enviable dramatic reputation. "Green Pastures," said Mr. Spingarn in his introduction, "has been held by many critics to be one of the great achievements of the modern drama."

Mr. Harrison, who answers to the reports of the critics as admirably fitted for the part he is playing, with his melodious voice, clear enunciation, paternal manner and appearance, reviewed the plot and striking individualities of "Green Pastures" in a whimsical and humorous informal talk that pleased the audience.

Ridicules Criticism.

In ridiculing the drastic criticisms of the British press, which holds that "Green Pastures" is blasphemous, and that Harrison is also blasphemous, and impersonating the Almighty, Mr. Harrison said: "I am not playing the role of the Lord on high. I am only playing a character created by Mark Connelly." He strongly defended the play, saying that it was written as the conception of a primitive Negro of Louisiana."

Hundreds, after the massmeeting, availed themselves of the opportunity of shaking hands with Mr. Harrison.

The Negro opposition to the appointment of Judge Parker as a member of the United States Supreme Court, was the main theme of the speech by Walter White, secretary of the N. A. A. C. P.

"Negroes opposed Judge Parker," he said, "and in doing so made a political demonstration which will undoubtedly be far-reaching in its effect. Because this North Carolina jurist has shown himself willing to deprive the Negro of his fundamental rights as a citizen was but one of the reasons for our opposition to his confirmation. That in itself was important, but it was infinitely more important because it was symbolic of a deep-rooted illiberalism which menaces the fundamental human rights not only of Negroes but of all minority groups. It would be fatal for the Negro to take a narrowly selfish and personal attitude on questions of such grave importance. It would also be unfortunate for him, whatever the temptations to do so, to fall into purely punitive action."

"We ask nothing more than the rights of petition and protest be secure to the Negro, not as Negroes but as citizens of our common country."

Mr. White outlined the results of the defeat of Judge Parker. It has heartened 11,000,000 American Negroes and has demonstrated what organization can accomplish.

Other results, Mr. White mentioned, were that "notice has been served upon those who would keep the Negro down that the 14th and 15th Amendments still mean something can be made to mean a great deal more; that notice has been served upon demagogs, especially in the South, that no longer can they with impunity climb to high political office on the backs of helpless black people.

"Unless disfranchisement, arbitrary residential segregation, lynching, unequal apportionment of school funds, injustice in the courts, Jim Crowism and the other evils which are foisted upon Negroes in parts of the United States can be ended, then democracy itself fails in the United States," he said.

The invocation before the speeches was made by Rev. George A. Martin and the benediction by Rev. Walter T. Aiken. Robert W. Bagnall, director of branches, spoke briefly. Prior to the speaking, a musical program under the direction of Troy P. Gorum, was given in which Norman W. Carter, talented organist, played and in which Miss Lorenza J. Cole was vocal soloist. A mixed chorus gave several selections and the audience also joined in the singing.

Race Problem International.

Throughout he morning and evening services in the local churches, the various pastors relinquished their pulpits to delegates of the convention. The speakers stressed the fact that a real race problem exisited, and that it was not only prevalent in America but internationally as well.

Robert W. Bagnall at the Christ Church Cathedral particularly stressed the international significance of the race struggle, and Robert Gray Taylor dweit upon the politics of the situation.

Speaking in the First Baptist Church at 8 o'clock last night Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, editor of "The Crisis," outlined the history of the N. A. A. C. P. and the economic and political conditions significant in its rise.

He said that contempt to the rising Negro would be the greatest mistake of all. Self-assertion he maintained as one of the greatest urges in human kind. Drawing an analogy between the desire of a child for self-assertion and the desire of the Negro race today for self-assertion, he said that there were two ways of treating that desire. Either to assist the child and the race in their problems, or to ignore it altogether and take the consequences since that impulse to assert would not be subdued.

The old Negro is disappearing, and will disappear, he said. The question is, what type of Negro will supersede the type now fading. "You cannot let social problems alone," he said, "If you try to leave them alone, they will not let you alone. You have a minority of white people ruling a world, the majority of which is colored, for the benefit of the white people."

Liberal Movements Are "Uneducated" On Negro Problem, Says DuBois

Journal & Guide 1-5-30

SPRINGFIELD, Mass.—That grave discrepancies exist in the attitudes of liberals and radicals when the Negro problem is concerned, and that most liberal problems are "uneducated" when it comes to the Negro in America, and colored peoples throughout the world, was the assertion last night of Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, editor of the Crisis magazine, who addressed the 21st annual conference here of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"Most liberal movements are simply uneducated when it comes to the present Negro problem," declared Dr. DuBois, "and a persistent course of education, backed by facts, figures, and explanations, has got to be entered upon in order to convince liberals and radicals that the Negro problems of the 20th century are human problems, so intermingled and interconnected with other problems of human reform, that they simply cannot be neglected without ultimate disaster.

Hits Widespread Pessimism

"Even when the attention of social reformers is called to the presence of the Negro problem the greatest difficulty immediately presents itself, and that is, the widespread pessimism regarding any possibility of solution. Again and again liberal-minded men come face to face with this problem, throw up their hands and say by word or action:

"'The question is simply unanswerable. We do not know and we cannot conceive how the Negroes of America much less the Negro races of the world, are going to be encouraged into civilization. It is useless. Admitting, as many do admit, that no complete consideration may be given to the problems of democracy, education and crime so long as we do not regard the Negro element; nevertheless, there is nothing that we can do because the bringing in of any consideration of that element would make everything impossible.'

"Eternally Impossible"

"One can see in the history of various movements the influence of this idea. When woman suffrage was about to become a national movement before the Civil War, its advocates were frightened to death lest in any way the question of the status of white women should be mixed up with the slavery question. They were not only willing but insistent that the problem of the uplift of women be considered without reference to black women. And yet, of course, the thing was eternally impossible.

"So today, one of the difficulties of making democracy effective in the United States and carrying out thorough-going radical reform, is the whole problem of the black vote, a problem most advocates of democracy simply refuse to face.

Baffling Delimma

"Every thinking leader of the labor movement in white countries faces a baffling delimma: if he organizes to raise the status and wage of black and brown and yellow, he must either cut his own wage and standard of living, or reduce the profits of his employers. He does not dare to do either and the result is that the Labor Government of England, the Socialist bloc of France, and the Democratic party of the United States are unable to agree on a policy in Asia, Africa or Porto Rico that differs in essence from the opposing parties."

Backward Races Occasion Wars

International warfare and the failure of international agreements to limit armaments were traced by DuBois to the rivalry of European powers for opportunity to exploit backward races. Powerful groups in the various nations were ready to "direct organized murder" in order to preserve their markets and economic advantages, said Dr. DuBois, who continued:

"The victims of this situation, the black laborers and yellow laborers and brown laborers, in Asia and islands of the sea, are not only voiceless in the international conferences at London and Geneva and Washington, but the mass of the intelligent people of England, France, Germany, Italy and America do not consider that the interest of colored peoples is of enough importance to be considered when compared with the income and wealth and civilization of white people. Manifestly in these circumstances any great decrease or abolition of navies and armies is unthinkable; and manifestly we have got to face with unblinking eye the color problem before the problem of naval reduction, military disarmament and world peace can be settled."

Flays Lack of Interest

Colored people, for their part, were too often provincial and uninterested in general problems of social reform, declared Dr. DuBois, who asserted that the time had now come when the failure of Negroes and liberals and radicals to understand one another must come to an end. The American Negro, he declared, "needs an intensive course of study, not only in schools but in adult life of the difficulties of the world, of the meaning of reform movements, and of the part which Negroes as citizens of the world must play in reform.

"Just as truly no man today has a right to describe himself as liberal or radical who refuses to face the problem of black folk and colored people; who sits down before one of the greatest of world problems and seeks to settle it by saying it cannot be settled; who proposes to reform the world for the benefit of white people on the tacit assumption that other folk are not human in the same sense that white people are human. I know of no single line of work in the modern world and in America which promises more immediate and gratifying result than a thorough understanding and unification of the race problem and the problems of social reform."

Race Problem - 1930
United States.

Thinks Races Will Work Out Own Destinies

Governor Gardner in Address to Negro Grads Points Out Progress Made in State By Negroes.

Winston-Salem, June 3.—(AP)—Governor O. Max Gardner of North Carolina, addressing the graduating class of Winston-Salem Teachers' College For Negroes, here today, declared that the negroes and white people of North Carolina are today working out their respective destinies in a spirit and achieving a relationship "which has already attracted to this State the attention, the interest and the admiration of the entire country."

Briefly Governor Gardner outlined to the graduating class of colored students the changes that have come in North Carolina in the last ten to 30 years in the attitude of the white people toward the negroes and of the great steps of advancement made by the negroes themselves.

He also called the attention of the negroes to the fact that "every right implies a duty" and that "the negro of North Carolina has an unique opportunity to assist in further demonstrating to the whole world that the two races can live together in peace and with justice to each other, each race working out the best that is in it without damage or hurt to the other."

"I welcome the opportunity to speak to you, and through you to the members of your race in North Carolina," Governor Gardner told the graduates. "Every since I became Governor I have waited for some such opportunity as this to say to your people some of the things that are in my mind and close to my heart, and which, I am sure, are today in the thoughts and hearts of every good citizen, white or colored, in North Carolina.

"Profoundly thrilling and significant things have been happening in connection with the recent progress of the negro race in North Carolina. I do not believe—and I speak advisedly and with all the sincerity of which I am capable—that there is today any State in the American Union which, all things considered, offers the intelligent and industrious negro finer opportunities for living a full and useful life than is offered by North Carolina."

Pointing out that his time was limited, the Governor said he wished to discuss what North Carolina is doing for its colored citizenship and also to point out, what in his opinion, were reasons why thoughtful leaders of the negro race have every reason to look to the future with confidence and good cheer.

"Fundamental to all progress and to the enjoyment of all happiness is a conscientious and through protection by the state of life and property," Governor Gardner continued. "Order precedes progress and liberty itself, to be enjoyed, must be limited by law. Where the law ends, tyranny begins, and the tyranny is the same, be it that of an autocrat or a multitude. If there is any single policy which the State of North Carolina has consistently held in paramount concern over a comparatively long period of years, it is that of full and complete protection of its citizens against lawlessness, with particular emphasis against crimes of mob violence. We have not had a lynching in this State in ten years."

The white people of the State have realized, the Governor said, that there can be no such thing as "one system of justice for one race and another for the other."

This protection of the negroes, Governor Gardner said, means that the teacher may begin, on a firm foundation, the great work of training his people (negroes) to the fullest use and development of their native cultural and economic capacities.

The great progress in negro education in the State since 1900 was outlined by the Governor. In 1900, he said, the value of all negro schools in the State was less than $500,000, and in 1930 it had grown to $18,000,000. In 1900 there were no negro high schools and in 1929 there were 115,-55 of them accredited, and the enrollment was 13,700. In 1900 there were 130,-000 negro children in grammar schools and in 1929 there were 250,-000. Increase in the number and fitness of the negro school teachers was also pointed out by Governor Garder.

Tribute was paid the Rosenwald and Jeanes funds and the General Education Board for assistance given in this State and in the South for advancement of negro education.

Results equally as encouraging as have been achieved in advancing education of negroes also have been scored in welfare and public health work among the race, Governor Gardner said.

"This combined program embracing education, health and welfare is producing results as inspiring as they are striking," Governor Gardner said, "and in no respect are these results more plainly discernible than in the great decrease of crime among the negro population. In 1921 68 in each 100 persons in the State penitentiary were negroes. In 1930 only 51 per cent are negroes."

The part negroes are playing in the agricultural, business and professional life of the State is also steadily increasing, the Governor said.

"The situation is hopeful," he said. "Substantial progress is being made by the negroes of North Carolina in practically every field of endeavor. To them is due a very great measure of the credit for progress already achieved. And I believe the negro of the State will continue to go forward in the same spirit. I even believe that he is ready to redouble his efforts to prove his capacity for good citizenship and for progress. This he may do by taking the fullest advantage of the educational opportunities offered him, by being a law-abiding citizen, by promoting the health of his people, by cleanliness and thrift, and by equipping himself for the inevitable economic competition that he will face."

TIMES

Houston Texas
7-12-30

The Lack of Negro Problem

One is constantly hearing in books and magazine articles and from people who seem to be concerned over the idea, this talk about "the negro problem." And the peculiar part of it is that these reformers and agiators have the amazing idea that it exists most terribly in the South. The truth of the matter is that we have no negro problem. The lack of such a problem is well illustrated right here in Milledgeville.

Our two races get along as harmeniously as any two people who ever dwelt together in the history of the world, in fact, it seems to us infinitely better.

The white people look upon the negro with kindliness, they help him to solve his problems of living, if bettering himself, and of finding work and happiness as best he can.

The types of our negro homes would probably be suprising to the average Northerner, who has visions of the lieel leaky shacks and the falling doorsteps upon which sits continually an old darky with a guitar in hand, forever singing old Southern melodies.

The picturesque negro of the novels is about gone. Our better class of negroes have good houses, in many the collehtion and a number of other instances painted, with well kept yards, and premises. Our colored people dress better than they ever did in the history of their lives in America.

The negro is co-oprative. They are appreciative, moreover, of the things the white people endeavor to do for them.

The intelligent negro desires race and social equality no more than the white people do. They are contented to dwell in peace, and kindly understanding with their white friends, and if we had no agitators who came into our communities from elsewhere, and tried to meddle in our business, we should go on to the end of the world having no negro problem.

WHERE WILL THIS LAWLESSNESS END?

Judging from recent lawless outbreaks and mobocratic demonstrations in various sections of the South, Texas not excluded, it appears that Dixie has resumed her erstwhile popular pastime of lynching American citizens with impunity, and that public officials, either through moral cowardice or racial prejudice or indifference, seem to be unable or unwilling to cope with the situation precipitated as a result of the reign of mob-law in their communities and states. Houston Informer

Going the other Southern states one better, Alabama—where hooded klansmen paraded the streets and indiscriminately fired pistols and machine guns in the Negro residential sections of Birmingham, simply because Congressman Oscar DePriest was originally scheduled to deliver an address there before the annual meeting of the Mosaic Templars of America, a Negro fraternal organization—broke into public print again during the past week-end with a miniature "race riot" and another lynching bee.

Despite the fact that the governor of Alabama knew, or should have known, the intense feeling in the mobocratic community, Emelle, against Negroes after the alleged clash between a small group of whites and Negroes, he refused to send state troops there to restore and preserve order and to protect the life and property of innocent Negroes; yet he could offer rewards for the participants' apprehension after the disorder had ended. 7-12-30

The governor of Alabama knew, or should have known, that the infuriated whites of that benighted Alabama community would resort to reprisals upon other innocent and inoffensive Negroes and, knowing this, the chief executive of that state should have taken steps to safeguard and protect not only the innocent blacks, but those accused of participation in the shooting which resulted fatally to members of both races. Houston, Texas

As was to be expected, the Alabama mobbists and outlaws not only lynched several colored men, but later killed (perhaps lynched) female member of the black race and fatally wounded another Negro.

Where will all this lawlessness and hunnish kultur end?

Will this country again witness a series of race riots and internecine demonstrations such as flared up in various communities following the World War?

Will the state and federal governments protect their citizens from the reign of lawlessness, mobocracy and anarchy, or must these citizens look elsewhere and adopt other measures for their own protection?

Can any civilization long endure which must be maintained through the employment of force, violence and civil disorder?

Has mob-law served as a deterrent to crime?

Is the South unable or unwilling to curb the depredations of the lynchocrats, or is this section unconcerned as long as the mobbists' victims are members of the black race?

If mob-violence has been invoked with a view of terrifying and frightening Negroes, how successful has it been?

Isn't it a fact that lawlessness, like an epidemic, can not be confined to any one channel?

While mob-rule is on the increase in the South, nothing is being done to exterminate this hydra-headed monster who, like a roaring lion, is going up and down the Southern states seeking whom he may devour.

The hold which mobocracy has upon America should not be underestimated or regarded lightly and, unless this country resorts to stern and stiff measures to outlaw this peculiar national evil, this cancerous growth will destroy the very vitals of this republic.

Since it is evident that the states, most notably of the South, are in apparent league with the mobocrats and make no efforts to apprehend and punish the guilty culprits, the only hope lies in the federal government, which must either enforce the present federal laws against such lawlessness and anarchy, or enact and enforce more stringent laws which will attain this desired end.

Democracy or mobocracy—which shall it be?

THE WHITE MAN'S MEDICINE.

Its Service to East Africa.

By Archdeacon W. E. Owen.

Happily the conditions in England, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries caused the compilers of the Litany to pray for deliverance from plague, pestilence, and famine, have been so altered by the application of modern knowledge to public health that nowadays the phrase conjures up no vision of horrors before the eyes of the worshippers. But over large areas of the East, and of our Empire in Africa, plague, pestilence, and famine are still factors to be dreaded. 1919 and 1920 were bad years for plague in Kavirondo. Victims were dying in hundreds, medical officers were few and far between, and prophylactic injections were dreaded by those who would have benefited from them.

Missionaries with the necessary experience were roped in to assist in the campaign against the scourge. But it was a very common experience to find the greatest difficulty in getting plague contacts to submit to inoculation. In kraals where there were dead and dying all who were able to flee fled to the bush on the appearance of the inoculator. And this attitude of mistrust was characteristic of the outlook of the vast majority towards European medicine and surgery. Maternity cases who could have been relieved by a few minutes' skilled help suffered for hours and days, many of them with fatal results, rather than submit themselves to the care of the Europeans.

This was all very natural under the circumstances, but ten years have wrought a striking change. So great is the belief now in the merits of inoculation that it is regarded as a cure-all, and at the outbreak of plague in any community the first impulse is to send for medical help. As for maternity cases, one recent case I picked up and brought to the hospital illustrates the change which has taken place in many. As the patient was brought to my car the burden of her moaning was "Adwaro hospital"—"I want the hospital." Nothing less than a revolution has taken place in the attitude of the Africans toward European medicine.

The agencies responsible for this change in the reserves are two. (Outside the reserves the treatment of sick labour has had beneficial reactions on the relations in the reserves of those treated.) It is difficult to assess the relative influence of the two agencies at work, the mission hospitals and dispensaries on the one hand and the Government hospitals and dispensaries on the other, but, speaking broadly, there can be no possible doubt about the preponderating activities of Government medical services to-day. Native hospitals are established at Kisumu in Central Kavirondo and at Kakamega in North Kavirondo, and at Kisii in South Kavirondo, where the development has been more recent, there too a native hospital has been established.

Native Appreciation.

A system of dispensaries, in very many cases permanent, well-built buildings, has been organised throughout all the locations which comprise an administrative district, and at the largest of these weekly visits are paid by medical officers. I passed one of these a few days ago. Although it was a full hour or more from the time of its opening, a crowd of patients had already collected, and in the course of the visit it is not uncommon for a hundred and fifty or more patients to be treated. From mothers with ailing infants to old people who are chronically ill, all look to the doctor with eyes vastly different from those of ten years ago. It is possibly understating the position to say that the doctor now is as popular with the natives in the reserves as the missionary. And deservedly. (As I wrote the last two words, by a coincidence, a chief entered my room and started to eulogise the medical work of the Government, and particularly the hospital at Kisumu.)

This popularity has been won not only by skill in doctoring but by qualities of patience, kindliness, good humour, and hard work. A bad-tempered doctor can repel patients instead of attracting them. The best product of our Western civilisation, in the opinion of the African, is the doctor. His colleague the sanitary inspector has still much prejudice to overcome. It will take time for the true nature of his activities to penetrate the dark recesses of the mind of the dweller in the kraal, but this too will come in time. Pamphlets got up to appeal to the eye, dealing with such topics as malaria, worms, and cleanliness generally, have been distributed freely to those who can read them Already their influence is being felt, and it is not uncommon now for the more advanced Africans to be quite familiar with the culex and anopheles varieties of the mosquito, particularly in the breeding stages. In this connection, and as illustrating it, an African came to me two days ago asking me what could be done to deal with anopheles breeding freely in standing water by the roadside and in pits. Lest he should be mistaken in his identification of the mosquito I got him to take me to the sites he spoke of. The first one was by the roadside, and proved to be swarming with larvæ of anopheles. His identification had been quite correct.

A new day has dawned for the physical health of Africans, and the African, ten years ago suspicious, timid, afraid of the white man's medicine, now stands, like Oliver Twist, asking for more.

Abyssinia Beckons the U.S.

President Hoover who has named a white ambassador to Haiti and a white charge d'affaires to Liberia, last week named an all-white delegation to attend the coronation of Ras Tafari, emperor of Abyssinia, on October 2.

The new ambassador is Mr. Herman M. Jacoby, 38, white, a banker, who became a naturalized American ten years ago.

Banker Jacoby is to be accompanied by Brigadier General W. W. Harts of the Paris embassy (the officials of Abyssinia speak French) and Mr. Charles L. Cook, ceremonial officer of the State Department who will advise Banker Jacoby whether and when to wear spats with morning coat and when to wear a high hat.

The size of this delegation is not due to the regard of the United States for the new emperor, said to be descended from Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Much smaller delegations were sent to recent coronations in Persia and Japan.

The situation is that the J. G. White Company of New York, has a contract to erect a dam across the Nile in Abyssinia, and Uncle Sam's delegates will be expected to advise Abyssinia how to finance it.

The U.S. marines (General Fuller) took charge of finances in Santo Domingo and nearly bankrupted the country. General John Russell did not do much better in Haiti.

With the failure of the military as financiers, President Hoover evidently feels that private bankers will do better, so Banker Jacoby gets the call with the understanding that financial and educational experts from the U.S. will also follow him to Abyssinia.

Strange it is that, with our hands on Abyssinia, the United States, the most race-prejudiced nation in the world will, despite the K.K.K. and its lynching record, virtually control every independent Negro country of the world.

Race Problem – 1930

United States.

CALIFORNIA 'PROF' LISTS CAUSES OF PREJUDICE

Pittsburgh Courier

Race Egoism, Lack of Cultural Development, Etc.

6-21-31

LOS ANGELES, June 19—(ANP)—Nine causes of race prejudice in the United States have been listed as the result of a recent survey by Dr. Emory S. Bogardus, professor of sociology at the University of Southern California. Dr. Bogardus secured statements from 2,000 American citizens, all native-born but descendants of nearly every race of the globe, living in New England, the north and south Atlantic states, the middle west and the Pacific coast, representing both sexes, a wide range of religious beliefs and a number of occupations. Behavior traits were given as the cause of prejudice toward most of the forty races to which reactions were recorded. The causes of race prejudice, as listed by Dr. Bogardus, are:

1. The common trait of generalizing upon adverse experiences with one or two persons, and of reacting against the entire race to which they belong.

2. Race egoism. The idea of the superiority of one's own people.

3. Lack of cultural development of some races.

4. The obtrusiveness and over-aggressiveness of an individual, which brings down a storm of prejudice upon his whole race.

5. Successful competition on the part of an invading race.

6. The emphasis placed upon crimes committed by immigrants.

7. The habit of scenario and fiction writers of choosing their villains from the lower-class level of some foreign race.

8. Marked differences in color of the skin, shape of the eyes, nose and lips.

9. General hearsay and gossip. A friendly racial deed may be told once or a few times, but an unfriendly deed may be repeated a thousand times, and in retelling become exaggerated beyond all recognition.

Since race prejudice is a sentiment, it is an acquired trait, and since it is an acquired trait it may be controlled and prevented to a surprising degree, according to Professor Bogardus.

NEGROES INDIFFERENT TO STATUS

It does not require the reasoning of a logician, nor the foresight of a prophet, to visualize or predict the future of the Negro in America, particularly the South, unless the black man arouses from his state of lethargy, apathy and indifference and becomes vitally interested in his own welfare, protection and advancement.

Although the federal constitution bestows upon the American Negro all the rights of citizenship, and notwithstanding the stipulation in the constitutional amendments that none of these rights shall be abridged or nullified by the states, Southern Negroes are disfranchised, jim-crowed, lynched, segregated and prescribed against with impunity; and most of the race leaders, especially in the South, appear to be indifferent and unconcerned about the race's plight.

Informer

We have clamored for a federal law against lynching, unmindful of the fact that the federal government already has both a law and the machinery not only to curb mob-law, but to protect the Negro in the exercise of every right guaranteed to him under the federal constitution and its amendments.

7-3-30

Chapter three, sections 19 and 20 of the criminal code of the United States, entitled, 'Offenses Against the Elective Franchise and Civil Rights of Citizens," read as follows:

Senator Texas

"If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the constitution or laws of the United States, or because of him having so exercised the same, or if two or more persons go in disguise on a highway or on the premises of another with intent to prevent or hinder his free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege so secured, they shall be fined not more than five thousand dollars, and imprisoned not more than ten years, and shall, moreover, be thereafter ineligible to any office, or place of honor, profit or trust created by the constitution or laws of the United States."

"Whoever, under the color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation or custom, willfully subjects or causes to be subjected, any inhabitant of the United States, territory or district, to the deprivation of any rights, privileges or immunities secured or protected by the constitution and laws of the United States, or to different punishment, pains or penalties, on account of such inhabitant being an alien, or by reason of his color or race, than are prescribed for the punishment of citizens, shall be fined not more than one thousand dollars, or imprisoned not more than one year or both."

The highest legal tribunal in this country has upheld the validity of these federal laws, which were placed on the statute books to give teeth and potency to the constitutional provisions guaranteeing to all American citizens certain definite and well-defined rights.

American Negroes need to study and familiarize themselves with the federal constitution and its amendments.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the federal constitution provides:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Regarding the right of suffrage (voting) the Fifteenth Amendment to this same constitution stipulates the following:

"The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

These constitutional amendments also provide that the United States "congress shall have power to enforce the provisions" of these articles "by appropriate legislation."

If the federal government and the several states can appropriate and spend millions of dollars in a futile attempt to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment (Volstead law), why can't the federal government, at least, appropriate money for the enforcement of other constitutional amendments which are of far more importance in vouchsafing to all American citizens their inherent, sacred and inalienable rights of citizenship?

The United States Supreme Court has ruled that no state can enact and enforce a law which disfranchises citizens of said state, thus giving to every citizen in said state the right to vote in all elections; while the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, in a recent decision, held that party primary elections are state agents and, as such, party leaders can not disfranchise or disqualify, American electors, otherwise eligible, from participating in said elections.

With such federal laws granting to the Negroes of this country all the rights of citizenship, and with the highest and higher courts of the land holding that the various Dixie discriminatory measures and practices are unconstitutional, null and void, what are the Negroes of Texas and the South doing to exercise and safeguard these constitutional rights?

Are we too indifferent and unconcerned about our status to make an effort to exercise and enjoy our elective franchise rights, or are we so afraid that such activity on our part will be regarded or construed as the "Negro getting out of his place?"

If, during martial times, the Negro's place is in the front-line trenches fighting and shedding his life blood for American ideals and institutions, why should he take a back seat during times of peace.

As far as Texas Negroes are concerned, the recent opinion handed down by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, in the Richmond, Virginia, case, gives them the unrestricted right to vote in all primary elections in this state; and wherever that right is denied any qualified voter, whether in a Democratic or Republican primary election, the disfranchised citizen of color has a cause for action against both election and party officials.

The Democratic state executive committee of Texas, at its recent meeting, voted 14-13 to restrict the summer primaries of the party in this state to white citizens; notwithstanding the ruling of the higher and highest courts of the public to the contrary.

CONGRESS AND THE NEGRO

In the approaching election, the opportunity to advance the Negroes of this city, politically, is greater than ever before. While it is absolutely true that it is important, very important, that we hold what we have politically, it is also the best of wisdom that we, as a group, should advance along the same line. The opportunity is ours to elect a Negro to the United States Congress which is very necessary at this time. We all realize that citizenship rights, that is the safeguard to these rights, are vested in the Congress of the United States. If the Congress says that you shall have and enjoy these rights just as other citizens, you enjoy them; but if Congress, through carelessness and indifference, allows these rights to be taken from us, they are taken away and we are helpless to protect ourselves.

We all have seen the chains of discrimination, proscription, and disfranchisement forged about us tighter and tighter. We noticed that our protests have been many, and that they have been long and loud, but of no avail. Why? Why is it that we do not get any relief from the Congress of the United States? Surely, it's because of lack of Negro representation in that body. Negro representation in the affairs of the nation is just as essential to the proper development of our citizenship as sun and light is to the proper development of our physical being. There is no doubt but that a few Negroes in Congress will soon correct these evils.

One of the most outstanding examples of what a Negro can do in a lawmaking body is seen right here in this state. It took Mr. Moore less than ninety days, as a member of the Missouri Legislature, to do more for all of the people of the state, both white and black, than his colleagues had done in fifty years, not because others could not have done as much, but because others did not feel called upon to do so. They could not nor would not see, nor would they understand, that in helping the Negroes they were helping themselves, the state, and the nation. In our fight for Negroes in Congress, we are expressing our faith in the constitution of the United States; and we are, thereby, telling others to do the same.

The Emancipation unlosed the physical chains from four million slaves because Lincoln saw that the nation could not survive half slave and half free. Today the question which must be settled and settled right is whether we, the Negroes, are citizens or not.

We have little patience with those amongst us whose inferiority complex causes them to say that a Negro can't do anything in Congress, though elected a member of that body. Such persons are either too ignorant to be given any serious consideration, or they have an "ax to grind." The records tell an entirely different story.

THE AUTOMOBILE AND THE NEGRO

If there is any one group of people in the United States that the automobile owes a debt of gratitude, it is to the Negro. While no figures are available, we believe the Negro spends more per person for automobiles, based on his income, than anybody else. The automobile, like the train, has a peculiar fascination for the Negro. Whenever a down payment can be saved, or borrowed, we proceed to buy an automobile—be it ramshackle or new.

A few years ago when a Negro walked into an automobile salesroom, he was avoided or shunted back into the used car room. Now things are different. A Negro is welcomed with open arms even in the ritzy showrooms of the Lincoln, Packard and Pierce Arrow, because we are buying automobiles. The time payment or deferred payment plan must have been invented especially for the Negro purchasers.

While the Negro is expanding his ownership and investment in automobiles, he is gradually losing out in the positions of tending, driving, and servicing them. The chain gas stations will not employ us, the wealthy owners are declining to hire Negro chauffeurs, and the service stations and garages are reducing our employment. Therefore, it seems that when we began to buy high-priced automobiles and compete on the road with the best of them, that we also began to lose out in employment.

This gradual strangulation must soon have its effect on our ownership of cars, because without work we can not, even with the deferred purchase plan, buy automobiles. We can do much to remedy the situation by buying cars from dealers who employ us, and having them serviced at garages where we work, also by opening up our own garages and gas stations. Our returns in employment and opportunity is entirely too small for the investment we are making in automobiles.

NEW YORK
MIRROR

JUL 7 - 1930

Now and Then

A White Man's Sport—
The Nation's Health—
A Scorned Child—
Foolish King Carol—
A Woman's Triumph—

By Emile Gauvreau.

Lynching of negroes is a sport that white gentlemen below the Mason and Dixon line never seem to tire of. Down in Emmelle, Ala., another race riot winds up in two white and one black killed by gun fire, and one black dead by the popular method of dispensing justice there: hanging.

Many substitutes have been suggested to the sporting citizenry of the South: bull fighting, horse racing, prize fighting. But the lily-handed aristocrats consistently scorn the suggestions. Hanging appeals to their imagination. It seems to be a better blood-thirst quencher. They accept no substitutes. And if the excuse isn't rape, there is always the excuse of self-defense.

Good news for the public but not for the doctors. The American Medical Association reports the nation's death rate has been halved since 1900. Diphtheria and typhoid are cut 95 per cent. The death rate from tuberculosis has also decreased from 194 per 100,000 to 79 per 100,000. All this is due to education, hospitalization and immunization.

Still there are parents who would sooner see their children die on their hands than entrust them to medical science. And there are still so-called enlightened faddists who storm against immunization and inoculation. But the facts and figures tell the story.

In Asbury Park a little girl is refused five cents for an ice-cream cone. She retaliates by setting on fire her father's fireworks plant, causing her own death and the death of two others. At Croton-on-Hudson, a mocked woman causes the raiding of a still, seizure of $25,000 equipment, and the arrest of three men who sneered at her.

Scorning a woman and angering a child generate explosive forces. Both woman and child, at such times, return to the savage state, freeing their passions of all inhibitions. It was a wise man who said: "Heaven has no rage like love to hatred turned, nor hell a fury like a woman scorned." But a child is just as dangerous, or even more so.

A device to prevent lobsters from devouring one another has been invented by Captain Frank N. Banning, of the Connecticut hatchery at Noank. The object of the invention is to increase the supply of lobsters. Balking cannibalism among crustaceans is prompted by nothing ethical in our motives. It simply means that we ourselves will be able to devour the defenseless creatures all the more plentifully and frequently.

King Carol's conceptions of right and wrong have become so blunted through years of licentiousness that he sees nothing ludicrous or contradictory in his banishment of Prince Stirbey, once Premier of Rumania, "for attentions paid to the Queen mother." Carol is like a corrupt judge who punishes the prisoner at the bar for corruption.

Winifred Brown, 26, wins England's greatest air race, competing against eighty-seven of Britain's foremost airmen. She is the first woman to achieve the honor, setting a 102-mile pace. The world is thrilled but not astonished. Years ago, weeks and months transpired before great feats were made known. Today, by means of wireless and radio, the reward is immediate and world wide. Great deeds are aided and abetted by publicity.

Race Problem - 1930
United States.

STAND UP DEMOCRACY
WHY NOT A COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE LYNCHING?

Birmingham Reporter
7-12-30

For everything nowadays, we have a commission, an investigation. In an effort to get to the bottom of things, to find their causes, their motivating urges and determine the remedy or responsibility, we devise a way to find out the basic truth and that has been done mainly through activities of surveys, commissions, investigation committees.

Birmingham, Ala.

If one spends a good sum of money to get himself nominated in the primary, it is investigated because we want the democracy to be democracy in fact and truth. We want it to stand up.

If a corporation makes a political contribution or a loan to the party organization and it seems to be oversized, it must be investigated by a commission.

If a lobbyist talks rather freely and spends rather freely to influence action on certain legislation, it must be investigated.

We have investigating committees and commissions galore. They study crime and report on its causes and effects. They study the educational problems, the social problems and political problems of neighboring nations. We want democracy to stand up. At work just now, we have a number of commissions whose services would bring basic information about many things—some right here and some on the other side of the world—but all designed to help us get at the truth of bad situations and devise means for remedying them. Now why not a commission to investigate lynching? Every time a commission is mentioned to investigate lynching or some scheme is begun to get at the basic truth about this national evil there is a balking that amounts to a general antipathy against knowing the facts or meeting the issue on any terms.

It seems that America has been willing to face the truth on everything else but lynching and right there the knees of democracy are weak.

All kinds and forms of corruption can stand investigation, but, somehow she cannot bear to see the cover taken off lynching and other scandalous practices born of race prejudice and that certainly give the lie to democracy's spirit.

Has America any worse evil than lynching?

There is something so indefensibly shameful and so cowardly brutal in it that facing it gives a sense of facing the open, plain, disgusting, unequivocal lie which it gives the national pretensions for sincere efforts at democratic ideals.

What is the place of lynching in a democracy? What democratic ideals does it uphold?

Why not face it as the evil that it is, investigate it; present a body of facts on which the responsibility for it may be predicated?

The ideals of democracy cannot win without playing the game fair and, so long as it is false in the fundamentals, its problems are deferred for settlement in the course of incidents or accidents, and the compromises that provide for shifting them do nothing more than complicate the machinery and intensify the means by which they are to be solved.

The slave could make no appeal to democracy for a fair deal. He had no grounds but such as were humanitarian. The freed man has a different status.

He shares the reality of those "self-evident truths" made real by a civil conflict, and, however much of the sting of that conflict remains, let it be remembered that the Negro neither caused it nor participated in it.

But the fact that he must be the object of vengeance inspired by the bitterness of that sting is hard to understand in the face of the fact that both the white man and the Negro profited from the change.

Civilization is advancing. The low idealism on which slavery was predicated might have justified its existence. If the courts were inadequate from any viewpoint or derelict in any particular, there might be a doubt on which to predicate an excuse for lynching, but the high democratic idealism on which the courts are predicated dispels that doubt and we must look elsewhere for the motivating urge of lynching—we fear—in a vile, unfounded prejudice too indefensible, too ignoble to face.

A federal investigation of this evil would form a body of authentic facts that would be illuminating to the world.

Why not a commission to investigate lynching? May democracy stand up!

NEW YORK TELEGRAM

JUL 14 1930

Black Belt Once More Playground of Nordics

Jaded Downtown Night Life Devotees Find New Vim in Offerings of the Speakeasy Restaurants.

By GRETTA PALMER.

THE sightseeing tide in Harlem, which for a time had been close to low ebb, again has turned toward the flood. There are prospects that it will touch high mark.

Saturday evening saw one of the most memorable of this summer's evenings in Harlem, when the more frivolous-minded of the downtown element swarmed up to the giddy night clubs that abound in the dusky territory around 133rd St. While downtown night club proprietors sat around playing morose games of freeze-out with the head waiters, the white customers swarmed about the bars of the Negro resorts and waited, three-deep, for the privilege of buying alleged rye—the alleged being something more than a newspaper circumlocution.

The white invasion of Harlem began somewhere back in 1925, when sophisticates in search of the thrills of slumming learned to take their less enterprising friends to the resorts in which Negro proprietors greeted them with some surprise and promptly raised the price of their drinks.

In the succeeding years the fact that Harlem provided rowdy entertainment with an air of spontaneity unknown to Broadway spread to all those groups worldly enough to buy their Sunday papers the night before. Harlem got the idea, and with downtown money flowing in and top-hats appearing in their unpretentious restaurants, the Negro entertainers decided that fortune had not only knocked at their door but had forced her way past their flimsy barricades and sat down on their bars.

Tone Changed for New Crowd.

As a result, the tone of things was changed to fit the supposed tastes of the new customer. Elaborate all-night chorus entertainments were staged, orchestras supplanted the tap dancers who had formerly done their stuff out of an excess of spirits, and the prices were raised high enough to bar the neighbors, who had suddenly become undesirable customers.

The sophisticates fled and returned dejectedly to those downtown haunts which were closer at hand and offered everything Harlem could offer except the spontaneity which had died.

But last season some literary pioneers, by vigilance and devotion to their purpose, finally tracked down the little group of haunts to which the Negroes themselves had shifted when they were barred out of the fancy "ofay" joints around the corner. Here the musicians and tap dancers from the Negro orchestras gathered after their day was over, which meant, perhaps 3 o'clock in the morning. Here the trusting owners failed to demand your birth certificate and list of clubs before admitting you past their wickets.

"Breakfast Dance" the Windup.

The Harlem speakeasies never close before 5 or 6 in the morning, and then only if every customer has left the place. Sunday nights this amazing race stages a "breakfast dance," which crowns the week-end of liberty. This begins around 1 o'clock in the morning and the crowd goes on, moving from place to place in an impartial manner, until a quarter of 9, when the party breaks up and every one goes to work.

The jaded downtown devotee of night life is always welcomed with the blandest of smiles and the best fried chicken and yams he has ever eaten—at fifty cents an order. Prices of drinks are ordinarily tilted a quarter to reach the sum of seventy-five cents, but that seems modest enough to one accustomed to the Guinan and her wiles.

"I AM THE ONLY NEGRO."

Independent

It certainly makes us tired to be burdened with the egotism of that class of our people who so often refers to themselves as the Only Negro, who graduated from a particular school or held a particular position, or dined with a white person, rode in a sleeper, or received some kind of recognition, or contact with some white man or person who is no better off than they are.

7-17-30

It certainly shows a confession of an inferiority complex on the part of the Negro who thinks that he, or she, is better than any other person by having certain contact with white people, or being the only Negro who ever graduated from a certain school, or the only Negro in a white class in a white institution. These egotists and empty heads have no idea how ridiculous they are making themselves in the eye of decent common sense people. The fact that one was the first Negro to enjoy contact, and the only one to experience an incident, adds nothing to such a Negro, but visually points out the inferiority of the person who believes by reason of having had this particular contact, that it is worth while calling the attention of the people to the fact.

These vanity specimens should remember Mr. Washington's maxim, "There is more in the man than in the land".

Colleges do not make men, men make colleges. Having graduated in a class with white boys and girls, or having been the first and only Negro to come out of a white school does not make any more

out of such a Negro than she or he would have been had she graduated from Tuskegee or Hampton. There is more in the girl or boy than there is in the class or school. The school only furnishes the girl or boy the opportunity to make a mark, and there is no better proof of racial inferiority, than the expression of those who are foolish enough to believe that they are entitled to special consideration because of exclusive contact with those whom they believe are superior to them.

"Fool's names like their faces, always seen in public places."

Talking about the necessity of "Fighting Evil Propaganda," the *Black Dispatch* of Oklahoma City noted that Mexico proposes to censor all books and films coming from the United States. It continued:

The Negro has been fighting evil and false propaganda manufactured by white people for years. Our citizenship status within the nation will not permit us to take the drastic position assumed by the people of the Mexican nation, and yet, there is much that we are not doing as a group, which is entirely possible in achievement, and which would prove very effective in fighting the battle for self-respect and world equality.

Propaganda against Negroes is found in the school room. The geographies and histories which white and black children study alike, tell lies about black folk. The books include sins of commission and sins of omission. After the Negro and white child have finished reading about the black race being inferior and looking at grotesque pictures of humans said to be Africans, the remainder of such texts are piled full of achievements of Nordics, in art, literature and science; their heroism and bravery in wars and the establishment of government is stressed. Nothing is said about Negroes and the part they have played in civilization.

A colored girl recently employed in the Black Dispatch office had never heard of Frederick Douglass. We became interested and began to question her as to her knowledge and information about Negroes who had left their mark here in America. She did not know a single black member of Congress, who served during the Reconstruction period, nor was she able to give the names of any soldiers, artists, inventors or men of note other than Booker T. Washington.

The Oklahoma editor argued that Negro school teachers could correct this situation by discussing the imprint which black men have made upon the society and culture of their times.

TELEGRAM

Youngstown, O.

JUL 2 1930

Lost Liberties

FOR a country dedicated to the inalienable right of citizens to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, we don't seem to be doing so well on the eve of this anniversary of national independence.

Leaving aside the millions denied the right to work because of industrial and governmental inefficiency in handling the business cycle, there probably has never been a period in peace time during our history when civil liberties were at such low ebb.

Under the prohibition laws basic rights, such as those relating to search and seizure, are abrogated; the right of jury trial is restricted by pending legislation; and innocent men are killed without warning by federal enforcement agents.

The liberties of labor are fast disappearing in many states, where militia, company gunmen and injunction judges constitute a lawless menace. The very courts, last peaceful refuge of the oppressed, in many localities are dispensing class justice which always victimizes the workers. As in North Carolina, even mob leaders who murder unoffending women workers are set free.

A New York policeman has just killed another unarmed communist, whose crime consisted in marching in memory of a second murdered communist and who resisted police interference with the peaceable parade.

During the last three months there have been approximately 4,000 workers and alleged radicals arrested thruout the country, despite the fact that in virtually every case these workers were innocent of violence and were merely acting within their constitutional right of free speech and free assemblage.

In the six months ending today, there have been 12 lynchings in the country, a number equal to the entire year of 1929. This type of savagery is unknown in other civilized countries. And still there is little hope that these mobs which overthrew orderly government will be tried, much less punished.

To negroes, to the alien-born, and to thousands of white native American workers, our constitutional guarantees of civil rights have become a mockery.

The federal government is intent on barring from citizenship those who refuse to bear arms for conscience sake or who accept in good faith the Kellogg treaty outlawing war. Tho the United States circuit court of appeals has just reversed exclusion decisions of lower courts in the citizenship cases of the Rev. Dr. Douglas C. MacIntosh of Yale, a Canadian war chaplain, and Miss Marie Bland, a Canadian war nurse, the United States court is expected to repeat in these cases its unconstitutional Schwimmer exclusion decision.

What is a national independence worth if we allow government and courts and men to rob us of our American heritage of civil liberties?

TOLEDO, O.
NEWS-BEE

JUL 4 - 1930

Lost Liberties

FOR A country dedicated to the inalienable right of citizens to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, we don't seem to be doing so well on this anniversary of national independence.

Leaving aside the millions denied the right to work because of industrial and governmental inefficiency in handling the business cycle, there probably has never been a period in peace time during our history when civil liberties were at such low ebb.

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What is national independence worth if we allow government and courts and men to rob us of our American heritage of civil liberties?

KEY WEST, FLA.
CITIZEN

JUL 8 - 1930

Clashes between whites and blacks like the one in Alabama the other day which cost two white men and five negroes their lives are deplorable. They are a discredit to any state. Nothing contributes more to making them possible, however, than activities like those of the notorious Congressman de Priest, of Chicago.

Race Problem — 1930

United States

Education High And Low

Journal Guide

THERE has always been a difference of opinion between the exponents of industrial education on the one hand and so-called higher education on the other as to which system needed the most emphasis in the training of Negroes for life. The actual specialists in the two fields never at any time thought that either system could be dispensed with or even seriously discounted in any sort of well-rounded educational program, but both camps have had followers with more zeal than common sense who lined up on one side and wanted none of the other. From those followers we have derived our fanatics who in one camp wanted all Negroes to have a liberal arts degree and in the other an industrial school diploma. Time has demonstrated that both were wrong.

Norfolk, Va

Occasionally there is an echo of the old Washington-DuBois feud, which the principals in good taste have been trying to abandon. In his commencement address at Howard University Dr. DuBois told the graduates and the listening world that the "industrial schools have been transposed into colleges and the colleges have developed a white collared proletariat depending for their support upon an economic foundation which does not exist." Following him further one gathers the inference that it is his opinion that all education—high and low—has failed to evolve the right sort of leadership or to bring economic deliverance. Speaking of the colleges he said: "They have produced a vulgar exhibition of literary extravagance, stupidity and indifference, giving us more than our share of plain fools handing out knowledge, but what knowledge."

It is not difficult to agree that Dr. DuBois has made a true diagnosis. The trouble with the industrial schools which have been tediously emerging into colleges is that some of them have not had sufficient funds to advance or change their methods as rapidly as changes occurred in the industrial fabric. Consequently a graduate often finds his education obsolete because the thing he was trained to do is no longer being done. For instance some of the smaller industrial colleges are still teaching hand shoemaking and tailoring, hand printing and obsolete methods of farming, because they have neither the teachers nor facilities for giving more modern courses. Then, the average young man who graduates from the industrial colleges wants to teach. He wants a white collar job. By the time he learns that he is a failure as a teacher, industrial processes have advanced so far that he is a back number.

Most colleges are open to the criticism that the training which they give is too general in an age of specialization. The business structure on which the economic future of the race depends is in dire need of college trained men and women to man the jobs it has to offer but cannot find enough who are qualified by flexibility of skill to meet the demand.

Unfortunately the colleges do not maintain a selective system for choosing their entrants. They are over-run with youths bitten by the collegiate bug, whose chief objective is to crash through college for the social prestige it will give them among their fellows. Having no fixed purpose beyond the desire to go through college they are not prepared for any definite service when they come out, and as nobody can create a job for this type of mind their situation is deplorable. Over-emphasized "go to college" movements have done much to create this unhappy situation. If the same amount of energy had been used in affording the prospective college student vocational guidance our colleges would not now present, as Dr. DuBois says, "a vulgar exhibition of literary extravagance, stupidity and indifference."

There must necessarily ensue a period of disillusionment at the end of which it is reasonable to assume that our youth will put the proper appraisal upon education.

POST
CINCINNATI, O

JUL 2 - 1930

And This Is Prohibition!

ON this page a day or two ago, Alfred Segal told the story of Hazel Wallace, the city workhouse prisoner who is the oldest inhabitant there in time of incarceration. This man, a Negro bootlegger, unable to pay a fine of $909, went to the workhouse on Dec. 14, 1923, and still is working out the fine more than 18 months later.

Wallace is a simple-minded fellow of a submerged race. He was not a shining success as a bootlegger, otherwise he would have been able to have paid his fine and gone free as do more prosperous bootleggers. His was a little picayune business that barely gave him a living. When he got caught in the toils of the law his poverty turned upon him and robbed him of his freedom. He has proved during his long confinement that he is not without good qualities. As a trusty he is permitted to work about the workhouse grounds with the eyes of the guards seldom upon him.

True, he had committed a crime in the eyes of the law. He was not a first offender against the prohibition taboos. "Ah, ha," instantly will exclaim the militant dry," a persistent offender! He got just what he deserved."

But, did he? Put yourself in the place of this man, Mr. Dry. Suppose you were one of the handicapped race, compelled because of the prejudice and competition of the white man to live from hand to mouth; with little education and only a hazy concept of right and wrong, and without the background that enables more fortunate humans to build up resistance against temptation. An improvident fellow, because you have been denied the opportunity of material gain; often without money, sometimes without shelter, frequently hungry.

You see your neighbor, the white man, breaking the law and waxing fat thereby, while you, seeking a lawful job, draw in your belt another notch. You have learned to look up to the white man, to emulate him in all of his ways. You are not always able to discern which of those ways are good and which are bad. Remember, that thru no fault of your own, but thru the fault of your environment, your heredity and your lack of opportunity, you are unmoral—not necessarily immoral, get the distinction, but with no clear sense of right and wrong.

Now temptation beckons you—it more than beckons you, it tugs at you. You seem to see thru it a way out of your troubles.

With this background, with these handicaps, with this feeble equipment, what would you do, Mr. Dry? Think about it. And while you are thinking about it, think also of the prohibition that is dragging down, not only the lowly Negro, but thousands of your own race.

A State Reconsiders

THE state of Washington is a pioneer dry state. It has had five years more of the prohibition experiment than most of the country.

As a result of that long experience both major political parties have decided that prohibition is a failure and must be modified or repealed.

The Republican state convention last month put the following plank in its platform:

"It has become apparent that, in spite of tremendous and costly efforts, strict enforcement of those (prohibition) laws is uneconomic and impossible." Therefore the convention demanded "such modification of the present laws on intoxicating liquor as will provide a lawful use of such liquor to the end that the traffic in liquor may be properly controlled and its use regulated by a law that can be universally respected and enforced."

Now the Democratic state convention has declared:

"In order to rid the country of the evils of organized crime and general disrespect for law which have followed federal assumption of police powers of the states, we favor repeal of the 18th amendment and return to the states of the exclusive control of all prohibition laws inside the boundaries of each state. . . .

"Pending the repeal of the 18th amendment: We favor repeal of the Volstead law, the Jones five-and-ten law and legislation by Congress providing that the federal prohibition agents shall be limited in their duties to prevent the interstate commerce of intoxicating liquors; and that persons accused of violating any prohibition laws, federal or state, be tried solely in the state courts of the county where the offense occurred."

SYRACUSE, N. Y.
HERALD

JUL 3 - 1930

The supremacy of the white race is doomed, says the Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes addressing 4,000 persons at the New York convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He explains:

The future belongs to the colored race. It is written in the very stars. America is now on top, just entering upon its period of power. But the trend of the centuries will not stop here. Already in Asia there appear signs of the future—a world centered in the civilization and culture of the East. And the East is colored. This means that the future belongs not to the white man but to the colored man.

Everywhere the subject races, the colored races, are in revolt against their imperial rulers. China has beaten off the white murderers and robbers from her doors. India has begun the great revolution which will end the rule of Britain. Africa is quiet, but restless, and biding her time. The colored peoples throughout the world are destined

to be free, and thus to enter at last upon their inheritance.

Perhaps we can all agree that the colored races some day will be free.

Not so many will be ready to say that freedom means the decline and fall of the white race, a theory in which Dr. Holmes seems to fairly revel.

Dr. Hu Shih, Chinese philosopher and scholar, who writes on "Civilization of East and West" in Dr. Charles A. Beard's "Whither Mankind," would make an excellent opponent for Dr. Holmes in a debate on this issue.

Dr. Shih sees the continued supremacy of the white race through its "spiritual materialism," its advance in science, its progress in education. He says:

That civilization which makes the fullest possible use of human ingenuity and intelligence in search of truth in order to control nature and transform matter for the service of mankind, to liberate the human spirit from ignorance, superstition, and slavery to the forces of nature, and to reform social and political institutions for the benefit of the greatest number—such a civilization is highly idealistic and spiritual. This civilzation will continue to grow and improve itself.

COLUMBUS, O.
DISPATCH

JUL 7 - 1930

Hugh Fullerton Says:

WHAT a town this New York is! Today I was wandering around and met a fellow who

has a contract for some hardware for a new hotel that is being built. The contract calls for more than a quarter of a million dollars for gold-plated door knobs. After that, I lunched with an editor, and noticed guinea fowl under glass at four dollars and fifty cents a portion—and, later in the afternoon, "attended a meeting of a bunch of wild-eyed and wild-ideaed Bolshevists (for want of a better name) who are raving around because a policeman killed an addled-brained Mexican, while he was attending the funeral of a misled and misleading Harlem Negro. Of four-hundred men and women in that meeting, I should judge that more than seventy per cent are diseased physically, undernourished, and the majority of them are mentally unsound. In addition to which, they have been inoculated with germs of unworkable theories and overfed on a diet of philosophy by a bunch of neurotic intelligentsia who exchange theories with each other while dining or lunching on pate de foie gras at high-priced restaurants.

* * *

SEEMS to me there is a direct connection between gold-plated door knobs, guinea fowl under glass, and Communism. The Mexican who was shot down by a policeman while attending the funeral of the Negro Communist was a disappointed, bitter man, who came into the United States misled by promises of prosperity and fair play. The Negro who was hailed as a martyr to "The Cause," was a grandeur-seeking colored man who had but half assimilated the vague theories of the educated saps who advertise themselves as uplifters of the downtrodden. Most of the downtrodden do not know they are being held down by tyrants' heels on their necks, until some half-baked boob, whose brain has been stuffed full of what is called "education," tells them that they are.

All they really know is that there is something wrong in an institution where one person has guinea fowl under glass at four dollars and a half a portion, and gold door knobs, while others stand in a bread line to get soup stiffened with corn starch. In fact, it seems to me that if anyone put corn starch in my soup, I would turn anarchist instead of communist.

I find that a great many of those who attend these meetings of so-called reds, which are held more and more frequently in this burg, do so because they haven't anything else to do and the majority of the others have been made victims of propaganda which they only half understand. No matter whether they understand the high-brow theories of the intelligentsia or not, they know something is wrong and they are in revolt against it. Every suppressive move made by the muckle-headed police, aggravates them and adds to their resentment against the door knobs and guinea fowl under glass, all of which is rapidly breeding a dangerous condition in New York city. There are enough desperate men out of work, in this city, to start serious trouble, if they ever find a leader who can inspire them, and the writers and lecturers who persist in stirring them up, must accept a great portion of the blame, if any outburst should occur in the future.

* * *

MET another fellow today who has spent most of the last fifteen years in Europe, who has done newspaper work in every country and studied the political situation thoroughly. Besides that, he served two years in France with the British army and was in Africa with the army later, attached to the general staff. Since leaving the military, he has traveled for London and New York newspapers and studied the situation. He told me calmly that Europe is getting ready for another war, and that among the military authorities it is accepted as inevitable, and that it will start as soon as either of the countries thinks itself sufficiently strong financially to win. The war, he says, will start between Italy and France, and he dares no prediction as to what other powers will participate or how far it will spread.

* * *

THE amazing thing about it is that he says the war will be welcomed by several of the great powers, and that the people themselves will rejoice over its coming as a relief from economic conditions. We have been telling each other that the people of European countries are sick of war and would never allow themselves to be led into another such struggle as the World war. He says this is false and that no one of the great powers would have any trouble in recruiting a great army and that the unemployed would flock to enlist.

He thinks both Italy and France are spoiling to fight each other; that the common people are resigned to such an eventuality, and that, no matter what happens, Great Britain and Germany will stand together in the next conflict, whether they enter it or not.

Asked whether the Socialists and Communists would resist such a war, he says that the boasted Socialist power would evaporate immediately when war was declared, and that only the leaders would be opposed to the conflict, and that they would be squelched immediately. He declared also that such a war in Europe would be a blessing to New York as it would draw tens of thousands of the floating New York population back to Europe to fight.

Maybe he is right—but I guess the folks down in Peebles and Bainbridge aren't worrying much about it, since the showers helped the corn crop.

PONTIAC, MICH.
PRESS

JUL 5 - 1930

The Dred Scott Papers

Famous Documents of the Case That Helped Start the Civil War Are Filed Away in the Court Where the Suit Was First Instituted

AMONG the 600,000 files being moved from the old St. Louis Courthouse to the new Civil Courts there is one which will not be dumped into a truck and hauled like so much baled paper. The file in the historic Dred Scott case will get more careful treatment than that.

The collection of pleas, subpoenas, depositions, motion for a new trial and bills of exceptions constitute the record of the original case in which the final decision by the United States Supreme Court was, in effect, a declaration that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional and void. Indignation in the North was unrestrained. Chief Justice Taney's obiter dictum dealt a stunning blow to the young Republican party whose cardinal doctrine was that Congress should establish freedom in all the territories.

The case was filed in St. Louis Circuit Court April 6, 1846, and set for the November term. "Jno." Ruland was the clerk. The next day the petition was executed " by reading it and the order of the judge to Irene Emerson," the widowed owner of Dred Scott, the Negro slave who sought his freedom. The execution was signed by "William Milburn, Shff., by Henry B. Belt, deputy." Service was $2 and the notice 50 cents.

Addressed to the "Hon John M. Krum, Judge of the St. Louis Circuit Court," the petition, drawn up by F. B. Murdock, "atty for pltff," set forth that "Dred Scott, a man of color, respectfully states to your honor that he is claimed as a slave by one Irene Emerson, of the county of St. Louis, State of Missouri, widow of the late Dr. John Emerson, who at the time of his death was a surgeon in the United States Army."

The slave's complaint goes on to explain that Dr. Emerson "purchased him in the City of St. Louis about nine years ago, he then being a slave, from one Peter Blow, now deceased, and took the petitioner with him to Rock Island, State of Illinois, and there kept him to labor and service . . . for about two years and six months." During this time Dr. Emerson was stationed with troops.

Later Dr. Emerson was transferred to Fort Snelling "in the territory of Iowa," Scott serving him further in free territory for five years. In closing, the petition states the slave, "believing that under this state of facts he is entitled to his freedom, prays your Honor to allow him to sue said Irene Emerson in said court in order to establish his freedom."

In the long-drawn-out litigation the Circuit Court granted him his freedom, only to have the decision reversed by the Missouri Supreme Court. Meantime he became the property of an absentee master residing in New York. Anti-slavery lawyers continued their interest in the case and, bringing suit in Federal court, the case finally reached the Supreme Court.

The majority of the court said Scott was not a citizen. Negroes never had been citizens and the Constitution did not apply to them, they argued. According to precedent, here the case should have ended; but Chief Justice Taney and his supporters felt they had an opportunity to pass on the merits of the case and so remove a dangerous question, although not presented to them by the facts. The court, therefore, in voiding the Missouri Compromise, held that masters had a constitutional right to hold slaves anywhere in Federal domain.—St. Louis Post Dispatch.

17 States Stand To Lose 23 Members of House

Constitution

Republicans To Lose More Representation Than Democrats by Reapportionment, Census Indicates.

7-18-30

Atlanta, Ga

WASHINGTON, July 17.—(AP)—A probable upset of congressional reapportionment calculations was indicated today as a result of the 1930 state census enumerations thus far completed.

While it cannot be determined exactly which states will lose congressmen and which will gain new members, an Associated Press compilation shows sufficient states have completed their population enumeration to give some indication of the probable changes.

When congress passed its reapportionment act, it was calculated the new census would change 23 memberships. Based on the estimated population of the states as of January 1, 1930, it was estimated officially that 17 states would lose a total of 23 house members which would be apportioned to 11 states gaining in population.

Some states which were not figured among the probable losers are now indicated to have lost. Final calculations may find Illinois, Wisconsin, Arkansas, Rhode Island and Minnesota losing one representative each.

California's actual population had exceeded by almost a million the official estimate used in calculating that state would gain six new members. As a result it is not improbable that California's larger increase in population might entitle her to nine new members, making her delegation in congress 20 instead of 11 as at present.

Missouri, it was figured, would be heaviest loser, her delegation being curtailed by three members. Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky and Mississippi were

Race Problem — 13

United States.

SUPREME COURT RULES COMP. ANY UNIONS ILLEGAL; HOLDS BUYER OF LIQUOR NOT GUILTY

Birmingham Reporter

5-31-30

JUSTICE HOLMES DECLARES FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT IS BEING USED TO DEPRIVE STATES OF RIGHTS

Washington, May 29.—(By A. N. P.) Two important decisions, touching the everyday life of the people, were announced by the Supreme Court of the United States Monday.

One of these decisions outlawed the so-called "company union" which has been used in many notable instances to discourage and prevent workers from joining the ranks of organized labor.

Birmingham, Ala.

A second decision held that liquor buying is no crime within itself.

On the same day, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, in a dissenting opinion, attacked the court's use of certain provisions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution to restrict the rights of the states.

The "company union" decision will be hailed as a great victory by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters which has waked an aggressive fight against the organization of Pullman car porters which is fostered by the Pullman Company.

The Supreme Court opinion upheld an injunction restraining the Texas and New Orleans Railroad, a Southern Pacific System subsidiary, from organizing a so-called "company union" or interfering with the activities of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks among its employes. Under the injunction the road was not only compelled to abolish the "company union" and to recognize the brotherhood, but was also ordered to reinstate employes discharged for refusing to join the company organization. In the opinion the Supreme Court established the principle that the right of employes(under the 1926 railway labor act, to select their own representatives, to bargain with employers in relation to contracts of service is a property right or interest to be protected by injunction if necessary.

Donald Richberg, Chicago attorney, who has been retained by the Pullman Porters Union, argued the case before the court. Recently, twenty-six Pullman Porters in St. Louis instituted suit against the company because they were discharged for failure to cooperate with the Union.

Attorney William H. Lewis, of Boston, famous colored lawyer and former assistant United States attorney general, represented the defendant in the case involving the liquor purchasing issue. His client, James E. Farrar, of Boston, Mass., had been indicted on a charge of purchasing liquor from Frank Rotondo. The United States district court held that the mere purchase of liquor was no crime, but the government prosecutors carried the case up. Mr. Lewis argued that if Congress had intended to introduce such a revolutionary provision in dealing with the liquor problem, making the buyer criminally liable, it would have said so in no uncertain terms.

The Supreme Court held that Congress not only "deliberately and designedly" exempted purchasers in the Volstead Act, but for ten years "has significantly left the law in its original form."

Birmingham Reporter

Justice Holmes' attack on the broad uses to which the "due process" provision of the Fourteenth Amendment is being put, followed a decision of the court which invalidated a section of the Missouri estate tax law. Said Justice Holmes:

5-31-30

"I have not yet adequately expressed the more than anxiety that I feel at the ever-increasing scope given to the Fourteenth Amendment in cutting down what I believe to be the constitutional rights of the states. As the decisions now stand, I see hardly any limit but the sky to the invalidating of those rights if they happen to strike a majority of this court as for any reason undesirable."

Manning, a Martyr

Amsterdam News

5-21-30

JOSEPH COLUMBUS MANNING died a martyr. A white man, born in Alabama, possessed of fiery eloquence, burning ambition and unflinching courage, he was famous in his native state before he was twenty-five. Revolting against the corruption of the old political parties, he soon won a formidable following. The governorship beckoned to him; the United States Senate was easily within his reach. He might well have landed in the Cabinet by the time Woodrow Wilson came along.

New York Times

BUT A VISION and a principle held him fast and would not let him go. He believed and maintained that the South could not rise to its possibilities as long as it held the Negro down. He believed and boldly said that black men were the equals of white ones and should have the same rights and privileges. He knew what it meant to say such things in Alabama; but he never shrank from saying them.

THE RESULT was swift and certain. Disowned by his family, ostracised by his friends, branded by every white person in his state as a renegade, he was driven from Alabama. He came North and continued to preach the doctrine of equality. Harassed by poverty, broken by disease, he fought for his principles to the last.

MEN LIKE MANNING are often called fools; but without such men no progress, social, intellectual, religious, political or economic, would ever have been made. Mad humanity tortures them, crucifies them. Long, long afterward it catches up with their vision, adopts it passionately, and does them belated honor. Men often have asked what is the martyr's reward? To know that they would have to be martyrs themselves. There must be a reward, a great one, to sustain a human heart through such trials as a martyr must undergo. Whatever his reward, it is between him and God.

HIT BIASED SO. JUDGE

Boston

MISS. JUDGE URGED FOR FEDERAL COURT WHO TOLD WHITE CLIENT TO DICHARGE "NIGGER" LAWYER AND GET A WHITE ONE—COLORED ARE PROTESTING

The Guardian

Washington, D. C., May 26, 1930—Announcement in the daily press that Judge Edwin Holmes of the Federal court Southern District for Mississippi, will be among the names offered to President Hoover for appointment to fill the new Judgeship on the Circuit Court of Appeals for the fifth Federal Circuit at New Orleans, has provoked a storm of protests from Negroes who charge the jurist with exhibiting race prejudice against the Negro lawyers in open court.

5-31-30

Affidavits have been received by the White House in support of these allegations. On one occasion Judge Holmes is accused of expressing dissatisfaction over B. A. Green, Mayor of Bound Bayou, and a Harvard graduate representing white clients in the Federal Court at Clarkesdale, Miss.

When the case of Alex Henry was called for trial at the October term in 1928, Attorney Green was unable to be present, having been seriously ill since September 25 of that year. Because of the unavoidable absence of his legal representative, a continuance was asked.

The Dialogue

The following dialogue is alleged to have taken place betwen Judge Holmes and Henry:

Judge Holmes: "Who is your attorney?"

Henry: "Ben Green of Bound Bayou."

Judge Holmes: "Are you a white man?"

Henry: "I am."

Judge Holmes: "Did you not know that Ben Green was a Negro when employ him to defend you?"

Henry: "I did."

Judge Holmes: "Then why did you you employ him to defend you?"

Henry: "Because I was told that he was an attorney of good standing before the court and could properly present my case in this court."

Judge Holmes: "I will give you until tomorrow morning to employ a white lawyer to defend you."

Henry: "Your Honor, I have paid Attorney Green to defend me, and I have no more money to employ another lawyer."

It is further charged that Lester Fant, the U. S. District Attorney, then sarcastically said to the defendant:

"Did you hire a nigger lawyer to defend you?" to which question Henry replied in the affirmative.

The other clients of Mr. Green, after hearing and seeing the hostile attitude of the officers of the court, are reported to have left, jumped their bail, and have never been located since.

Senators Harrison and Stephens of Mississippi are reported to be urging the promotion of Holmes, who lives at Yazoo City, Miss.

VARDAMAN PASSES

The news comes from Birmingham, Alabama, that James Kimball Vardaman, former governor of Mississippi and one time occupant of a seat in the United States Senate, has passed to his reward, whatever it may be, at the age of sixty-eight. It is reported that he had been mentally ill for the past five or six years.

Vardaman was probably the most implacable foe of the Negro as a citizen exercising the rights of American citizenship that ever disgraced a legislative chamber or attained the high position of governor. For years his name was to all informed Negroes and white people synonymous with Negrophobia in its worst form. Up and down the land he ranted and raved, calling the Negro everything but a child of God, declaring him unfit to take his rightful place in this democracy as a citizen possessed of all rights and exercising the right of suffrage, and fanning the fires of race hatred at every possible opportunity.

Now he is gone and few of his caliber remain. With him passes a tragic era in the history of the United States, the South and the Negro; an era which began with the cruel and calculating suppression and persecution of the Negro but which ends, despite this inauspicious beginning, with the Negro much, very much, further along the difficult road to full citizenship rights. When Vardaman emerged from the obscurity of the Mississippi bush screaming anathemas against the struggling black man, the Negro was well nigh helpless; a ward deserted by its guardian; poor, ignorant and sadly unwitting of his way in the intricate and unfriendly mazes of Nordic civilization. Today the Negro is less poor, less ignorant, knows his way infinitely better in this civilization and, what is more important, has learned the secret of effective organization and presenting the solid, unbroken front to the enemy in defense of the rights of citizenship granted him long ago. He has successfully fought through the courts the various residential segregation cases, the Grandfather clause cause, the Arkansas peonage case and the Texas primary case. He has successfully waged the battle for better educational facilities. He has successfully fixed the attention of the white world on his achievements and forced its grudging respect. He has compelled municipalities to see the wisdom of caring for his health and giving more consideration to his housing. He has by his astute political activity won place and consideration undreamed of when Vardaman thundered his colorphobic denunciations. He has crashed race barriers and made a place for himself in every field of endeavor—business, finance, art, drama, education, law and literature. He has won new respect from his friends and placed his enemies forever on the defensive. When Vardaman came on the scene, the Negro was held to be inferior to the Nordic; today he is merely said to be "different."

There are few, if any, of Vardaman's kind to take his place. Cole Blease has tamed down considerably, votes for appropriations for Negro colleges and denounces the black man only around election time to win the support of the ignorant mob that elects and re-elects him. Tom Heflin overshot his mark when he bolted his party in the 1928 elections and is now about to reap his reward of defeat at the hands of that party. "Red Shirt" Simmons has become a lame duck. There are a few of this type left but their days are numbered and they are not near as bitter as the Negro-baiting Vardaman. Soon they will also go the way of all flesh.

Time changes all things. The world slowly but surely moves on. Those able to take a long view can see the great changes that have taken place. Most of us are still impatient, and rightly so. We have come a long way since Vardaman first leaped upon the stage of public life. We shall go farther. We have been tempered in the fires of persecution and adversity. We know what we have done and what we can do. We have shaken off the chains of mental darknss, disorganization and suspicion of each other, Being confident of our strength and our ability and intelligently hopeful of the future, we can view calmly the report of Vardaman's passing and even wish him well beyond.

A PHENIX FALSEHOOD.

When Frank Loesch, of the Hoover law enforcement commission, talks of the danger that the 18th amendment may eventually fall into a like innocuous desuetude as the 14th and 15th amendments, he prates in echoes of ignorance or designed misrepresentation.

What do Mr. Loesch, or the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, or any other critic, mean when they assert that the 14th and 15th amendments of the constitution are treated in the south as mere scraps of paper, without respect or force, and are flagrantly and consistently nullified by the southern states in which they were designed especially to operate?

The Constitution has repeatedly challenged such statements by northern journals, writers and politicians. It has demanded the specific proofs of such charges and been answered with dense silence. It has, on the other hand, proved beyond contradiction that every southern state is giving full force to those malignant war-bred amendments, in every respect of their interpretations by the supreme court of the nation.

Again The Constitution denounces those falsifications of the facts and of the conduct of the southern states in the matter of giving validity to those amendments as congress, the supreme court, and the federal constitution present them. What The Constitution has demonstrated to be the truth concerning them has been more than once printed in the "Congressional Record" and no man in the congress has had the audacity to deny the showing and reply in refutation of it.

Then what motive may we justly assign to those outside of official character who continue to make these false indictments of our people?

ALLUDES TO SLAVERY HERE.

Geneva Labor Conference Delegate Criticizes Treatment of Negroes.

GENEVA, June 19 (AP).—A speaker at the International Labor Conference today referred to the United States, though without mentioning it by name, as a country in which between 10,000,000 and 12,000,000 negroes live "in a state akin to slavery."

C. A. Lenoreu, the French employer delegate, said that a great number of these negroes each year were victims of lynching and suggested that it was an almost hopeless task to seek the adoption of an international convention for the abolition of forced labor when the United States was not represented.

The Negro And The Nordic

Negro—"Why do you ostracise me?"

Nordic—"Because you are a Negro."

Negro—"Am I to blame for that?"

Nordic—"You are inferior."

Negro—"Why say that?"

Nordic—"Your ancestors were slaves."

Negro—"So were yours."

Nordic—"You accomplish so little."

Negro—"How can I if you will not permit me to compete?"

Nordic—"No use, you are inferior."

Negro—"Will you give me a chance?"

Nordic—"No, that would be social equality."

Negro—"What has society got to do with work."

Nordic—"It leads to society. Stay among your own people. Show your race pride."

More Nerve Than Sense

LEE SURRENDERED to Grant sixty-five years ago, but the South is still fighting the Civil War. Congressman Larsen of Georgia has introduced a bill in the House of Representatives aiming to give the Court of Claims jurisdiction to hear and determine the claims of slaveholders or their heirs for loss resulting from the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation by Abraham Lincoln.

THIS BILL, though it will be hailed in the South as the acme of wisdom, shows more nerve than sense. After breaking up the Union and killing some hundreds of thousands of Americans as the price of giving up its slaves, the South still demands payment for them! The South was offered payment for its slaves seventy years ago, when Lincoln proposed a plan of gradual emancipation extending over a period of twenty-five years, with compensation to the slave owners. The South was too stiff-necked to accept the plan; it chose to fight.

THE SOUTH, moreover, was more than paid for its slaves—paid by the slaves themselves, who laid the foundation of all its prosperity. It would be more to the point if Congressman DePriest introduced a bill to compensate the slaves or their heirs for their two hundred and fifty years of hard and unpaid labor.

Race Problem - 1930

United States

HERALD

Harlem's Distress Intensified As Growing Property Values Threaten Impoverished Tenants

220,000 Population Rises Steadily; Illness Takes Heavy Toll; Unemployment and Low Wages Result From Race Prejudice

This is the first of a series of articles attempting to give a true picture of Negro Harlem as it is today.

By Beverly Smith

Squeezed into a roughly drawn triangle between St. Nicholas Avenue and the Harlem River, running from about 114th Street on the south to 156th Street on the north, an area of less than two square miles, is the biggest Negro community in the world. It is called Harlem. Within less than fifteen years, real estate experts say, it will be displaced and scattered by rising land values. While it remains it is, perhaps, the most interesting laboratory in the country in which to study the vital problem of the eventual place of the Negro in American civilization.

The attitude of the average white New Yorker to Harlem is one of tolerant amusement. He thinks of it as a region of prosperous night clubs; of happy-go-lucky Negroes dancing all night to jazz music and living during the day by taking in each other's policy numbers; of Negro artists and intellectuals wealthy on the royalties of novels or salaries from the "talkies," and of a group of "high society" Negroes, most of them with foreign white servants, living high in the fashion of some of the characters of Carl Van Vechten's "Nigger Heaven."

The fact is that this community of 220,000 Negroes is the poorest, the unhealthiest, the unhappiest and the most crowded single large section of New York City. It has, at the present time, the most severe problem of unemployment, and those who are employed receive an average of only $18 a week. According to an averaged estimate from six independent and disinterested sources, there are not twenty persons in Negro Harlem today, out of the 220,000, who are making more than $10,000 a year.

Much of the foregoing must, of course, be qualified. High as are the Harlem death rates, especially in tuberculosis, nephritis and infant mortality, they are, in most cases, much lower than in the rural districts from which the Negroes have come, and they compare rather favorably with death rates in other Negro urban communities.

The word "unhappiest" must be qualified. This reporter, in his brief weeks in Harlem, heard on the streets, in the shops, in the poolrooms, more deep, soul-clearing laughter than he has ever heard in a white section, rich or poor. The Negro, in the last 200 years, has taken a great deal of punishment. Has he learned to take with a laugh or a song things that would drive many white men to suicide or rebellion?

This laughter, taking it for a moment as the symbol of the Negro's ability to enjoy himself, may be interpreted variously. The prevailing view of the white man is that it is a racial trait, part of an easy-going joy in life independent of economic circumstances. Most Negro leaders, on the other hand, consider it one of the modes of psychological escape developed by the black man in his period of bondage. As one brilliant Negro real estate man expressed it, "Yes, I laugh. I laugh to keep from cryin'."

Color Inescapable Handicap

One further qualification, with the word "poorest." There are, perhaps, immigrant white groups, small groups, poorer than the Negroes of Harlem. But they have a straight road to success, blazed by their compatriots, ahead of them. They know that with thrift and hard work no position in American business is barred to them. Whether their names be Rossano, Jonsen, Hasenpfeffer, Rabinowitz, Kulak or Panopoulos, they can work hopefully along that line.

Harlem, then, in the words of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, outstanding Negro intellectual leader, and editor of "Crisis," is "a community of economically depressed working people, resembling hundreds of poor working groups all over the world,' but with the added handicap of "the color line," so far as it stil survives, to contend with and, in addition to this, the problem of tens of thousands of new citizens from the rural South and the alien West Indies swarming in every year.

Running everywhere through the Negro's problem in Harlem, in health, education, religion, employment and morals, is the economic factor. Ministers, social workers, newspaper publishers, physicians, lawyers, political and fraternal leaders say the same thing. For almost all of them it can be quoted simply and verbatim:

"The central problem of Harlem is economic."

What is this economic problem? Briefly, so far as it can be stated briefly, it is this: The Negro man, with his heritage of slavery, his meager training since that period, and his recent arrival in Harlem from the rural South, is fitted almost entirely for positions of unskilled labor. The Negro woman is fitted chiefly for domestic service. Social agencies are remedying both these things, but progress is slow.

Wages Scale From $15 to $20

The result is a wage scale for women of about $15 a week, and for men of about $21 a week. The men are getting into the less skilled white unions slowly; the women into the garment trades. Exceptional individuals are going into all kinds of work. The skilled unions, all protestations to the contrary, are very slow in admitting colored workers.

There is your average income of $18 a week and that emphasized by the fact that 63 per cent of the married women in Harlem go out to work, four times as high a percentage as among native born white Americans.

The next question is: What rents do these people pay? The Negroes in Harlem live, chiefly in the fine houses built thirty years ago for semi-fashionable white people. According to the Urban League, the outstanding Negro-and-white social organization, they are paying higher rents for these houses than the whites ever paid. They displaced the whites, the league says, because they were willing to live closer together, share rooms and thus outbid the whites. John E. Nail, a leading Negro real estate man, takes another view. He says that, considering the accommodations and the neighborhood, the Negro pays less than his white brother. eH says that comparisons of Negro and white rents are based on the final rent paid by whites before they moved out, after rents had been reduced to the whites "because this is getting to be a Negro neighborhood."

Whatever the merits of that dispute, the fact, admitted by both sides, is that the Negro is paying a far larger proportion of his income for rent than any other group in the city. Ira Reid's survey, made two years ago, indicated that nearly half of the Negro population is paying 40 per cent or more of its income for rent.

"Railroad Apartment" Explained

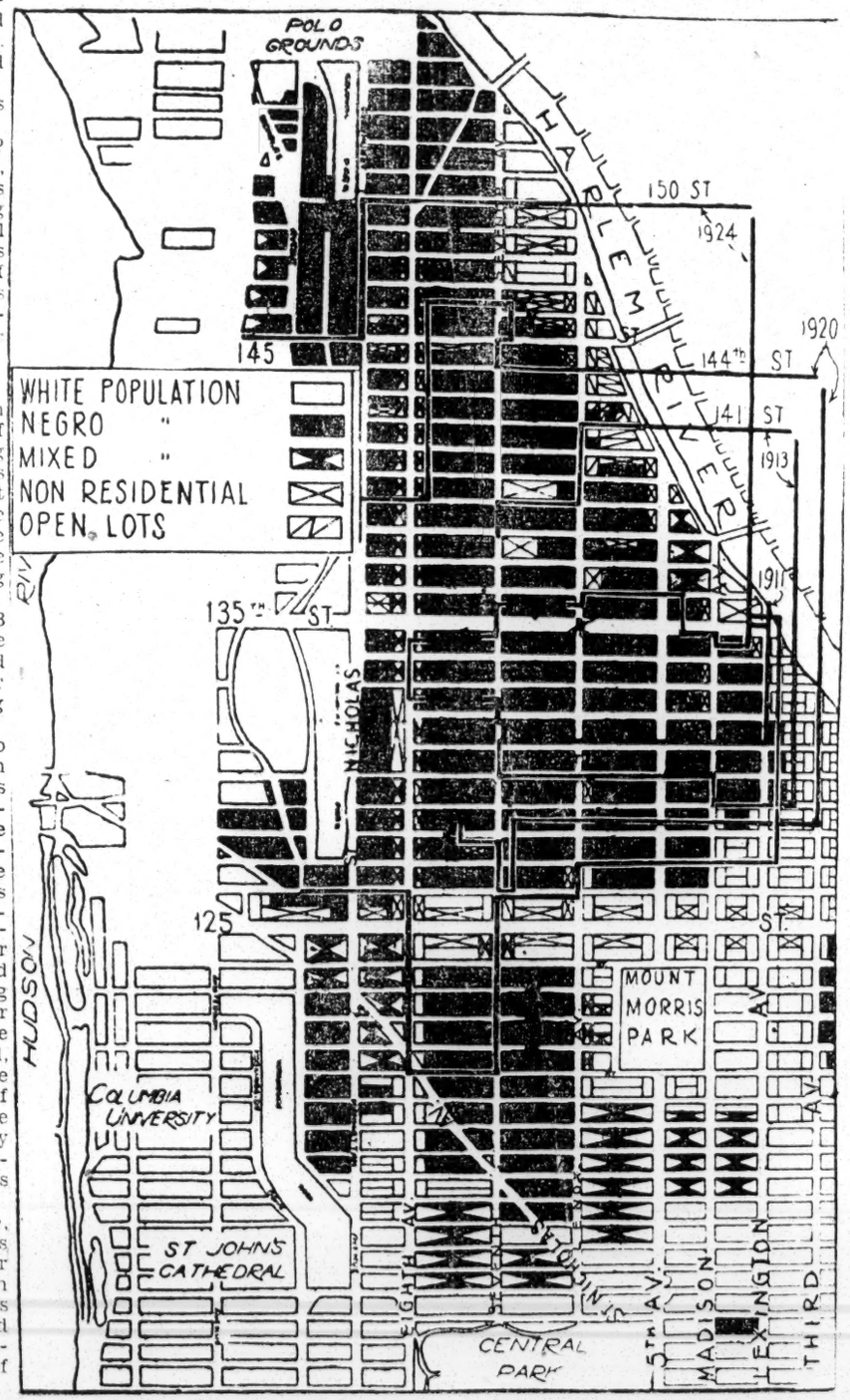
The results are obvious. A man and his wife making together $120 a month rent a six-room apartment for themselves and three children. The apartment costs, perhaps, $60. That leaves $60 a month for five people to live on. The only recourse is to take in lodgers, four or five of them, at about $6 a week. It is an apartment of rooms in a line, ordinarily, and every tenant must go through the entire apartment for lavatory facilities. Hence the Harlem name of "railroad apartment."

Here the vicious circle begins. Almost all Negroes in Harlem live in wretchedly crowded apartments. The parents, going away in the morning, leave their children to the mercies of lodgers. And the mercies of the lodgers, drifting and roving Negroes, champions at the pool table and absolute losses in business, often are not very tender, as the child delinquency rate of Harlem (which will be dealt with later) shows.

To continue the vicious circle; many of the people in these "railroad apartments," tired out by a day of routine work or one of job-hunting, want to sit up late and sing, entertain friends or have a good time generally in the evening. In all these old buildings the acoustics are extraordinarily good, and the chances for sleep on an average night correspondingly bad.

Returning to the maligned lodgers, we find them caught in the same circle. They hate to come back to a noisy, crowded bedroom; they naturally

New York's Growing Negro Section



How the Negro population of Harlem is distributed, from a study by the industrial department of the New York Urban League. In the diagram is shown the growth of this Negro section from the relatively small area of the few blocks between 130th and 136th Streets in 1911 to the large section of today.

hang around the brightly lighted, warm, sociable poolroom; they naturally go to bed at about 3 or 4 in the morning. As a result, they either miss a chance for a new job or, waking up late, lose the one that they have.

Harlem, it has often been noted, "stays up all night." The theory is that these people who stay up all night are loafers. The fact is that a great many of them are night workers. Night work, in the subways, the sewers, the docks, the postoffices, is primarily "marginal" labor and the Negro does most of it. That adds to the population of the poolrooms by day; it encourages the idea of "Who goin' to bed? Not me," and it helps to further disarrange the habits of a community that, for twenty reasons not yet even mentioned already, is sufficiently disarranged.

The economic problem is the central one. So far I have mentioned only the high rentals, with the resulting crowding, immorality and loss of efficiency for every worker involved. The horrible results in health matters, the ready transmission of communicable diseases, the general interchange of delightfully easygoing and economically fatal habits—these will be dealt with later.

Whites Own Most Harlem Stores

One thing that everybody in New York should know is that 90 per cent of the night clubs in Harlem are owned by white people. Nearly 92 per cent of the speakeasies in Harlem are operated by white racketeers downtown. These are half-world or illegitimate businesses. The Negroes, proprietarily speaking, are not responsible for them. The thing that hurts is that about 80 per cent of the ordinary, legitimate retail business of Harlem is in the hands of white people, mostly southern Europeans. This is explainable on several grounds.

The Negroes of Harlem, mostly recently arrived from rural communities, are not trained in these businesses. They have little capital, and the slightest business depression wipes them out. The banks (the Dunbar National always excepted) hesitate to lend them money, preferring white security. Most of the banks are perfectly fair, but they realize that they are dealing with an entirely unskilled shopkeeper.

The ordinary white response to these conditions is: "Snap out of it. Get to work." But nine-tenths of the work that white folks do is closed to Negroes. In the chief trades open they are taken on only after the supply of white labor is exhausted. They are, in the true and depressing sense, "marginal labor." So are the Negro women. That is why the October stock slump produced five times as much unemployment in Harlem as in other parts of the city. People who lost money fired their chauffeurs and maids. Men who employed both races tended to fire the Negro worker first.

No one can get an exact estimate of unemployment in Harlem today. Four estimates from churches and social agencies for men and women who are usually employed give 30,000, 36,000, 25,000 and 28,000. These figures cannot be vouched for. Social agencies usually put these things a little high. But there is no question, from personal observation, that Harlem today faces a bitter unemployment situation.

The Negro is laughing and shooting pool and playing the numbers, and (the great majority) doing the day's work. He is bearing it, fighting an economic situation harsh enough to daunt the bravest heart. And with him in the fight, as will be told in later articles, are a growing number of Negro leaders of intelligence and kindliness and understanding, tackling an uphill, complex, apparently almost hopeless situation with persistent ability, tact and good will.

HERALD

A Pack of Wolves

White People Through the Eyes of a White Woman Reared in Negro Harlem and Still There

To the New York Herald Tribune:

I have been following with deep interest the articles by Beverly Smith on Negro Harlem. What Beverly Smith says any casual writer can observe, and the conditions set forth by him are true in the main. But I would like to know what is the purpose behind putting Harlem under the social microscope and the spotlight of public gaze in the manner that is being done by Beverly Smith. I am sure that Beverly Smith does not realize that time will show that this exposition of what is called the Negro Harlem is a reflection upon the exploitation and greed as well as the unchristian and unethical civilization of the boasted white race.

I am a white woman, raised by a hard working, high minded, clean living black mother, who passed on thirteen years ago. Put with her by my blood mother, who yet lives, one of your race, supposed to be the superior race (but to my mind unsympathetic and lower than some animals, who at least protect their young). I have lived in Harlem all my life, and if it is as bad as it is pictured it is due to the unscrupulous, cunning, moneyed gluttons who have seen in its broad streets, in its fine apartments, in its many outlets, with a river on each side of it, and the many bridges that are traversed by machines that lead to all sections of our country, an opportunity to bring their filthy ideas and schemes up in this section, exploit the people, degrade their children, sell them rotten meat and make a profit on them, and on the whole lower the community, so that they can in time take over this valuable section and control it.

Also, if it is as bad as pictured it is so because of the immoral and social degredation forced upon the Negroes by certain types of white people both North and South. To my mind the white race has always been, from early history, a gluttonous, devouring people, and anything they see, they are like a pack of wolves, waiting to slump down on their prey, when they get them weakened, and grab what they have and call themselves the victors.

All races have some bad and some good, and the Negro race is no different from the rest; all it ever knew of stealing, lying, cheating, killing or anything was learned from your superior race. Whenever you send your reporters up to Harlem to get any information, since I know your paper stands for the publishing of such news articles as will create sentiment and mold public opinion that makes for good will among your readers and the people of the nation, I would suggest that greater care and caution might be given in publishing articles that are liable to arouse bitterness, hatred and lead to violence.

The speakeasies that Beverly Smith writes about in the article are run by your race, who don't even live in this section, yet do their dirt here in Harlem. The meat markets that sell rotten meat are run by people of your race, who get rich quick by this process. The night clubs are run by your people, and it is no credit to your race to say they employ 2,000 Negroes in them, thus giving these people something to do. They may employ 2,000 perhaps and debauch 20,000 by bringing their low lives up to this center to carouse all night and yet in the day are high type men and women supposedly. What a sham! Not any of the degrading things that has been mentioned in Beverly Smith's articles is any profit to the Negroes, but to your race.

As before said, if you must write articles about Harlem in your paper, learn the truth, the heartaches of mothers, the plea of hungry children, the cry to Almighty God, by these struggling people and then you and your race group will be doing the community a great good.

MISS D. J. SMALL.

New York, Feb. 13, 1930.

N.Y. HERALD

FEB 17 1930

Many Whites in Harlem

To the New York Herald Tribune:

I have been reading the articles entitled "Harlem—the Negro City," and the articles are true in every respect, I think, except the title and also except the map which was published with the first article.

If the caption had been "The Negro City in Harlem," I would have no objection, but we whites in Harlem object to giving the impression that Harlem is entirely a Negro city, as it is very far from that, and if you would have a careful survey made yourselves, you would find many whites north of 125th Street in Harlem and the population is predominantly white south of 125th Street. CURTIS J. BEARD.

New York, Feb. 13, 1930.

To the New York Herald Tribune:

In your series of articles on "Harlem—the Negro City" you create the impression that Harlem is almost wholly populated by colored people. This is by no means the case.

The total population of Harlem is close to half a million. Of this number fewer than 175,000 are colored. Your estimate of 220,000 in upper Manhattan may be true, but at least 50,000 of these are out of what is known as Harlem.

The map which accompanied the first of your series of articles in Monday's paper is replete with inaccuracies. To cite several instances:

One Hundred and Nineteenth, 120th, 121st, 122d and 123d Streets from Lenox to Seventh Avenue are shown as solidly black. These are the actual figures for these five streets: One Hundred and Nineteenth, 30 per cent white; 120th, 40 per cent white; 121st, 70 per cent white; 122d, 80 per cent white, and 123d, 60 per cent white.

On Seventh Avenue, between 124th and 125th Streets, your map indicates a mixed population. This is incorrect. The west side of this block is occupied by the Hotel Theresa, in which colored men run the elevators and do nothing else. The east side of this block is devoted entirely to business—Loew's Seventh Avenue Theater and the building which we occupy. Yet your map says this street has a "mixed population." MARTIN SCHRENKEISEN.

New York, Feb. 13, 1930.

N.Y. HERALD

FEB 15 1930

A City of Darkness

New York is a city of many cities, and its cities grow and die with a rapidity which appalls Europeans. The old East Side is no more, and the new Negro section of Harlem, which broke upon the city's consciousness so suddenly, may soon also disappear. As Beverly Smith's articles in this newspaper have made clear, the Negro population of Harlem, though it be the greatest aggregation of black men in history, is a changing city. It is the most congested and disease-ridden section of New York, a center of high rents and unemployment. Most of its 200,000 Negroes have poured into it since the war; many of them will be gone within another decade, and it will be a good thing for the Negro people when they are dispersed.

Beverly Smith was not content to paint the usual "nigger heaven," distorted as a Coney Island mirror, though every line of it reflects some reality. He sketched a city of men and women who had hoped to find in New York a promised land and often found instead a city of darkness. There is comfort in numbers, but there is also misery. To the Negro in New York are even denied some of the opportunities which were open to him in the South which he left. Many a trained nurse has gone into domestic service because Northern whites, who boast of their lack of race prejudice, will not believe that a colored girl can understand medicine as well as a white girl. Many a Negro college graduate is earning his living as an elevator boy in New York today; all other doors are closed to him. Until recently all the hospitals and banks were closed to young Negroes—most of them are today. Labor unions, with a few notable exceptions, do not welcome them. Harlem has its literary and artistic coteries, which provide a civilized background for the Negro intellectual; it has its surf of noisy gayety; but in the mass it is a city of the disinherited. Beverly Smith's articles did not paint a picture blacker than the fact.

Yet to the American Negro Harlem is none the less a ray of promise. New York has unconscious race prejudices, yet its official mind is aware of the congregation of black voters. Negroes may teach in New York schools as they win their way on merit; its large Negro police force is unique. Harlem tends to give its citizens a faith in themselves, a sense of possibilities, which they need. As the Jews are leaving and transforming the East Side, finding their independent places elsewhere, so the Negroes are beginning to rise out of the trough of their black ghetto. If New York will let them, they will find less conspicuous opportunities elsewhere.

Race Problem - 1930

United States.

CAUSES OF CALIFORNIA'S RACE RIOTS

VIOLENT OUTBREAKS against Filipinos in California, in which one has been killed and between forty and fifty severely beaten, bring protests from Manila and a debate in the United States Senate.

Press dispatches indicate that California has another race problem on her hands. Literary Digest

One of its violent manifestations was the explosion of a bomb on the porch of a Filipino club-house at Stockton, California, the Associated Press tells us, but the most serious outbreaks have been at Watsonville, where a mob attacked Filipinos in their homes. "Moved by resentment over the employment of Filipinos as farm laborers and by employment of white girls in a Filipino dance-hall," says an Associated Press dispatch from Watsonville, "a mob of about six hundred white men armed with clubs, whips, and firearms wrecked the interior of several Filipino residences and severely beat their occupants. One of the mob's victims, Fermin Tehera, twenty-two years old, was found shot to death in a bunkhouse on the Murphy ranch, four miles east of Watsonville. He was one of several Filipino lettuce workers occupying the bunkhouse, when a party of men approached it and fired at the Filipinos."

2-15-30

Seven white men were arrested, charged with rioting, the same dispatch tells us, as "business men joined with officials to put down the race difficulties." By the Mayor's order, places of amusement were closed, and Legionnaires guarded approaches to the city in an effort to prevent anti-Filipino demonstrations. Two days later police redoubled their precautions upon discovering that scores of "seditious Communistic pamphlets" had been circulated through the Pajaro Valley, "urging white and Filipino workers to join forces and fight the American Legion, police, and farm-owners as common enemies."

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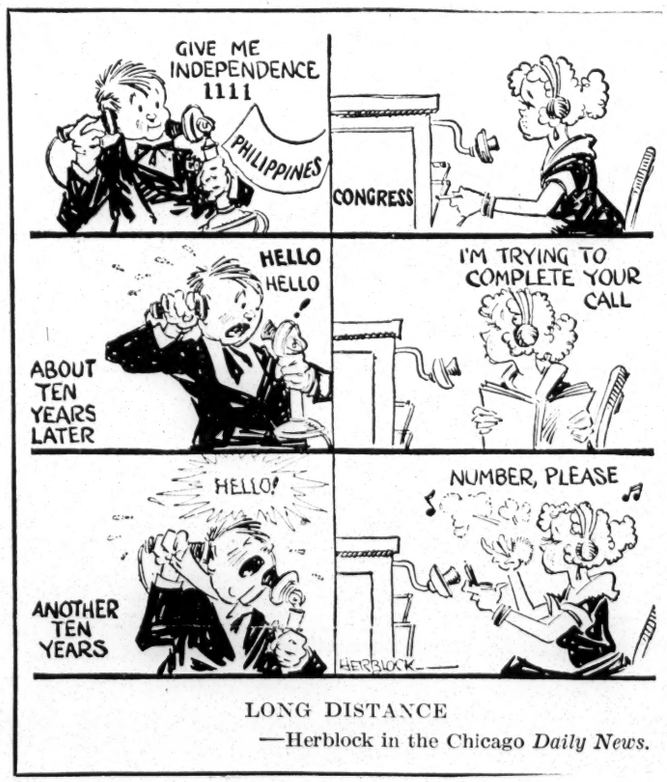
On the same day, a Manila dispatch to the New York *Times* said that Governor Davis had cabled to Washington "asking immediate protection for Filipinos in California." The State officially recognized the gravity of the situation on January 29, when the State Athletic Commission ordered all boxing promoters to bar Filipinos from their cards "as a precautionary measure against race riots."

New York N.Y.

American backers of Philippine independence immediately seized upon these disorders to further their cause, we learn from a Washington dispatch to the New York *Herald Tribune:*

"It became apparent to-day that the proponents of independence intend to make the utmost use of the clashes on the West coast between Filipinos and American labor in urging that the islands be set free. Senator Tydings (Dem., Maryland) made this clear when he called attention to the California riots. Senator Tydings said there were about 13,000,000 Filipinos in the islands, and more than 60,000 in this country. He said that many more are coming here to earn a livelihood, and that the relations with white labor on the Pacific coast are not friendly, but on the contrary there is 'prejudice and hatred' against Filipinos."

Contending that independence was the solution of the situation, and that if this country kept the islands twenty-five or thirty years more the conflict between Filipino labor and American labor here would be aggravated, "he pictured the entire situation as becoming more menacing."



LONG DISTANCE
—Herblock in the Chicago *Daily News.*

As for the causes of the riots, several California observers agree with Duncan Aikman, Los Angeles correspondent of the Baltimore *Sun*, who asserts "the Filipinos got into trouble at Watsonville because they wore 'sheikier' clothes, danced better, and spent their money more lavishly than their Nordic fellow farm-hands and, therefore, appealed more than some of the latter to the local girls."

"It is nonsense for California labor leaders to attempt to draw the conclusion from the Watsonville affair that the riots were caused by Filipinos taking jobs that white men wanted," declares the Los Angeles *Times:*

"Race prejudice and not economic pressure brought them about. The influx of Filipino laborers was caused by economic pressure; they came in to fill the vacuum resulting from decreased Mexican immigration. The Watsonville riots are a most convincing exhibit of some of the reasons why no Mexican exclusion bill ought to pass."

The mob attacks "open up another phase of this Philippine problem that the United States must solve sooner or later," remarks the San Francisco *Chronicle*, which believes that "while the United States is in the Philippines there is bound to be constant friction and irritation, of which immigration is but one symptom. It is, however, a serious one." Continuing:

"There is a serious immigration problem involved in the introduction of large numbers of persons who are unassimilable, yet who are given a status little short of full citizenship. This inevitably raises social and industrial problems.

"Mob violence is not the way to meet these troubles, and is not to be tolerated under American institutions. Yet, while disapproving of such futile and not very courageous demonstrations, we can not close our minds to the fact that the underlying causes are a serious and national problem, and the immigration matter is only one phase of it.

"The Philippines, too, have their reasons for complaint. They can not be erected into one of the United States and their people be made American citizens. Neither can they be permanently held as chattels. The condition is unfair, both to the United States and the Philippines. The whole question is complicated, of course, by many considerations of national policy. But the basic consideration is that the United States would like to get out, but does not see just how it can now.

"We have a bear by the tail. The present necessity is to find out how to let go."

Here is the view-point of the Fresno *Morning Republican:*

"The starting of race troubles among us here in California is due to the wide-spread ideas of interested persons just as much as it is due to local labor troubles. [illegible] ind men in large numbers to-day attacking Filipino residents, we can not acquit the protagonists of Mexican labor from a share in this responsibility. For, during the last two or three years, at least, the Filipino has been the 'whipping boy' for the Mexicans. Whenever some political or labor leader would propose to enact laws to restrict Mexican immigration, at once there has arisen the shout that 'the Filipinos are worse.'

"Whether either one is 'bad' or not is far from the point. Whether it is good policy to keep out either Mexicans or Filipinos, or both, is not the point. The fact is that the pro-Mexicans have backfired on the anti-Mexicans by shouting that the Filipino is 'worse.'"

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New Hope for Negro Race Born In Melting Pot That Is Harlem; Pride in Racial Heritage Upheld

West Indian and Southern Negroes Adjusting Rivalries and Differences on Lines That Promise Settlement of Deeper Color Problem

This is the last of a series of articles attempting to give a true picture of Harlem as it is today.

By Beverly Smith

If the Negro population of Harlem were translated to a fertile isle in the mid-Pacific, it would still have its racial problems. Most whites think of it merely as "the Black Belt"—a homogeneous group of Negroes, the largest in the world, living together in full harmony and understanding. As a matter of fact the Negro section of Harlem is a melting pot with as strange and varied a brew as that of white New York.

About 50,000, or nearly 25 per cent, of the Negroes in Harlem have come from British, French, Dutch, Portuguese or Danish civilizations in the Carribean region. These are referred to generally as West Indians. The largest elem nt comes from the British West Indies. Each group has brought along its own accent, wholly different from that of the American Negro. There are small sections in Harlem where Spanish or French are spoken almost exclusively in the homes.

Intra-Racial Feeling Wanes

Each national element, as W. A. Domingo has said in his article in "The Survey," is divided from the others "by tradition, historical background, and group perspective." The West Indian Negro in general is less exuberant than his American cousin, more serious, more ambitious and more aquisitive. Sometimes he considers himself as rather "above" the American Negro, but in this he is repaid with interest, because the American Negro has a strong individuality and pride of his own. He is also a distinctly American product, and shares the white American's scorn for foreigners of any kind. Sometimes he calls the West Indians "aliens," or "Cockneys" or "pessimists." He has also a gift of humor and derisive laughter, which the West Indian often lacks.

But this intra-racial ill-feeling has diminished notably in the last few years. The quota law has cut down the heavy immigration from foreign dependencies, thus dulling the edge of economic rivalry. At the same time the more intelligent members of each group have had a chance to come together and understand each other.

The Negro section of Harlem also has a hundred subtle differences of viewpoint between Southern Negroes from different states and of different racial mixture. In the steady healing of these differences there is a hopeful omen for the solution of the graver problem between white and colored.

Harlem Brings New Hope

In this brief survey emphasis has often been placed on the gloomy side of the picture: the economic depression, the low wages and high rents, unemployment, housing congestion, and resulting ill-health, delinquency and misery. This has been done because this side of the story is so little known. But there is another side.

As Alain Locke, the brilliant Negro scholar, has said in "The Survey," Harlem cannot be considered as merely a bundle of statistics. Harlem in the last decade has been a kind of intellectual capital for the aspiring Negro; in it have been born a new hope, a new determination, a ne wrace consciousness and a new pride in the racial heritage.

About Harlem as a center have gathered the Negro intellectual and artistic leaders—poets such as Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Jean Toomer and Claude McKay; novelists and short story writers such as Walter White, Rudolph Fisher, Nella Larsen, Jessie Fauset, and W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, the last named ranging through all literary fields, but devoting his chief energies to general betterment of the situation of the colored people.

Also such essayists as James Weldon Johnson (also a novelist), George Schuyler, Alain Locke, Charles S. Johnson, Abraham L. Harris and Franklin Frazier; musicians such as Harry Burleigh, the leading composer, and Rosamund Johnson, Carl Diton, W. C. Handy and Hall Johnson.

Many Stage Performers

On the dramatic and concert stage the Negro stars are too well known to need detailed mention here. To name a few at random, there are Paul Robeson, Rose McClendon, Roland Hayes, Taylor Gordon, Nina Mae McKinney and Frank Wilson.

Not all of those who have been mentioned live in Harlem, but all of them have been influenced by Harlem's life. The community there has served to heighten their consciousness or to stimulate their ambitions, or to give them a wealth of rare racial material.

There are in Harlem about 125 Negro doctors, with first class professional training, graduates of Howard University or the standard white medical schools. They are not yet patronized as fully as they should be by their own people. Many of the Negroes go to white doctors, not all of whom are a credit to their race. Most of the Negro physicians, combining sound skill with warm personality and sympathy, are splendidly fitted for their profession.

The lawyers, well educated and equipped also, have a harder time of it, because they are under the handicap of practicing in courts conducted by whites where, with all intent of good will, a certain color prejudice still lingers. Most of them are making a bare income, or piecing out an insufficient income with other work. But they are ready, as color bars are gradually lowered, to take an honorable and important place.

Social Agencies Co-operate

Negroes at the same time are taking the lead in social agencies for the improvement of their own people. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is too well known for detailed description here. It is fighting all along the line for the right of the colored man to equality of opportunity and justice before the law.

Organizations such as the New York Urban League, a branch of the National Urban League, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., the Utopia Neighborhood House, the community houses of the churches and several other bodies are working together on the social and economic problem. In the management of many of these whites and Negroes are associated, while in the operating staffs Negroes largely predominate or make up the entire staffs.

The Y. W. C. A., for instance, has a membership of 2,000 and serves a much larger public through its employment department and cafeteria. It has a school where women are trained in occupations ranging from expert cookery to beauty parlor, skilled secretarial or interior decorating work. In this work are such women as Mrs. Cecelia Saunders, general secretary, and Mrs. Emma S. Penn, educational director.

In New York Urban League, to mention just a few whom the reporter interviewed, are such workers as James H. Hubert, executive secretary; S. A. Allen, industrial secretary, and Alena D. Simpkins, social worker, recently come here from the South.

The case of Mr. Hubert is interesting as indicating the progress made by some Negroes in sixty-seven years of freedom. His father, Zachary Hubert, who died a short time ago at the age of eighty, was born in slavery on a plantation in Georgia. "Old Zach" was the close and valued friend of his master. He was enlightened and intelligent in his own right. Of his seven sons, all college graduates, two today are college presidents, one is a high school principal, one is a prominent pastor, another is a successful business man in Harlem, one is studying business administration in New York and one is Mr. Hubert of the Urban League. There can hardly be serious despair of progress in a family like this.

The work of the leading ministers has already been mentioned. The Harlem League, a branch of the New York Federation of Churches, is working to assist in the co-ordination of their efforts. The hard-working executive secretary is a white man, the Rev. Paul E. Baker, chaplain of Fisk University, studying in New York for his doctorate. The work of the Harlem League has been halted in the last few days because of a misunderstanding between it and the Negro ministers about the wording of a report prepared by one of the league secretaries. It is hoped that this may be smoothed out by frank discussion.

Also on the credit side of the ledger must be mentioned the thirty-odd Negro chain stores, part of a national organization, recently established in Harlem. It is too early to say whether they will be successful, but they get around many of the difficulties of individual buying by Negro grocers and give Negro employees a chance to learn economics of retailing.

Negro Police Efficient

The Negro merchants are also fairly well in the meat markets, undertaker parlors, barber shops and beauty parlors. It is a curious thing that the Negro barber shop for white patrons has disappeared in the North, because the proprietor of such a shop cannot refuse to serve a member of his own race, nor can he, with the race prejudice which survives, operate a mixed shop. But he does well in Harlem.

The seventy-eight Negro policemen in Harlem, according to reports from white and colored sources, are a credit to the race. They are able and efficient. They understand particularly well how to deal with the unfortunates or delinquents of their own race. According to one reliable observer, there is no discernible race feeling of any kind between the white policemen and their Negro colleagues. They like and respect each other.

By the same token, Negro school teachers and Negro workers in the city departments receive fair and equal treatment, according to what this reporter has learned. The Negro teacher is not employed as a Negro, but as a teacher, and he or she teaches white children as well as colored. This is an idea that sometimes encounters bitter opposition from Southerners who will, elsewhere, aver: "I learned more from my old Negro mammy than from any other education I ever had."

There are also the Negro newspapers, weeklies, which publish news of Harlem and of Negroes everywhere in the United States. Their staffs are composed throughout, from copy boy to publisher, by Negroes. Some of these are: "The New York Age," "Amsterdam News," "New York News," "Harlem Reporter and Bronx Chronicle," the social gossip sheet, "The Tattler" and "The Negro World." The last named, subsidized from "Edelweiss," the country home of Marcus Garvey, Provisional President of Africa, still strives with indifferent success to keep alight the fires of Garveyism which burned in the street parades of 1925.

Generous Toward Whites

The other papers emphasize Negro news and give prominent space, naturally, to injustices toward Negroes, but they are generous in chronicling also cases where whites have helped or defended Negroes.

Turning again to the debit side, there is the fact that great numbers of trained and able Negroes cannot get work in New York. In the South many white men have a traditional contempt or scorn for the Negro race, coupled paradoxically, with an affection and esteem for the Negroes whom he knows individually. In the North the white man admits the racial equality of the Negro, but, through fear and distrust engendered by strangeness, discriminates against the Negro as an individual.

In the South the white man will readily leave his food, his riches, the medicines for his health, the care of his children in the charge of a Negro. In New York white people who know nothing of Negroes are afraid to leave a colored man in the house, just as they would be afraid to leave an East Indian, a Chinese, an American Indian, or a Japanese. It is a perfectly natural human fear, but it must be reckoned as part of the problem. These races would have the same feeling toward a white man.

There is also the economic rivalry in the trades unions. The Negroes increasingly enter the unskilled unions, but are barred, often unjustly, from the skilled trades unions. This is a thing that is slowly being adjusted, but often with ill-feeling. Often the Negroes have to do what is virtually "scabbing" to force recognition. They do not like it and the white workers do not like it.

Expects Aid From Whites

John E. Nail, Negro real estate leader, successful not only among his own race, but relied on for business estimates and advice on realty values north of 110th Street by many of the big real estate and insurance firms downtown, thinks of it this way:

"The Negro can fit into American industry and finance, given a fair chance. He cannot start immediately in high positions, of course, because he is untrained. He must have a chance to work shoulder to shoulder with his white brothers, to learn as they have learned. He will not then be found lacking.

"There is the discouraging case of a young lawyer, a friend of mine, an honor graduate of Yale and the Harvard Law School. He has tried to practice for three years in New York. Last month his overcoat was stolen. He has not been able to buy another.

"There is something wrong here. The American Negroes are a mixed race, with a heavy infusion of white blood. They are a new race. Their inheritance is not only from the fighting stocks of Africa, but sometimes from the best blood of the old white South. We could not, if we would, lie down. We must fight. It is in our veins. And we think there are white people who will work with us."

It would be presumption for such short articles as these to take up such complex problems. Whether the Negro can best fit himself for the mechanical, complex, industrial civilization in which we live, or whether his genius fits him for a civilization more pleasant and polite and humane, is beyond this reporter. Two of the aspects of this debate were presented in "The Survey" four years ago by Melville J. Herskovits, anthropologist, and Konrad Bercovici, author. One thing is sure: The Negro has never yet received the opportunity, en masse, to start from scratch with the white man in our system. But he has come slowly, ever closer to it.

New York cannot be entirely ashamed of its treatment of the Negroes within its borders. It has been sometimes unkind. It still denies the Negro the fullness of economic equality. Its unions still rule many worthy skilled Negroes out. But it has given the sensitive Negro a chance to hold his head up. And the great friendly body of New York citizenry, the most fair and tolerant millions in the world, are trying, under enormous pressure of hereditary prejudice and acquired attitude, to give the Negro a chance. It is slow and often backsliding. But it is rich in hope for the future from the efforts of the colored man himself.

If the Negro section of Harlem as we know it now is swept off the map by rising land values in ten years, that will justify its existence.

Race Problem - 1930

United States.

The Negroes And The Enforcement Of The Fourteenth And Fifteenth Amendments To The Constitution

By THEODORE J. WOLFLEY

Former Member of the Missouri Legislature and of the Republican State Committee

St. Louis Argus

7-25-30

To the Editor of The Argus:

The people who are interested in the enforcement of the Eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States refuse to vote for candidates for Congress and other offices, having any connection with legislation and the enforcement of provisions of the Constitution, unless such candidates have bound themselves with iron clad pledges to support the Eighteenth amendment.

St. Louis, Mo.

The people most interested in the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, on the contrary, do not ask candidates how they stand on these amendments. The only thing they want to know about candidates is, are they "regular," that is, are they on the "sample ballots" of "ward bosses" who care nothing about the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, even if, by accident, they know in a hazy way there is such a document as the Constitution.

The vigilance on the part of friends of the Eighteenth amendment and neglect and indifference on the part of persons interested in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments is the reason, in my opinion, why last year more than nine hundred million dollars was employed, directly and indirectly, in attempted enforcement of the Eighteenth amendment, while not a Rockfeller dime was expended in behalf of the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments.

I think no one will deny that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments are more generally and more flagrantly violated throughout the country, as a whole, than the Eighteenth amendment; and that violation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments affecting, as it does, the "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" of the 14,000,000 people of the Negro race in the United States, brings more suffering to more people than violation of the Eighteenth amendment. Not one of the 14,000,000 people can escape from the baneful influences of failure to enforce in letter and in spirit the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, while friends of the Eighteenth amendment will not claim. I am sure, that so large a number are injuriously affected by violation of that amendment. It is the theory of Government that the Constitution is the basic law of the land and that all parts of the Constitution are equally important. I have, therefore, used the Eighteenth amendment and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments as an illustration to show that even though the Government may, in principle, stand for the enforcement of the entire Constitution, it is up to the groups affected to see that the parts of the Constitution in which they are most interested do not become obsolete through their own indifference. Congress has been and will continue to be the forum in which these groups must be represented, as contemplated by the framers of the Constitution when it was originally adopted.

Leonidas Carstarphen Dyer, that is what his good friend Charley Becker calls the Congressman in his Blue Book, has occupied the Twelfth District seat, when he has been in Washington, for sixteen years. He has had the implicit confidence and support of the Negro people of the district, which includes a large majority of his own party, and in return the Negroes, vitally interested in the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, have been entitled to and should have received his undivided efforts in behalf of the enforcement of these amendments; but so far as known to the people in the district Dyer has made no effort for such enforcement through the introduction of a bill putting teeth into these amendments and providing an appropriaton to cover cost of enforcement, similar to the methods employed by Congressmen, faithful to their constituents, in behalf of the Eighteenth amendment. He has, in fact, been wholly derelict and negligent in his duty to his constituents.

Dyer has found time to visit certain states in which the Ku Klux Klan was active in politics, in behalf of certain candidates; but if he asked these candidates to pledge themselves in the event of their election to help enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments it is not a matter of record.

Dyer has found time to go to China in behalf of interests not connected with voters in the Twelfth district; but as the "greatest friend the Negro people have ever had," according to his own confession, he has had little time to spend in the Twelfth district and no time to spend in the South investigating race conditions, nor in Porto Rico, Virgin Islands, Hayti and San Domingo making a survey of the deplorable situation there, for which this Government is morally responsible, in order that he might better serve the Negro people in Congress and be, in fact, the friend of these people that he says he is.

Dyer introduced an anti-lynching bill, which passed the House, and then he went to China and let the Senate lynch the bill. To an ordinary layman it would seem that Dyer's duty was to stick around the Senate looking after the bill in which his constituents were interested, rather than in making a trip to China in which voters in the Twelfth district had not the slightest interest.

The introduction of the anti-lynching bill served as an alibi for failure to inaugurate a substantial movement for the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. Present laws prohibiting murder and violence, if enforced regardless of the race or color of the mob's victims, will afford members of the Negro group the same protection that is afforded members of other groups. Equality for members of its group in the enforcement of present laws, and not special laws for the benefit as a segregated people, is an achivement that, in my opinion, the Negro people of the Twelfth district should demand from their Congressman.

I am willing, however, to seriously consider the achievements of Dyer in the last sixteen years. Insofar as I know, these achievements, of general interest, are limited to the anti-lynching bill, which got a dose of the thing it proposed to stop, though the president and both branches of Congress are of the same political faith as the author of the bill, and the automobile theft bill, which he now wants repealed.

When the mountain, labored and brought forth a mouse, I imagine the mountain, as it looked upon its diminutive offspring, felt like people in the Twelfth district feel when they contemplate the insignificant achievements of Congressman Dyer during his sixteen years in Congress.

I wonder, however, if the masses of the Negro people really understand what race representation in Congress and strict enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments mean for them, in view of the fact that they have permitted Dyer to so long misrepresent them. The enforcement of these amendments, in letter and in spirit, means economical, commercial, financial, industrial and educational privileges for the Negro race equal to that enjoyed by any other race. It means that the Negro people shall, in fact, become a part of the Government and be in position to work out, unhampered by discrimination, a destiny for themselves, their children and the generations yet to come.

The election of Moore, insofar as the individual is concerned, means little to the masses; but Moore, standing in the Halls of Congress, as the elected and authorized representative, speaking for the masses, means that a new era has dawned in the history of the Negro race in the United States. The principle involved is so important that it is impossible for me to conceive that a single Negro voter in the Twelfth district will fail to cast a ballot for Moore on August 5.

I realize, however, that the Negro race has some of the followers of Judas in its ranks and that some of these "money changers" are in the Twelfth district. The flow of Ku Klux Klan money, which it is reported has started in the Twelfth district, will seek the itching palms of these race "leaders" of the old type, "leaders of their people" when two dollars and a quart of whiskey was sufficient to buy a whole precinct, as unerringly as a bunch of steel shavings seeks a magnet. But since these "leaders" are as incapable of harm to their race as was the Judas of old to the Christian faith, I am not the one to prevent them from separating the Klan from its money. I will, in fact, furnish the Klan with the first name and address of every Judas in the Twelfth district if it will facilitate in drawing the lines clearly in the contest between Klan money and Moore to be decided on August 5.

Fortunately, for the future of the Negro people, the young men and women, under church leadership, now constitute the voting population of the Twelfth district. The "talent" which "promoted" Dyer sixteen years ago has just about passed out of the picture. This type has been succeeded by a progressive, clean minded, clear thinking Negro, who is proud of his race and whose slogan is: "Let the dead past bury its own dead." He points with pride, it is true, to the remarkable achievements of his race, in spite of unthinkable discrimination; but his mind is occupied with the future. Fortified with the courage of his convictions and honesty of purpose, 14,000,000 strong, and with intelligent use of the ballot, the only weapon he needs, he is determined to carve for himself in the world a place second to none.

It is true that he must have loyal race leadership, leadership not influenced by the lure of gold, but every crisis in the lives of any people in the history of the world has always developed a leadership. The and new progressive Negro will be no exception to this rule.

I read a report of a speech made by Congressman De Priest in which he advised St. Louis Negroes to perfect their organization through the election of race members on the City committee. But this system in St. Lous has not proven so efficient in practice as it has in Chicago and other places. I doubt if race members of the City committee in St. Louis are of any more value to the masses of the Negro people than the white members of the committee to the masses of the white people. The Democrats have recognized this, as a fact, by appointing a committee of two hundred upstanding citizens to conduct their campaign, while the Republicans recognized the weakness of the G. O. P. committee by appointing an advisory committee composed of upstanding citizens to name a "slate."

Insofar as the Negro members of the G. O. P. committee are concerned, I doubt if their position on Congressman is known to anyone. Most of them have contests for re-election, involving heavy campaign expenses, and with plenty mouey to be had for the asking to defeat Moore, only unquestioned loyalty to their race would prompt them to announce their stand on the most important issue that has ever confronted the Negro people of St. Louis.

I, however, pledge myself that if any of them are opposed to the use of K. K. K. money in this campaign and if any of them intend to support Moore for Congress, and will so advise me, I will ask Mr. Mitchell to let me print their names in big type at the head of my letter next week, so that they may not be subject to unjust race criticism.

THE WAGES OF SIN IS DEATH, OR PAYING THE PENALTY.

Under the caption "Paying the Penalty", last Sunday's Constitution issued a long and painful lamentation of Georgia's economic and political afflictions, but consistent with the Constitution's insincere and dubious policy, our neighbor failed to set up the reasons for the state's deplorable condition. The Constitution failed to take into consideration that our state is living in the dead past and in a civilization fifty years behind North Carolina. Independent

North Carolina learned thirty years ago that lasting progress meant the progress of all the people and not a part of the people, and following this policy of statesmanship, she set out to educate, and prepare good roads for all the people—not education for the whites and half-education for the blacks; not good roads and streets for the whites an bad roads and streets for the blacks. Booker T. Washington told the South forty years ago that it could not keep the Negro down in the ditch without staying in the ditch with the Negro. North Carolina took his advice and Georgia spurned it. Now North Carolina has good roads and spends more each year for the higher educatio.. of the Negro than Georgia spends for the higher education of both races.

North Carolina has increased her population in ten years 600,000 and will gain another congressman. Georgia has made no gains and lost 10,000 in population since 1920, and will lose one congressman and may lose two. Yes, "The wages of sin is death, and the gift of God is Eternal Life." Atlanta Ga

Georgia cannot live and grow on her policy of race hatred and intolerance. North Carolina has grown and prospered because she has sought to lift up all the people as she climbed. Georgia has lost caste by staying down in the ditch to keep the Negro down.

It is evident that migration has not only wiped out our natural increase in population by birth and immigration, but has wiped out 10,000 of the people we had in 1920. This is a shameful showing and there is a cause for it, and if not removed, we will lose another congressman in 1940. This loss in political and economic prestige is due mainly to migration of Negroes from the South to the North. Political intolerance and insecurity to life, liberty, and property have driven thousands and thousands of Negroes from Dixie to the North. Georgia has been hit harder than any other state because she has been harder on the Negro than any other state. If the Negro's life is insecure in Georgia, property unsafe, liberty in jeopardy, and he cannot hold prayer meeting without tear gas bombs being thrown into his church, what can he do but move North where he can get protection, no matter if Georgia loses ten Congressmen instead of one?

It is bad enough to be taxed without representation, to be represented without your consent, to live outdoors and be swindled out of your earnings, lynched, murdered, and your home burned down, your children half starved by white men, including chambers of commerce conspiring to keep us out of work because we are black, but it is worse to live in deathly fear of the torch and murder every night. Georgia is a backwoods state and must pay the penalty for her folly. She lives on hate instead of love, and must pay the penalty for her sins and lawlessness.

Georgia cannot keep up with North Carolina fighting the Negro back all the time. Organizing to keep Negroes out of work because they are black, and reducing them to poverty and ignorance is not going to get the state anywhere. The state is no stronger than the poorest and weakest of her people. Like a chain, it is no stronger than its weakest link.

The state is paying the penalty in an eight million dollar deficit, the loss of a congressman, and in the loss of population and national prestige—in its inability to pay its teachers and pension its soldiers. In fact, the state is living in disgrace. No state in the Union was ever cursed with more incompetency and jingoism than Georgia. No state was ever more lacking in statesmanship than Georgia, and Reverend Sam Small says, from a survey of the men aspiring to come to the next Legislature there will be no improvement in the ability and character of the members; hence you cannot expect any relief. Any grand lodge of colored people could run the state as well as the white people are running it.

It has been and is the policy of the big dailies to run the Negroes out of the state and fill their places with white farmers (Germans), but their plans failed. They succeeded in running the Negroes out, but not in bringing in white farmers to take their places, and white farmers are not going to come into a bankrupt state of poor schools and bad roads where neither life, property, nor the pursuit of happiness are safe.

Verily, the state is now paying the penalty of its sins, and will continue to do so with heavy interest until she returns to sanity, and substitutes the principles of humanity for race hatred and intolerance.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Changing South

THE scene is a classroom of the high school of a small town in Iowa. The principal, a native of Missouri, is speaking: "No one can tell me that Booker T. Washington or any other colored man is as good a man as I am."

More than twenty years pass. The scene now is a classroom of Clark University, Atlanta, Georgia. The Georgia Association of Accredited Schools and Colleges (colored) is in session. Dr. E. A. Pound, state supervisor of high schools, a native of the South, speaks: "There is no color line in character."

These contrasted statements, coming with this interval between them, represent a change in attitude which has been taking place in the minds of the better class Southerners. Other incidents indicate the same trend.

In the fall of 1913, a woman new to the South visited the Sunday school of the leading church of her denomination in Macon, Georgia. Though a stranger, as an educated, cultured woman, interested in church work, she was welcomed, made organist for the Sunday school, and given a class to teach. The following Sunday she appeared at the church ready for the work to which she had been appointed. Another organist presided at the musical instrument, another teacher had her class. The chilliness of the atmosphere was evident. Why the change? Within the week her identity as the wife of the principal of a mission school for colored students had become known.

Some fourteen years later the daughter of a teacher in the same institution was placed in a kindergarten in one of the best white residential sections, retained in it for two years, and then transferred to a public school. Her mother during this interval met the mothers of other pupils and attended meetings of the Parent-Teachers' Association. The little girl entered the Sunday school of a white congregation in the neighborhood, and her mother joined a ladies' class in the same church. During all this time the child received every courtesy and consideration, and her mother was snubbed by only one person.

A few years ago social isolation was the expected and accepted lot of the white teacher in a school for colored students, so far as the white community was concerned. But this is changing even here in Macon, a city thoroughly Southern in temper and noted for its conservatism. A few months since, a club of bird lovers was formed, made up primarily of people of the highest social standing in the city, and four from the mission school circle were invited to become charter members. This may have been due to the independence and breadth of view of the founder of the club. On no such narrow basis, however, can one explain the continued courtesy and hospitality these teachers have met as they attended session after session of the club. Unquestionably a change in social attitude has taken place.

When the writer first came to the South a little over eleven years ago, there was no accredited colored high school in the state. The leading educational institutions for colored students, supported mainly by northern missionary bodies or by colored churches, pursued their way, doing work of many diverse standards, without attention from any state authorities.

Now there is a well organized and growing association of accredited schools. Its regular sessions are attended by Dr. Joseph S. Stewart of the University of Georgia, the chairman of the state accrediting commission, and his associates. The latter assume the ability of the colored institutions to measure up to the same academic standards as the white schools, and are ready with encouragement and helpful counsel.

Formerly public support for colored education beyond the grammar grades was limited almost entirely to schools of a dominantly industrial type. Now Dr. Stewart in a public address gives unstinted support to college training for colored youth.

A dozen years ago Macon had the merest beginning of any

LEWIS H. MOUNTS

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It is bad enough to be taxed without representation, to be repre... sented without your consent, to live outdoors and be swindled out of ... your earnings, lynched, murdered, and your home burned down, your ... children half starved by white men, including chambers of commerce ... conspiring to keep us out of work because we are black, but it is worse ... is a backwoods state and must pay the penalty for her folly. She lives ... on hate instead of love, and must pay the penalty for her sins and ... lawlessness.

Georgia cannot keep up with North Carolina fighting the Negro back... all the time. Organizing to keep Negroes out of work because they ... are black, and reducing them to poverty and ignorance is not going ... to get the state anywhere. The state is no stronger than the poorest ... and weakest of her people. Like a chain, it is no stronger than its ... weakest link.

The state is paying the penalty in an eight million dollar deficit, the ... loss of a congressman, and in the loss of population and national ... prestige—in its inability to pay its teachers and pension its soldiers ... In fact, the state is living in disgrace. No state in the Union was ever ... cursed with more incompetency and jingoism than Georgia. No state ... was ever more lacking in statesmanship than Georgia, and Reverend ... Sam Small says, from a survey of the men aspiring to come to the ... next Legislature there will be no improvement in the ability and char... acter of the members; hence you cannot expect any relief. Any grand ... lodge of colored people could run the state as well as the white peo... ple are running it.

It has been and is the policy of the big dailies to run the Negroes ... out of the state and fill their places with white farmers (Germans), ... but not in bringing in white farmers to take their places, and white ... farmers are not going to come into a bankrupt state of poor schools, ... life, property, nor the pursuit of happi...

CORRESPONDENCE

The Changing South

THE scene is a classroom of the high school of a small town in Iowa. The principal, a native of Missouri, is speaking: "No one can tell me that Booker T. Washington or any other colored man is as good a man as I am."

The scene now is a classroom of the Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia. The Georgia Association of Colleges (colored) is in session. Dr. E. A. Pound, state supervisor of high schools, a native of the South, speaks: "There is no color line in character."

These contrasted statements, coming with this interval between them, represent a change in attitude which has been taking place in the minds of the better class Southerners. Other incidents indicate the same trend.

In the fall of 1913, a woman new to the South visited the Sunday school of the leading church of Clark University, Atlanta, Georgia. Though a stranger, as an educated, cultured woman, she was welcomed, made organist for the church and attended meetings of the Parent-Teachers' Association. The little girl entered the Sunday school to live in deathly fear of the torch and murder every night. Georgia the mothers of other pupils and ... your institution was placed in a kinder... children half starved by white men, including chambers of commerce residential sections, retained in it... conspiring to keep us out of work because we are black, but it is worse ferred to a public school. Her ... gia has been hit harder than any other state because she has been the Sunday school, and given a ... harder on the Negro than any other state. If the Negro's life is in- Sunday she appeared at the chur... secure in Georgia, property unsafe, liberty in jeopardy, and he cannot she had been appointed. Another ... hold prayer meeting without tear gas bombs being thrown into his instrument, another teacher had ... church, what can he do but move North where he can get protection, atmosphere was evident. Why th... no matter if Georgia loses ten Congressmen instead of one? identity as the wife of the princip...

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been due to the independence and breadth of view of the founder of the club. On no such narrow basis, however, can one explain the continued courtesy and hospitality these teachers have met as they attended session after session of the club. Unquestionably a change in social attitude has taken place.

When the writer first came to the South a little over eleven years ago, there was no accredited colored high school in the state. The leading educational institutions for colored students, supported mainly by northern missionary bodies or by colored churches, pursued their way, doing work of many diverse standards, without attention from any state authorities.

Now there is a well organized and growing association of accredited schools. Its regular sessions are attended by Dr. Joseph S. Stewart of the University of Georgia, the chairman of the state accrediting commission, and his associates. The latter assume the ability of the colored institutions to measure up to the same academic standards as the white schools, and are ready with encouragement and helpful counsel.

Formerly public support for colored education beyond the grammar grades was limited almost entirely to schools of a dominantly industrial type. Now Dr. Stewart in a public address gives unstinted support to college training for colored youth.

A dozen years ago Macon had the merest beginning of any public school work above seven grammar grades. Four additional years of work have been gradually added, but so much time has been required for industrial training that only very second-rate work in the normal academic subjects has been possible. Yet this year the county superintendent of schools pledges himself to Dr. Stewart that this school shall meet the standards required for accrediting. The spirit of the times has indeed changed when a Georgia city must bring its colored high school to an accredited rating to maintain its prestige in state educational circles.

Macon, Ga. LEWIS H. MOUNTS

Race Problem - 1930

United States

WHAT IS INFERIORITY?

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The Sunday American, published at Atlanta, contained an editorial accompanied by a cartoon by Windsor McCay last week that is well worth attention. This editorial bears the title "Old Death Grins At Them." The cartoon shows a number of organisms from the lowest up through the great Apes to the supposedly highest type of humanity. Each in his order points the finger of derision at the one immediately beneath him saying "You are inferior to me." At the far end of the row stands an open grave with a tombstone bearing the inscription "HERE LIE THE DEAD." Leaning on the tombstone is death, who regarding all of them cynically remarks "You all look alike to me." 2-8-30

It is rather a human trait for us to consider ourselves inferior and superior rather than mortals in a great cosmic plan. We feel ourselves inferior to some people and superior to others, and both these feelings tend to prohibit our realizing the maximum of benefit that might come to us during our lifetime. If everyone realized that everything in life has a common destination there would be more real honest endeavors made by all of us to share each other's weal and woe. Death is no respector of persons. He takes the king as quickly as he does the peasant; the white as quickly as the black; the saint as quickly as the sinner. None has ever returned to tell how any class fares beyond the Veil. In life we have these relative values, but in death who knows? "There was the door to which I found no key. There was the veil through which I might not see. Some little talk of Me and Thee there was; and then no longer Thee and Me!" As Friedrich Nietzsche says: "Man must me surpassed." He thinks too much of himself. It were better to place the proper estimate upon ourselves!

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The State asks why the Haitians and Filipinos are omitted from Dr. Du Bois' classification of the colored races needing freedom from bondage. The State would have Haiti and Hawaii and the Philipines included in the list of countries to be ransomed.

We are sure that there can be no mistake about the attitude of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People toward either of these countries; for Dr. Du Bois has expressed himself in a radio speech regarding the bungling done by America in Haiti. If he omitted to name these countries in his latest speech it was, doubtless, because he left it to be obvious that their cause is intimately connected up with the cause of the American Negro. The National Association has ever stood four square in defending the rights of oppressed people.

The Leader appreciates the civilized attitude of The State on these questions of international import.

Montgomery Advertiser
Tuesday, April 8, 1930

The Chicago Defender, the foremost Negro newspaper in this country, recently published an editorial lamenting the lack of Negro leadership in America. The editorial has been reproduced by The Columbia State, with sympathetic comment, and is well worth reproducing in other Southern newspapers, for in no other section of the country will it be received with more genuine interest by white people than in the South.

Most white people, particularly most Southerners, we believe, will agree with The State when it says that the lament on the part of this "conspicuously able Negro journal" is pathetic when viewed from one standpoint, but from another reveals "an entirely unjustified impatience as well as a lack of true perspective."

The Defender's editorial follows:

Hasn't the race a single leader whom it can follow? Haven't we, sixty-five years out of bondage, one person capable of directing us to that position where we can take our place among the races of the world? Must we go on and on forever floundering among the derelicts in the race for a foothold under the sun?

We are worried. Frankly, the situation is dark. It seems that now we are farther from being able to follow a leader than we were in the days when we were unable to think coherently as a race. We are still dubious about those who would help us. We are first to pull down those of the race who manage to get in a position to give attention to the tribulations of others. We cannot lead ourselves and we refuse to allow others to lead us.

Yet we must have a leader—some one upon whom we can depend—if we are to make progress. We must have some one to speak for us, some one who can outline the paths we are to follow, some one to guide us as we march along the way. Every race, every group that has progressed, has had its leaders. There was Moses, who led the children of Israel; Italy has had its Caesars and its Mussolinis; France her Napoleon; Germany her Bismarck; India her Gandhi; England has had Cromwells, Gladstones and Disraelis. Even young America has shown us leaders in George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

But whom have be? Who is there that we can or will follow—whose advice we will accept? Whither are we headed—how can we achieve when we ourselves recognize that we are leaderless, yet will not select one? Is it not about time we were getting together?

"To what objective, to what destination," inquires The State, "does The Defender seek to be led? It is not content, seemingly, with the progress made in '65 years from bondage,' yet 65 years is as but a week in the life of a race and the Negro's progress in that period in the United States—but nowhere else—has been unequaled by any other people. Does The Defender concede that this progress is due to the circumstance of the Negro being in the white man's country, and being carried along in the stream of development and progress made to flow by the force of the white man's genius and institutions?"

Such a concession would be inescapable. The fact that the Negro race in this country has made remarkable progress chiefly because it has had the advantage of the progress of the white race in America is evident. To say this, however, is not to reflect on the Negroes in the least. Rather, it is to their credit that they have shown the ability and the adaptability to profit by the development of the white people. Nor is it to say that the Negro race has had no leadership of its own. It has had leadership, and leadership of a high order in more than one instance. Particularly it has had good leadership in the educational field, which is the field in which it could profit most by strong leadership.

The State, in its comment, thus reassures The Defender:

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The Defender, as a spokesman for the Negro race, has no real occasion to deplore the lack of leadership among its people. If the race has not now the single great, outstanding leader for whom The Defender yearns, it has a considerable number of strong and able leaders in

Race Problem - 1930

United States

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New York this week he would have
ed the arrival there of a party of
mbers of the Ubangi tribe of Ne-
om French Africa. They had come
brought for exhibition purposes,
s of the Ubangis. As explained by
mes "their beauty marks consist of
cisks inserted in their lips in child-
gradually increased in size until
re eight or ten inches, giving a
effect which is greatly prized among
ung women being the recognized
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rious fields, notably, as we have said, in the educational field.

Perhaps the reason why there is no outstandingly great leader among the Negroes just now is simply that there is no real need of one. The race, as a part of the American people, is progressing steadily with the rest of America. It enjoys the leadership that the country as a whole enjoys, in the main. In reality, it has no more need of a Moses than any other large group of our population.

ANOTHER MIGRATION?

The increasing part Negroes are taking in the elections of the south and the increasing courtesy shown Negroes in business dealings there indicate the old order is changing. But the cataclysmic reversal of all precedent which took place when a New Orleans jury sentenced a white policeman for killing a little Negro girl, clinches the matter. The life and virtue of a Negro woman used to be of notoriously little value in the South and never to the point where the courts would punish a white man for what he did to either.

Throughout all the years the south has had its pleasures. Had it not been for the ever present threat to life and property, few of the hundreds of thousands who left it, would have risked the unknown north, even for its boasted freedom. Much of the south remains to be made over, and a long time will pass before Negroes can feel secure there, but progress is being made.

The north with its machines, its cold calculating commercialism, its highly organized interlocking industrialism is a barrier which few of us surmount. But not so in the south. There we are part of the necessary working force, and a consumer group worth while. The scenes are being set for the big shift back to Dixie.

The President Should Hearken

President Hoover we believe has been taking some very bad advice on racial matters. Someone has evidently persuaded him that the Southern way of handling colored people is the better way. Nothing is more plain from the trouble and turmoil that attend race relations in the South than that the Southern way is the wrong way. Furthermore, it must be plain that the Southerners white and black do not know or practice the way that leads to peace and prosperity. Mr. Hoover will heed the country's advice that Claudius M. Hueston, of Tennesse, Republican national chairman, is a bad adviser on the race and all other questions and depose him. Let us hope that as a successor, the President will choose a Northern man with opposite views on capital, labor and colored citizens. We do not know that Mr. Hoover followed Mr. Hueston's advice, but he must have been misled into allowing Mabel Willebrandt to have prosecuted the Southern Republican leaders and to have ignored the national committeemen there for the recognition of the lily-whites in patronage matters!

Certainly it must have been Southerners who advised the President to tender the Liberian ministry to a Louisiana educator, to have appointed the industrial education committee to Haiti instead of naming at least one colored American on the commission. Certainly no Northern Senator or Congressman, who has colored voters in his district, would have misled the President into nominating Judge Parker for the United States Supreme Court bench. The President has been misled in the matter of the temper of the hundreds of thousands of colored voters in the Northern and border states. We cannot help believing that the Quaker and engineer is sound at heart on the race question. We are convinced, however, he should get a new set of friends and consultants. They would advise him to about face, appoint colored men to office from the North and do so at once. To them he should hearken.

QUESTION IS RAISED, LIBEL SUIT PAPER

Man Asks $50,000 From California Newspapers As Damages

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 27.—(Special)—A court was asked here last Saturday to fix the legal status of the Negro as equal to that of the white man.

This issue, for the first time since Lincoln's Emancipation proclamation, was presented in a 176-page brief prepared by Sidney McMeehen Van Wyck, Jr., counsel for the San Francisco News in defense of a libel action filed by Levi Gomez, demanding $50,000 damages for a story in which he was described as a "Portuguese Negro." The contention in the case is that the appellation "Negro" is "false and defamatory" and "caused him contempt, ridicule, shame, mortification and obloguy."

Term "Negro Libelous?"

Counsel for the San Francisco News did not question the fact of Gomez's alleged whiteness. Van Wyck based his defense on the simple question: Is it libelous in the United States of America, 67 years after emancipation, to refer to a white man as a Negro?

The issues raised, thinks Van Wyck, are as important for the Negro as any since the Dred Scott decision.

Negro Not Contemptible

Van Wyck told the court that "the standing of American Negro on the date of puplication of this article, October 19, 1929, is here up for judicial appraisal. Will the highest branch of government in California rate the American Negro of today as "infamous" (adjective equivalent to obloguy)? If the American Negro on October 19, 1929, was neither contemptible, ridiculous nor infamous, but was a human being entitled to respect, then no libel has been committed. If he was, Louis Gomez has been libeled.

"To hold the word 'Negro' libelous in itself, if applied to a white man, is to place a brand upon the Negro race," said Wyck.

Nineteen Court Decisions

Counsel for the San Francisco news recalled that there have been 19 court decisions in southern states touching the question of libel in the use of the word "Negro," seven before emancipation and eleven following. The first was in 1791 in South Carolina and the last in 1919 in Oklahoma, and all these decisions held the word libelous if applied to a white. In only one case has a court ruled otherwise, an Ohio case in 1818. Thus, should the San Francisco court rule favorably to the Negro, it will be the first ruling of the kind in 112 years. The point has never been passed upon by the U. S. Supreme court.

Case Raises Question

"The case thus raises the whole question of the advance and accomplishments of the Negro in America," Van Wyck said. "Now for the first time since Abraham Lincoln gave freedom to the American Negro and two-thirds of a century Proclamation, the courts of a state outside the south are to pass upon the wisdom of Lincoln's gift of freedom and say whether the American Negro has justified, after these many years, the hopes and beliefs of the Great Emancipator."

Brief Work Of Months

The Van Wyck brief, a work of months of research, sketches the whole narrative of Negro slavery, freedom and advancement in America. From the year 1619, when the first slave vessel landed blacks at Jamestown, Va., down to today, the somber history is related and appraised — how British slave traders raided the African West coast, captured by will and force, the natives, loaded them into foul, over-crowded vessels where they died by the thousands en route, brought them to America as chattels; how they revolted again only to be finally reduced to servility in spirit; how the Civil war freed them, but how they underwent an almost more terrible ordeal under reconstruction in the years succeeding; how during and since the World war, more than a million migrated to the industrial northern cities; how they have struggled for educational, political and legal fair play.

Leaders' Statistics Quoted

Van Wyck gave statistics and quoted leaders, both white and colored, showing the advancement of the Negro since the World war, in education, business and art and demonstrated the establishment of a friendly relation between the races.

Race Problem - 1930

United States

NEW YORK TIMES

JAN 1 1930

THE CASE OF THE NEGRO.

Group Economy Theory Is Called Attractive but Unsound.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

All people in this country who are informed on the so-called negro problem must take sharp exception to your last paragraph of THE TIMES editorial on Major Moton. It is ridiculous to assert that "distinction between the races in America is no longer indicated by a horizontal line white above and black below, but by a vertical line, with negroes rising in the industries and professions on their side of it and the white on his side." I admit that this hand-and-finger theory of Booker T. Washington, bi-racial theory of Lothrop Stoddard and group economy theory of most negro leaders and their white friends are most attractive and comforting to many, but are most unsound, nevertheless.

It is almost childish to expect the negro group, suffering as it does from almost disheartening industrial jim-crowism, woeful lack of investment capital and the burden of illiteracy and inadequate educational facilities, to "build up its own social and economic life" as if it were a separate entity and not an integral part of our national life, subject to all of the influences and trends that mold and shape the white people.

Most negro businesses today are fighting a losing battle against encroaching white business because the former are small and the latter, strengthened by mergers and consolidations, is powerful. All of the negro businesses in the United States do not employ a total of more than 25,000 workers, while the number of gainfully employed negroes is close to 6,000,000.

These 6,000,000 are in the main subjected to the same discrimination and segregation in the field of labor that they are in education, transportation and places of amusement. There are literally thousands of mills, mines, stores and factories where a negro, no matter how capable, just cannot get employment except as a janitor or porter.

Moreover, under the circumstances there seems to be nothing either Tuskegee or Hampton can do about it. With no chance of the negro ever establishing a self-sufficient group economy except through consumers' cooperation, both of these schools continue to preach the old bourgeois ideology of individualistic competition in a world of combine, chain, trust and merger.

Comforting as is the idea of a self-sufficient group economy for the negro to white people wedded to the ideal of racial separatism, we must face the facts of the situation. What the negro needs now is not for a few philanthropists to give money to negro schools and stop there, but for these same philanthropists, who own and control the industry and commerce of the country, to lower the color bars in their stores, factories, mills, warehouses and so forth, thus enabling the negroes whom they have helped to educate to make a decent living and advance in the social and economic scale, not as negroes but as Americans.

Therein is the real distinction between the school of thought headed by Dr. Du Bois and that headed by Major Moton.

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER.

New York, Jan. 7, 1930.

Thomasville, Ga. Times-Enterprise

Wednesday, January 15, 1930

SEGREGATION OF THE RACES

Despite the ravings of many of the newspapers of the East and Middle West there is hardly one intelligent white man or woman, who would advocate anything but the segregation of the races, if he lived in such conditions as exist in the South today.

There are a great many slurs at the South for this policy. It usually comes from politicians, who are anxious to placate or appeal to a negro element in their own community. They are willing to carry it to the extent that it will mean social equality, which is the second step to political equality as DePriest has so ably and conclusively demonstrated.

The Jim Crow law in the South is not the result of prejudice or ill feeling. It is the rational and reasonable manner in which the two people can live together and secure the benefits that come from an orderly and liveable civilization. It is known with great interest in the East that the South is rabid on this situation and yet all of the signs of the times indicate that the negro in the East will soon find out his grave error in the interpretation that he has been led to expect, namely equality in all things. That can never be and the most intelligent members of the negro race know that only a very limited number should be entitled to any form of equality of opportunity not including any form of political or social equality.

The South has furnished that, so far as statistics can tell. There are millions of negroes in the South, who own their own homes and live peaceably with their neighbors. If they are of the right type they rarely ever get into trouble. It is only the uneducated and unmoral members of the race, who keep the problems so prominently before the country and whose actions often incite to prejudice and hatred of a virulent type. It is as bad in the East as anywhere else, perhaps even more so.

SOCIAL EQUALITY.

The Greensboro Herald-Journal discussing the refusal of a certain element of white people to permit the Negroes of Warrenton, Ga., to celebrate the 67th anniversary of their freedom from bondage, with Editor B. J. Davis as orator, said it was alleged that Ben Davis would advocate social equality. Mr. Williams defended Mr. Davis against the charges and said, Ben Davis had too much sense to make such a speech, that he had spoken in Greensboro more than once, and made no such speech and could speak there without interference from any source as often as he pleased. These were brave and courageous words coming from a man who is not afraid to tell the truth, and who is a good democrat.

Ben Davis wants to say for the benefit of the deluded creatures who objected to him speaking in Warren County, where he had spoken before and said nothing about social equality, and the sheriff, for their benefit and information, that Ben Davis does not believe in, and never has, and never will advocate social equality between the races. There is no such thing as social equality within, or between any two races. Ben Davis believes that every man who talks about social equality between the black and white races is a fool and a proper subject for Milledgeville. Ben Davis believes in race purity and race integrity—no intermarriage or amalgamation. He believes in the unadulterated stock no half-breeds or mulattoes. He wishes all white men believed in and practised the same doctrine of race purity. He believes that God wants the races to remain distinctly separate and identically as he created them.

Ben Davis believes that a Negro is as good as a white man, and has nothing to gain by intermarriage, amalgamation, or association with white people upon terms of social equality. He is satisfied at being a Negro and represents 99 per cent of the race. There may be a few fool Negroes who want to be white, like a few fool whites who want to mix and associate with Negroes upon terms of social equality; but in both instances these freaks are the exception and not the rule. We want no social equality; we spurn it. We want economic and political equality. We want equality before the law. We want free press and free speech. We want to go to Warrenton and anywhere else and make a speech when invited without molestation or fear of bodily harm.

Georgia has quit lynching men, and she must cease lynching free speech and a free press. We want law enforcement officers who will enforce the law, and not join the mob in breaking the law.

To hell with social equality and all the fools who talk or think about it. There is no such thing as social equality within the white race among one another, and there never will be. There are hundreds of good white people in Warren County who will not receive the committee who waited on the sheriff in their homes on terms of social equality.

We think the Negro woman is good enough for us, and we wish all white men agreed to this precept and practised the principle.

Those who broke up the Negro meeting in Warrenton January 1, 1930, are suffering from a brainstorm of ignorance and have disgraced the town. We are proud we are Negroes and no white man is in our way. All we want is to be let alone, and given a man's chance.

COLOR STAND IS REPUDIATED BY COMMISSION

OAKLAND, Cal., Feb. 7.—(ANP)—In a letter written to Major W. H. Loving, who spent many years in the Philippine islands as a bandmaster, Resident commissioner from the Philippines Pedro Gue-vara, repudiates the attitude and sentiment of a fellow countryman who recently wrote an article that was published in a Manila paper, berating and ridiculing American Negroes.

The writer of the article was one Jose A. De Jesus, who claimed to be an employe in the office of Resident Commissioner Osias, but he was not found there and it was said that he only worked in that office now and then. However, he described the Negro as "a people of the lowest karat in the whole world," said that he did not blame white people for hating them, and that Filipinos ought to hate and abhor Negroes because of their faces, color, hair, smell and manner of speaking, dressing and behaving. He asserted that the Filipino as a rule can have almost same privileges as a white man, but that in order to do so, he must leave the Negro alone.

Commissioner Gue Vara's letter of repudiation, follows: "It is needless for me to say that I hate racial prejudice. I believe, as you know, and the only standard by which I measure a person is his ability and intellectual preparation. Furthermore, I wish to say that I sincerely believe that one of the world follies is the so-called racial prejudice, and after we have gone, whether we are black, white brown or yellow, we merely return to ashes in which state color is immaterial.

"Discussing now your question, I wish to say that I have the highest regard for the Negro race, and I heartily subscribe to the state-

ment made by Representative Huddleston of Alabama in the speech delivered in the floor of the House of Representatives on December 18, 1929, in which he asserted the following:

"The people of Haiti are a black race. I know the race. I have associated with Negroes on terms of intimacy and affection from my earliest childhood. As a people they have their faults, and also many splendid qualities, and let me say to you that among their qualities are some which white men might well envy them. I love them as a people and God knows I would like to serve them.

"I believe that they are good people and able to accomplish everything which may be accomplished by any other race.

"It is really unhappy that one of my people should ever have raised this question. However, I am firmly convinced that he did not express in that confidential letter which was never intended for publication, his sentiment toward your race, but merely his impression of conditions in the United States. Yet, I wish to offer my apologies to you and to your people, hoping that the matter will be forgotten and considered as closed."

Herald
Denison, Tex.
FEB 19 1930

CALIFORNIA'S RACE PROBLEM.

We in the South are often pitied because we have the vexing race question with us—which is really being handled very smoothly—but we have nothing to compare with California in the way of trouble. While we have one colored race which has lived among us three hundred years and understands us, California has a half-dozen Oriental and Latin peoples, hating the whites and each other. The negro and white man can solve their difficulties and live in peace and harmony, if let alone by agitators, and no section of the country is as free of racial animosity today as the South. The colored man is not a "national" except as an American. His ancestral home in Africa is no more his country than Europe is the white man's. That makes the matter easier to deal with. The Orientals in California are race-conscious and proud of their national origins. And they have strong nations to back them up in this pride.

In addition to the trouble between the white and Filipinos, a new war and boycott has broken out between the Filipinos and Japanese. The islanders won't trade with the Jap merchants and they in turn won't employ the brown boys in their business. A Chinese recently killed a Mexican and that has opened a feud between the Celestials and the sons of Mexico. A Mexican taunted a Filipino about his trouble with the whites and that has renewed the strife between the Mexicans and islanders, with the Japanese fighting the Mexicans and all on the Chinese. If you can untangle this mess you can do more than we can, or the state officials of California.

It all goes to prove that Uncle Sam has been too loose with his immigration laws and now has national indigestion. The melting pot has not melted. Those internationalists who berate the United States for enacting Oriental exclusion laws should be shipped to the Orient where they can live happily among the people they profess to love so well. In the meantime, these laws must be strengthened and given teeth.

It also proves that California, with all its sunshine and golden fruit and promises, is not such a pleasant place to live. We'll take our chance in the South among the negroes who speak our language and grew up among us, rather than among the blacks and tans of the polyglot boarding-house on the Pacific coast.

PRESIDENT HOOVER'S FIRST YEAR

Next Tuesday will be March 4th. It will be the first anniversary of President Hoover's administration. If the only way to safely judge the future is by reviewing the past, then the next three years of his sojourn in the White House will indeed be miserable ones for the great bulk of American citizens.

While no man in this day and time can be expected to perform miracles, it certainly is reasonable to expect the President of the United States, with a majority in both House and Senate, to accomplish something worthwhile for the rank and file of the people.

The great middle group of Americans can find no worth while accomplishment of President Hoover during his first year to point to with pride. Coming in as a great engineer, an organizer of unusual ability, a man without intriguing political alliance, at least a fairly progressive administration was expected. Instead of this, he has given the nation one of the most reactionary, selfish and leaderless first years in our recent history.

Farm relief, prohibition, better relations in the West Indies and Central and South America, re-organization of various governmental departments, etc., are no better and in some cases are worst than under Coolidge.

The marines are still in Haiti. It is true that the President has sent a commission to the islands to study how they can be withdrawn, but this action was taken only three weeks ago and then only after a bloody uprising.

The Virgin Islanders are still being ruled by a ruthless despot. No bills have as yet been passed by Congress to improve their economic conditions. While the American prohibition fanatics were quick to rule out the islanders' chief industry, the making of bay rum, they have failed to become interested in substituting an industry to take its place. The cyclone of three years ago destroyed the big dock and coal pier on the islands. No funds have as yet been available to restore this important industrial unit. The natives are just left to drift, entirely forgotten by the "Big Man" in the White House.

With the death of the Minister to Liberia, Mr. Francis, that post has been permitted to continue vacant, although there are many men well qualified to fill it.

Civil Service discrimination continues. Negroes in all government departments are benig denied daily promotions that they are rightfully entitled to. In fact there now seems to be an unwritten law in the government service that no Negro shall be promoted to a position higher than he now occupies and when the present occupants die or are retired, no Negro is even then promoted to succeed them. The Christian Quaker acquiesced in this policy of restriction we believe gleefully.

In the national arena, the Negro just does not exist in the Hoover scheme of things. The south broke its tradition and voted for Mr. Hoover so, evidently, his high cabinet has decreed that in things politic, the south must be appeased and not the Negro.

There are now more than 4,000,000 men out of work in this country. Unemployed mobs have recently marched on the city halls of Philadelphia, Pa.; Cleveland, Ohio; Detroit, Michigan; and Chicago, Illinois.

Business continues in a depressed state throughout the country. More banks failed in the first nine months of last year than failed in the entire year of 1928. Business failures likewise have been exceptionally large.

The calling to Washington this winter of big industrialists, and the subsequent ballahoo about how much construction they would begin, has not as yet turned out to be anything real. Bank credits, despite the large sums they have deposited, have not as yet been made available for construction loans. The money market continues tight for the middleman. The prosperity Mr. Hoover and associates talk about, is confined to a few monopolistic corporations whose hands are thrust deep into the pockets of the tax payers by various governmental grants. We are witnessing the spectacle of adding to our millionaire class and at the same time multiplying our poor.

No president since Johnson has given us such a fruitless first year as has President Hoover. What the next three years will bring, we dare not predict.

THERE IS ONE SOUTHERN MAYOR who believes that he is the mayor of all the people in his town and not of one race alone. This phenomenon is twenty-seven years old; he is mayor of a town in Oklahoma. When he ran for office he promised a square deal to everybody, even to Negroes, and marvelous to say he was elected. The day when William Pickens, a field agent for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, reached his city to make an address the mayor actually met him at the station and took part in the meeting. He even went so far as to address his Negro audience as "ladies and gentlemen." He declared, in the presence of some white friends and relatives, that he belonged to the new order in the South and that he regarded colored folk as a part of the people of the community having the same rights as all others. As Mr. Pickens tells the story in the *Crisis*, the mayor publicly joined the association and subscribed for the *Crisis*. More than that, he told the audience that when an excited elderly white lady had stormed into his office exclaiming "What are you going to do about it? What *are* you going to do about it—the niggers—the niggers are taking our section of the town?" he quietly remarked: "Madam, I am not going to do anything about it. There is law in the land, and they are not violating it. They've a right to do what they are doing." This is, fortunately, one of the many signs that the new generation of whites in the South is not going to be bound by the cant and the prejudices of its seniors.

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Race Problem - 1930

United States

HERALD

FEB 13 1930

Negro Population of Harlem, With but Little Cash to Spend, Makes Most of Its Amusements

Poolrooms Are Mecca for Policy Players; Speakeasies Not Disguised; 'Rent Parties' Professionalized; Cheap Food, 'Hot Stuff' Clothes Prevail

This is the fourth of a series of articles attempting to give a true picture of Harlem as it is today.

By Beverly Smith

The Negro inhabitants of Harlem probably spend more time, money and energy in amusements than those of any poor section of the greater city. Many of them know better how to have a good time on little money than white persons.

In saying this I am not thinking of the ten or twelve large night clubs, run chiefly for and by white persons, with Negro entertainers, which have been so extensively publicized downtown, but rather of the average man or woman, unemployed or holding a job precariously against white competition and discrimination, and wondering where tomorrow's meal and next week's rent is coming from. Nor am I considering here the large mass of middle and upper class Negroes, living, no doubt, on very small incomes, but well established, and amusing themselves generally much as the white folks do.

The reasons for this passion for amusement among the migrant, the semi-employed, the ill-established Negroes in Harlem, are manifold and sometimes obscure. The prevailing white view is that the Negro is naturally a joyful and happy-go-lucky fellow, happier with a quarter in his pocket than a white man could be with a million dollars in the bank.

"Want two bits? Naw, suh, I got two bits." And the fact is that the Negro, whether through inherent racial genius or environmental necessity and as a means of psychological escape, has learned to enjoy himself under difficulties which would drive a white man to despair. But this is only part of the story.

Here, again, the economic factor is most important. The Negro in New York, squeezed between the walls of high relative rents and scarce, ill-paid employment, must find some enjoyment outlet. Why, it may be asked, is this not true also of the poor immigrant white groups from Europe? Partly because the American Negro is, for better or for worse, an American. He believes that man is not made entirely for labor, but partly to enjoy himself in this world. He has experienced in the South a physical slavery, but not a steady, grinding economic slavery such as was found in the lowest orders of Europe. American slavery at its worst gave seasonal periods for leisure and for fun. The Negro in the South today, whatever his economic and social handicaps, has time to enjoy himself occasionally.

He comes to New York from the South as to a paradise. The exceptional man finds here a true haven of inspiration and opportunity in the leadership of the Negro intellectual and artistic group. But the ordinary man comes to disillusionment and poverty, and he must find a way to temper it. Thousands of Negroes, because of the great vogue of Negro dancers, singers and actors in recent years, have come to New York, hankering to go on the stage, to go into the night clubs. Most of them necessarily are persons with limited ability, but with the artistic need of self-expression which, denied other outlets, runs into the night life of the hundreds of dingy little all-night Negro cabarets about which the white New Yorker knows nothing. These people find, too, a little group of unscrupulous white entrepreneurs, eager to exploit any proclivities toward liquor, drugs, superstition and gambling.

How, then, does this vast under half of Harlem enjoy itself? Unnumbered thousands of the men, unemployed or in their leisure from intermittent work, crowd the poolrooms. Here you will find more good pool players than in all the rest of the city put together. Here you will find Negroes with frayed clothes on their backs and even more frayed remnants of cigars in the corners of their mouths, playing on bumpy green felt a game of pool that would give pause to some of the professional champions.

But pool itself is less than half the poolroom's attraction. It is a place for conversation, resembling the French cafe, where the Negro can exercise his engaging and gracious social gift. It is a place of refuge from the filthy and crowded tenements in which most of these men must live. It is a splendid place for discussing and playing the policy numbers.

The policy number game is a straight lottery, based on certain digits of the daily Clearing House figures, played perhaps by more than half of the Negroes in Harlem. The odds, mathematically, are 1,000 to 540 against the player. It is against the law, but almost impossible to suppress. The average Negro living on edge of insolvency, plays from 10 cents to $1 on it daily and lives in hope. Just so, the economically depressed masses in London, Madrid and Rome play the races or the state lotteries.

The policy number games are largely controlled at the top by whites and they draw off by the law of averages an enormous amount of the Negro's cash. In return they give him excitement in a gray world. The policy games are more meager in returns than some other amusements, but perhaps more hostile to the central problem of making a comfortable living.

Scattered throughout Harlem are speakeasies, as in the rest of the city. There are 200 or so open along the streets, and as many more hidden away in the tenements. Ninety per cent of them are owned and controlled by three syndicates of white southern Europeans, who have parceled the Negro section off into jealously maintained territories.

But there are differences. Speakeasies downtown are usually carefully camouflaged. In Harlem they can be spotted a hundred yards off. The general rule is that any place describing itself as a "cafe" or "grill room," if you cannot see into it, is a speakeasy. In accord with the general bootleggers' agreement, straight bar prices are usually maintained at 50 cents for whisky and gin and 25 cents for beer But it is recognized that with the general poverty of the Negro population the speakeasies could not survive with such prices. Consequently "shorties"—half-pint bottles of inferior gin—are sold over the counter at 25 cents to 50 cents a bottle. The sale of these is greater than for straight bar drinks.

Generally speaking, however, according to this reporter's observation, the Negro is not a drunkard by tendency He has an occasional spree, but is less prone to prolonged debauch and soddenness than his Nordic brother. From casual observation it would seem that there are more intoxicated persons in Harlem on Saturday nights and fewer on week-day nights, than in similar white neighborhoods.

Before leaving the question of liquor it must be noted that home distilling in Harlem, from corn sugar and cornmeal mashes, seems extraordinarily high, chiefly, probably, because of the economic factor Home-made liquor is cheap. In amount it probably exceeds by far what is sold in the speakeasies. Its quality is no great help to the serious health problem of the community.

"Rent Parties" Have Vogue

The ordinary Negro, of course, cannot afford to go to the advertised Harlem night clubs, with ginger ale at $1 a bottle and other prices in proportion. He has developed, in devious ways, cabarets of his own.

Many of them started as "rent parties." The "rent party" is properly an event sponsored by the occupants of a flat when the rent is due and money lacking. All their friends come in, pay 25 cents apiece admission, dance, eat and drink, pay as much as they can spare for the food and potables, and thus pay the rent of the hosts.

Many legitimate rent parties, some quite respectable, are still held in Harlem. Many others, however, proved so popular and profitable that the hosts gave up other business, if any, and devoted themselves to holding rent parties every night. These have developed into dingy, intimate cabarets, little known to the white people, where Negroes with only a dollar or so to spend for the evening find their night life. They usually advertise by cards passed out discreetly at street corners. Some of these cards, with names and addresses changed or omitted read:

"If you're looking for a good time
don't look no more,
Just ring my bell and I'll answer
door.
Southern Barbecue
Given by Charley Johnson and Joe
Hotboy, and How hot!
Monday Eve'g, Feb. ———, at ———.

"Shake it in the morning. Shake it at night. But the best time to shake it is right at Midnight and Thereafter, at a Social Matinee Party, given by ——— and ———, at ———. Music too tight. Refreshments just right. Leave your troubles and join the bunch. Hey! Hey!"

Some of these "socials" are orderly cabarets, with liquor and dancing, of course, much as they are in similar parties of white persons. Some are definite hunting grounds for men eager to pick up ignorant Negro women from the country. The cards quoted above were gathered by a Negro social worker dealing with country girls who had gotten into trouble in court through going to such parties. The appeal is powerful to a lonely newcomer. Here is a chance to "go to a regular party and meet people socially." It is no wonder that most of them go.

A good deal has been said against the fashionable night clubs catering to whites in Harlem. In justice to them it must be added that they give employment to perhaps 2,000 Negroes, and give many Negroes of genuine talent a proving ground and a first step up toward the big money of Broadway. They have also helped to stimulate the interest of the white race generally in one of the artistic talents of the Negro.

In the theaters Harlem has an average allotment of low-priced "movie" houses and several "movie" theaters carrying vaudeville entertainment. These latter are the most popular. Sometimes the Negroes shout and join in the entertainment. This winter, according to one of the managers, the audiences seem unusually quiet. It is partly the depression of the unemployment, they say, partly that of the cold weather. Harlem is a much happier place in summer than in winter, when folk from the South are pinched by cold. But there are more deeply melancholy Negroes on the streets of Harlem this winter than ever before.

But still the audiences cut loose occasionally. The other night at the Alhambra, when "Pigmeat" Markham, the Negro comedian, strutted his act, a woman called: "Oh, look! Just look at old sweet Hot Papa Pigmeat!" and the others took up the refrain.

The question arises, when all these amusements are mentioned, how is the Negro in Harlem able to exist at all? For one thing, he is able to eat very cheaply. Countless delicatessen shops advertise "Hot pigs' feet and chitterlings, 10 cents." That makes a substantial meal. Pigs' feet are well known. Chitterlings, so popular in Harlem, are the fine, rather sweet fat scraped from pig intestines and cooked with fried chicken gravy, whiteside pork, or sowbelly.

Cheap Food Mars Health

There are many stores in Harlem called "Pork Market," or "Pork House" where nothing but white-side pork, spiced and smoked, cheap hams and shoulders and sausages are sold. These thrive partly on the cheapness of pork, partly on the fondness for pigmeat brought by migrants from the South. Many of the restaurants sell old meat and cast-off bakery bread at very low prices. Fried fish and potatoes, in large helpings, are sold at 15 cents an order. Many meat markets sell bloated catfish at 15 cents a pound. Clerks say they were hook-caught in Virginia rivers. Most of the meat markets are managed by Negroes and whites working together, but the majority are owned by white men.

This cheap food contributes to the general ill-health of the Negroes. Vegetables are cheap compared with prices in white neighborhoods, but expensive compared to inferior fish and pork. Trenchmouth is prevalent.

Thousands of men in Harlem eat such food and sleep on thin pallets in crowded tenements or on floors in upper hallways. White persons are puzzled to know how they clothe themselves. Much of the clothing is "hot stuff," so-called, bought at prices of from $5 to $12 a suit. There are large under-cover establishments in Harlem which sell "hot stuff," or goods which the vendors must sell cheap under the pretense that it has been stolen and must be disposed of at any price. Most of this is ordinary bankrupt-sale outlet material, but the complexities of bankruptcy economics is too difficult for the ignorant customer to grasp, and so the astute vendor resorts to the simple and understandable "hot stuff" fiction.

N.Y. HERALD

FEB 11 1930

Harlem—The Negro City

Score of Churches, Led by Pastors of Intelligence and Wide Training, Prove Great Factor in Spiritual and Social Life of Colony

This is the second of a series of articles giving a picture of life in Harlem.

By Beverly Smith

The Negro churches in Harlem today are striking an opposition and antagonism new in Negro history. A large group of the younger men, college men, authors, doctors, intellectuals, denounce the church as a foe to racial progress.

They say that the pittances of the poor go into extravagantly expensive church buildings; that the ministers' energies are divided between exhorting their parishioners to help pay off the church debt, raking over the dry bones of dead theological controversy, and lulling the Negroes into indifference to their miserable economic situation by promises of eternal happiness to come. They say, these younger men, that the energy, time and money which Negroes spend in their churches should be devoted to a constructive effort to meet the problems of this world.

Others Praise Churchmen

On the other side the view is that the Negro's very real and deep religious emotion is the most precious part of his heritage; that the Negro ministers constitute the most enlightened and devoted single group; and that they are true leaders who will bring the Negro out of the economic and social wilderness in which, after sixty-seven years of freedom and labored progress, he still wanders.

A middle and temperate view is that of W. E. B. Du Bois, the intellectual leader and fighting champion of the Negro's rights. Harlem is perhaps "overchurched," he says. Too much money has gone into handsome, architecturally uneconomic church buildings. But the church among Harlem Negroes is at the same time a great, established institution, a place not only for worship, but for amusement, self-help, social uplift and, in a measure, for education. There is no other agency at the present time which could replace it. The Negro today, as Dr. Du Bois says, is "in no position to scatter philanthropy" or to establish great social and scientific organizations for the improvement of his own race. The church is here, it is functioning, it is doing real good, it is immensely significant in Harlem life today, whatever changes the future may bring.

Forgets His Oppression

In slavery days the church was the greatest emotional refuge for the Negro. There he was able to forget his oppression, his hopelessness in this world, in a vision of happiness to come.

"Yes, Mourner, you shall be free
When the good Lawd sets you free."

In the joy of this spiritual escape was born the Negro exuberance of "shoutin'," the almost hysterical physical manifestations of Negro worship so well known, an abandon similar to the abandon of Negro laughter, song and dance, which also are ways of escape. How far these characteristics are matters of racial inheritance, how far environmental developments, are in dispute among philosophers and psychologists. But the facts are there. And one of these is that religion is today a much deeper part of the life of the black man than of that of the white man.

The rural Negro, coming to Harlem from the South, finds in the church something familiar, something like "back home." Lost and bewildered, the church is a place where he can find friends and companionship. The sermons and the hymns strike old chords. Seventy-five per cent of the Negroes in Harlem have migrated here—50 per cent from the South and 25 per cent from the West Indies—and they want and get the religions they used to have at home. (The problem of the West Indian Negro is in some ways strikingly different and will be dealt with later. This emphasis on the "ol' fashioned 'ligion" is at once a strength and a weakness in the Negro churches.

Arouses Inter-Church Rivalry

On the one hand, it gives the Negro pastors a powerful hold on and appeal to their parishioners. On the other hand, it tends to perpetuate among Negroes, the younger men say, what might be called a Sklaven-moral—a forgetfulness of present miseries in the rosy hope of the gold-paved streets of Kingdom Come. Also, it undoubtedly tends to intensify interchurch and interdenominational rivalry.

About fifty-five churches in Harlem have their own buildings, while about seventy-five so-called "churches" are small groups or sects meeting in storefronts or residences.

Some of the leading Negro churches are:

The Abyssinian Baptist Church, 132 West 138th Street, the largest church in Harlem, with a contributing membership of more than 8,000. Pastor, A. Clayton Powell.

Mother African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, 149 West 136th Street. Pastor, J. W. Brown.

St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal Church, 212 West 134th Street. Pastor, H. C. Bishop.

Grace Congregational Church, Eighth Avenue and 139th Street. Pastor, A. C. Garner.

Second Harlem Adventist Church, 108 West 128th Street. Pastor, M. C. Strachan.

Mount Olivet Baptist Church, Lenox Avenue and 120th Street. Pastor W. P. Hayes. (This church occupies a building that was first a Jewish synagogue, then a Seventh Day Adventist temple and now a Baptist church, illustrating the changing situation.)

St. Paul's Baptist Church, Seventh Avenue and 132d Street. Pastor, H. A. Booker.

Salem Methodist Episcopal Church, Seventh Avenue and 129th Street. Pastor, F. A. Cullen. (Here it may be noted, bearing on the theory that there is an unbridgable gap between the clergy and the young intellectuals, that Dr. Cullen is the father of Countee Cullen, the poet.)

St. James's Presbyterian Church, Edgecombe Avenue and 140th Street. Pastor, William Lloyd Imes.

Metropolitan Baptist Church, Seventh Avenue and 129th Street. Pastor, W. W. Brown.

Mount Calvary M. E. Church, Edgecombe Avenue and 140th Street. Pastor, E. W. Rakestraw.

The Fourth Moravian Church, 124 West 136th Street. Pastor, Charles D. Martin.

Union Baptist Church, 145th Street near Eighth Avenue. Pastor, G. H. Sims.

St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church, 550 St. Nicholas Avenue. Pastor, J. W. Robinson.

Cognizant of Problems

This list is tentative, not exclusive or comprehensive. The churches are listed in random order and not according to any theory of relative importance. The ministers of most of these churches are intelligent men, fully cognizant of the Negro's problems and working in every way that they can to solve them. But they are handicapped, many of them, by their own economic problem. Here are some of the debts of these churches:

Mt. Calvary	$118,000
St. Mark's	275,000
Mt. Olivet	275,000
St. Paul's	61,000
Mother A. M. E. Zion	165,000
Salem M. E.	78,000
Union Baptist	125,000
Total	$1,097,000

That is a punishing load for poor congregations to carry. As one young church student said: "Many of these parsons have to take up three or four collections during one service. They have to exhort for three-quarters of an hour, after the sermon, for contributions, thus obliterating the moral lesson of the sermon. They want to do it, but they have to [illegible]

Four of the churches mentioned, Abyssinian Baptist, Mother A. M. E. Zion, St. Phillip's Episcopal, St. Mark's, have opened community houses. Most of them have large Sunday schools, Sunday afternoon classes, Sunday afternoon suppers and socials and employment agencies.

Personal Magnetism

The white reporter, with religious views, interviewing preachers, cannot help but be impressed with the strong personality of most of them. They are men of extraordinary personality, of persuasive eloquence. They have power that, for better or worse, transcends logic.

The Catholic, Protestant Episcopal and Moravian Churches are attended chiefly by West Indians, because these were their denominations under Latin or English rule in the islands. The overwhelming majority of American Negroes are Methodist or Baptist. As A. Clayton Powell, one of the finest of the Harlem ministers, says, quoting Booker T. Washington: "When you meet an American Negro who's not a Methodist or a Baptist, some white man's been tampering with his religion."

Of the seventy-five smaller "churches" existing precariously in homes and stores, some are pastored by primitive but sincere cotton-field preachers, some by astute and grasping charlatans praying on the ignorant and superstitious, some by religious fanatics with new and outlandish creeds.

The number of superstitious cults, some of them verging on the voodoo, is disproportionately high, but it is being cut down, intelligent ministers say, by a gradual process of education. Most of these cults are characterized by high-sounding names and fraudulent management. Many are financed and engineered by unscrupulous white people.

Bona fide Mahometan missionaries operate in Harlem, and make some converts, but the number is relatively small. Several bogus Hindu religions, like some of the quack "Hindu" medicines, have a fleeting appeal to Harlemites, who usually withdraw after being fleeced.

Some of the smaller groups have very fine names. Here are a few noted on the signboard of a single house: Temple of Luxor; Royal Fraternity Association; Knights of the Rose and Cross; Church of Soul Scientists. Some of the more Heterodox Holy Rollers describe themselves as Sons of God, Sons of Christ, Sons of Jehovah and Sanctified Sons of the Holy Ghost.

Many Fraternal Orders

Next to the churches the most powerful Negro social organization is the group of fraternal orders. According to J. Dalmus Steele, the giant Negro orator, who, as he says himself, "belong to most of them," the more important in Harlem, with approximate membership, are as follows:

Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World.	
Manhattan Lodge No. 45	1,500
Manhattan Temple (Women)	2,500
Mighty Monarch Lodge No. 45	3,000
Invincible Lodge (Women)	2,500
Imperial Lodge	2,200
Eureka Temple (Women)	1,800
Total	13,500
Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons, Prince Hall Masons, about	1,500
Other branches of Negro Masons, in the aggregate, about	2,000
Negro Odd Fellows, in several lodges, about	6,000
Negro Knights of Pythias (two divisions, one "Of North America, South America, Europe, Asia and Africa," and the other of "The Eastern and Western Hemispheres." Together about	3,000

There are also such organizations as the St. Luke's Society, but these combine insurance features. The total membership in the straight fraternal orders is about 25,000, with considerable overlapping, cutting the number of individuals down to about 10,000.

Nevertheless, it is a very powerful group, capable of doing enormous social good. But, complain the younger intellectuals, the fraternal orders actually do almost nothing. They spend their money, these people say, on clubhouses, gaudy regalia (purchased from white people), national conventions and parades.

Called Detriment to Negro

They actually retard the Negro, it is charged, by taking his time in the evenings, when he should be learning a profession or a skilled trade; the conventions keep him from his work and make him lose his job; the dues and regalia charges exhaust his slender savings.

At the same time, in these organizations, the Negro is able to achieve self-expression, to orate, to play politics, to employ his splendid social gifts and to have a whale of a good time. They are also, like the church, a release and a refuge.

"The reason these fraternal meetings last so long at night," said one Negro fraternal leader, "is that all week the colored man, in his job under a white man, has had little things that make him mad and that he can't talk out loud about. These things pile up inside of him. And when he gets on the fraternity floor among his own folks at the meeting, that all just biles out of him in laying down the law and asserting his rights to his own brethren. It's his turn to tell other folks what they get off. And how he does 'em."

Race Problem – 1930
United States.

Why so Much About Harlem?

By KELLY MILLER

THAT bedarkened rectangular slice of New York City known as Harlem is the product of the twentieth century. Until now the New York Negro made little impression on public attention, except the contingent that lived in Brooklyn. Those few on the west side of the East River were so distributed and divided that one could not find enough of them in any one place to sustain any worthwhile social life. We heard much of the Negroes of Washington, Philadelphia Boston and Cleveland, but never a word about New York.

Harlem is purely an immigrant community. The original New Yorker has little part and parcel in it. Indeed, the Brooklyn colony is as remote in temper and tempo from its Harlem counterpart as if a hundred miles separated them. Leaving out Brooklyn and other boroughs which constitute no part of its social or spiritual life, Harlem proper had fewer Negroes in 1920 than Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago or Baltimore. And yet we hear little of the Negroes of these great cities as compared with the fame of Harlem, which has filled the whole world. Upon what meat has this little group of Negroes fed that it has grown so great?

The new Negro is a Harlem product. He has been drawn there from all the ends of the land and from other lands and has evolved a soul peculiar to himself. No publisher would dream of risking the issuance of a book descriptive of the Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia or Chicago Negro. But scores of volumes are rolled from the press descriptive of this new



— Kelly Miller —

"Nigger Heaven." The public seems never to tire at the recounting of his inimitable antics.

It is here for the first time that the Negro finds himself exposed to a friendly environment which encourages him to speak out and express himself without restraint or intimidation. Boston was too Puritanical and crushed out all outpourings of native Negro genius with its austerity and gloom. Washington threw him back on the poverty of his own cultural resources without contact or association with white culture. Philadelphia became self-satisfied with being a carbon copy of the old Quaker aristocracy. Baltimore was absorbed in the old time domesticities, while Chicago was too busy packing pork.

The Harlem Negro is not new at all. He is the same old Negro exposed to a new environment. He comes from the various sections of the country and from the West Indies and brings with him the faculties and foibles of the folk from which he springs. He finds in Harlem just the environment to develop his particular and peculiar genius.

New York is the fun center of the nation. The funmakers are neither natives nor Anglo-Saxons with their Puritanical notions and intolerant race prejudice. They are Irish, Jewish, Russian, Polish, South European. To him the Negro is a strange human thing, with inimitable voice, wit, humor and grimace. He sings a new song never heard before. He dances as none else can dance. He laughs and shouts in such wise that none can equal. His mode and tempo are all his own. He adds to the repertoire of song the jazz, the jubilee and the blues.

Go to, they say, here is a mind of cultural wealth, which if properly exploited, will bring fame to the performers and fortune to the promoters. So they take the street loafers from Atlanta, Birmingham and Richmond, give training and discipline to their native endowments and send them back as actors, mimics and musicians to fill the fashionable playhouse and concert halls of the very cities where they might have lived and died mute and inglorious.

Harlem originates nothing, but gives development to talent gathered from far and near. The new Negro is what you might call a laughing, dancing, singing fool, if we might borrow the phrase from Al Jolson's most famous role. He becomes ridiculous only when he begins to take himself too seriously. His excellence lies in his unconsciousness of it. When he undertakes consciously to portray himself, he usually makes a fiasco or a fizzle.

His novels, poems and short stories portraying himself in conscious terms are usually grotesque and bizzare. The magazines have opened wide their pages to Negro writers who would burlesque their race. The publishers, mainly of the tribe of Judah, have welcomed Negro authorship after the Harlem type. One rarely finds in such writings any deep analysis or profound thought of serious reflections on basic human relationship, but mainly frith and froth, and froth and frith.

The typical Harlem Negro feels himself free from all restraints—religious, economic, political, social and even ethical. The atheist, the agnostic, the radical, the communist, the bolshevist abound.

But after all, one does not find in Harlem economic independence, industrial self-sufficiency, established social circles, a body of high-minded men and women of sustained positions above the level of domestic and personal service, the definite devotion to stated social ideals, upon which the permanence and stability of human order depend.

Columbia, S. C. State
Saturday, April 5, 1930

A Negro Cry for Leadership.

The following lament of the Chicago Defender, conspicuously able Negro journal, is pathetic when viewed from one standpoint, but from another it reveals, we think, an entirely unjustified impatience as well as a lack of true perspective:

Hasn't the race a single leader whom it can follow? Haven't we, sixty-five years out of bondage, one person capable of directing us to that position where we can take our place among the races of the world? Must we go on and on forever floundering among the derelicts in the race for a foothold under the sun?

We are worried. Frankly, the situation is dark. It seems that now we are farther from being able to follow a leader than we were in the days when we were unable to think coherently as a race. We are still dubious about those who would help us. We are first to pull down those of the race who manage to get in a position to give attention to the tribulations of others. We cannot lead ourselves and we refuse to allow others to lead us.

Yet we must have a leader—some one upon whom we can depend—if we are to make progress. We must have some one to speak for us, some one who can outline the paths we are to follow, some one to guide us as we march along the way. Every race, every group that has progressed, has had its leaders. There was Moses, who led the children of Israel; Italy has had its Caesars and its Mussolinis; France her Napoleon; Germany her Bismarck; India her Gandhi; England has had Cromwells, Gladstones and Disraelis. Even young America has shown us leaders in George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

But whom have we? Who is there that we can or will follow—whose advice we will accept? Whither are we headed—how can we achieve when we ourselves recognize that we are leaderless, yet will not select one? Is it not about time we were getting together?"

To what objective, to what destination does The Defender seek to be led? It is not content, seemingly, with the progress made in "65 years from bondage," yet 65 years is as but a week in the life of a race and the Negro's progress in that period in the United States—but nowhere else—has been unequaled by any other people. Does The Defender concede that this progress is due to the circumstance of the Negro being in the white man's country, and being carried along in the stream of development and progress made to flow by the force of the white man's genius and institutions?

The Defender should have had a

representative from Chicago present at the meeting in Columbia last week of the Negro state teachers. There is a somewhat general idea that Negroes in such places as Chicago, New York and Philadelphia have better opportunities for advancement and "race expression" than in the South, but we doubt whether in any one of those cities there could have been a gathering more encouraging to the friends of that race than was this meeting of the Negro Teachers' association in the capital city of South Carolina. And we are quite positive that the evidences of mental, moral and material progress cannot be furnished in the Negro Republic, where they have been in control of the government just twice as long as the Negroes of the United States have been out of bondage.

Had a representative of The Defender been in New York this week he would have witnessed the arrival there of a party of eight members of the Ubangi tribe of Negroes from French Africa. They had come or been brought for exhibition purposes, the young women being the recognized beauties of the Ubangis. As explained by The Times "their beauty marks consist of wooden disks inserted in their lips in childhood and gradually increased in size until they are eight or ten inches, giving a duck-bill effect which is greatly prized among the younger set." How many centuries is the Negro of the United States ahead of the Negro of Africa?

What better leadership could the race here have than that which The Defender could furnish? What better counsel than to look facts in the face; to appreciate the blessing of a civilization that has come to it through the momentary tragedy of the slave ship and a period of bondage in the white man's country; to be industrious and to strive for betterment and not to waste time in envy or to dream of vain and unnatural things?

HOOVER COULD NOT WELL DODGE THIS ONE



Nation-wide Prize Winners in the National Wood Utilization Contest pose with President Hoover, who suggested the plan when he was Secretary of Commerce. This is one of the first photos for which President Hoover has posed for a mixed delegation. To date he has firmly refused to pose with any of the all-colored delegations which visited the White House.

NOT TO BE INVESTIGATED

President Hoovers' law enforcement commission has finally made public a brief statement detailing its work for the last seven months. It finds, after expending $70,000 of the appropriated $250,000, that the law is inadequately enforced in the United States. It has investigated in these seven months, police, prosecution, courts, penal institutions, probation and parole, prohibition, cost of crime, causes of crime, juvenile delinquency, criminal justice and the foreign born, abuses in enforcement, statistics, etc.

Strangely enough the Negro is not mentioned and nothing is said about the failure to enforce the 14th and 15th amendments to the constitution, although considerable space is devoted to the 18th amendment. Certainly there is no greater crime sanctioned by the United States government and Congress than the disfranchisement of practically one-tenth of the population of the country, and yet it isn't even mentioned. Nor is any thing said about peonage. There appears to be considerable solicitude for the foreign born and a desire to see them accorded justice in the courts but nothing about justice for twelve millions of native born citizens whose misfortune seems to be that they are Negroes or persons of Negroid extraction.

Let us hope that Mr. Hoover's commission will spend the rest of the money appropriated for its work in investigating the manner in which millions of citizens are kept from the polls in primaries and general elections, and intimidated by prejudiced courts and police. Right at the present time it looks as if this phase of the criminal situation is to be ignored. The failure to give the Negro just treatment has contributed more than anything else to the wave of lawlessness that now envelopes the land and gives grave concern to those who have the true welfare of the country at heart.

Asterisks at $25,000 Each

An Asheville (N.C.) white policeman, in a suit against the publishers of the city directory says he has been damaged to the extent of $25,000.

Mr. Lon Powers, white, plaintiff, claims that the city directory publishes his name with an asterisk in front of it, which is the symbol employed to denote citizens of the Negro race.

At twenty-five dollars a week, Lon the cop, will hardly earn $25,000 in twenty years. Everybody in his community knows he's white and his parents were white before him. He still has his job and all his friends.

The court will probably recognize that the claim grows out of a mere mistake, and award the policeman fifty dollars to salve his feelings.

A California Scripps-Howard newspaper is contesting a similar suit, also the result of a mistake.

An increase in the number of such law suits will mean that newspapers and directories will discontinue references to race because of the hazard. No asterisk is worth twenty-five thousand dollars or even fifty dollars.

The Baltimore city directory, which formerly designated Negroes by means of an asterisk, has already abandoned the practice.

Race Problem - 1930
United States.

A Fertile Field for Radicalism

The authorities of both nation and state seem to be rather alarmed at the gradual growth of Radicalism under the guise of the Communist Party in America. In Memphis, in Atlanta, in Chicago and New York the banner of the Third Internationale has been raised and a government investigator declares that many Negroes are joining that party. Christian Index

The Editor of this paper has no sympathy with any movement to destroy our present form of government. We would take back our old rank in the army tomorrow and march under the banner of the Stars and Stripes to preserve the government for which our grandfathers fought in the Civil war and under which our fathers served so long and honorably, but we want it understood here and now that unless the United States Government can stop lynching Negro men and women, burning them alive and continues to set supinely by while men and women are being done to death by mobs the Negro, more and more, will turn to any party that promises relief—, and if that is treason let it be treason. 8-7-30

In this country are nearly 12,000,000 native born Americans who have always been loyal to the nation. In the Revolution Negroes fought for independence, the first man giving his life for that Cause being Crispus Attucks. In the war of 1812 Negroes fought with Jackson at New Orleans and the American generals complimented them. In the Civil War 200,000 colored men offered their lives on the altar of their country and in the World War when so called Americans plotted against their government and could not be trusted in the most important places to guard the government against enemies the Negro was always trusted. In Flanders fields today our boys lie and for all anybody knows the "Unknown Soldier" sleeping beneath the wreaths of a nation is a black boy. Jackson. Tenn.

He went forth to make the world safe for democracy and now what does he see?

Since 1919 nearly 200 black men have been done to death by howling mobs and a complacent government has done nothing about it. Twice that number have been shot down by crowds of thugs and yet no white man who has killed a black man below Mason and Dixon line has paid the price with his life by the law.

In Allamo, Tenn., in Houston, Texas, in Sherman, Texas—almost any where—mobs have killed Negroes and cowardly governors, sheriffs, and prosecuting attorneys have confessed their impotence to deal with the situation and yet the Negro sees millions of dollars spent to keep a drink of Whiskey from going down a man's throat by men who talk about the sacredness of the constitution and reverence for law. The Negro is no fool and he now looks those in authority in the face and insists that the part of the constitution which guarantees him liberty and a fair and impartial trial when accused of crime is just as important as the prohibiting a man from taking some corn and making whiskey—yes more so.

Is it any wonder then that when he sees a government which is run by political parties not interested in his security that he turns more and more to any party that even seems to offer relief, whether that party be the Communist, Socialist or Workers' Party?

Again the Negro is a citizen. If there were ever any doubts about his fitness to become a citizen those doubts have been wiped out in his blood offered to defend Old Glory. They have been wiped out when the country considers that with all the handicaps he has reduced his illiteracy in 60 years from 90 per cent to a little less than 25 per cent; that he has accumulated over two billions of dollars in property and that he does not tremble to meet any test of citizenship. In education he hails from Harvard, Yale, and the best the country has. He has had a Colonel Young, a Booker Washington, and has a Dubois, an Oscar DePriest in reality and thousands of them potentially. Now what does he see?

He sees that all kinds of laws are made to keep him from exercising the right of suffrage in the sections where he most largely inhabits. He hears every where talk about "a white man's country" and sees a gang of cutthroats parading around with bed sheets and pillow slips to hide their identity trying to intimidate him. Again, the Negro is no fool, and some how he believes that a man who is good enough to draw a bayonet on an enemy to the country is also good enough to draw a cross mark on a ballot and that without question. Is it any wonder then that when any party comes to him and offers him a square deal in the matter of suffrage that he turns to investigate its claims?

The treatment recently accorded colored "Gold Star" mothers is another good way to make Radicals, Reds, Bolshevists, Communists or what not out of the thousands of men who "asked not the reason why" in 1917-18 but charged the German Army with the grim determination "to do or die." Here is a government whose very life was at stake sending young Negro men three thousand miles across the sea to become "fodder for the guns;" a government that said the way to spell Negro, after the world had been made safe for democracy was A-M-E-R-I-C-A-N; a government that threw black soldiers to the front along with their white brothers where both died and their blood mingled together in streams on the battlefields— here is that same government twelve years afterward, wantonly insulting the mothers of those dead heroes by Jim Crowing them in its policy of segregation. Twelve million Negroes believe that a white woman's son's life was no better than a black woman's son's life and that a black mother good enough to give her son to die for his country deserves the *identical* treatment a white mother deserves who gave her son. Dr. Channing Tobias was exactly right the other day when he declared that no colored mother should have gone on a Jim Crow trip. As it was only about 55 out of 458 eligibles went. The Editor salutes those dark skinned daughters of God who refused to be Jim Crowed even to visit their son's graves.

Of course there is resentment toward the government in the hearts of the Colored ex-soldiers and every one of us hears a voice from Flanders Fields entreating us:

"Take up our quarrel with the foe,
To you from fallen hand we throw the torch,
Be yours to lift it high;
If ye break faith with those who die
We shall not sleep—though poppies blow
In Flanders Field.

The Negro ex-soldier does not give a snap of his finger about the white man's myth, social equality, but he feels that if he was good enough to sail on the same ship with his white comrade, eat in the same mess hall, fight shoulder to shoulder in battle when the government was in danger that his mother is good enough to sail on the same ship with the mother of his white comrade 12 years after.

Is it any wonder that Negroes are beginning to see red where the government itself is planting the seed? Perhaps the next time Uncle Sam needs the young Negro he might say—well, yes but what do I get out of it?

Again: the hypocrisy of the section of the country that proclaims Christ the loudest, that reads its Bible and believes every bit of every line that sings Psalms and talks of Brotherhood has weakened the Negro's confidence in the ability of that section to do justice toward him. If the South were full of W. W. Alexanders, J. W. Perrys, Paul Bakers, Thomas Elsa Joneses and such like the Negro could accept the white man's ideas about God, Christ and Brotherhood but when he sees men who pray and sing and read their Bibles picking as leaders in social and civic life such men as Vardeman, Tillman, Blease, Heflin, Moody and men who cry "To Hell with the Constitution" he gets disgusted at the whole affair parading under the name Christianity, considers it an insult to the Man of Galilee and begins to look elsewhere for his interpretation of Christianity and right here is the most dangerous thing that can happen to the Negro. His faith in God and Christ and the belief that some day Christ would rule, has been his anchor. But he sees lynching, burning and all forms of deviltry practiced against him by those who pray the loudest and boast of their Fundamentalism. On the

other hand he sees great souls like Ingersoll, Darrow, Scott, Nearing, Justice Brandies, Julius Rosenwald, Eugene V. Debs and others of Liberal tendencies more nearly illustrating in their lives the Sermon on the Mount. A revolt against the so-called Christianity as practiced by the Protestant Church in America is now on in the ranks of the young Negro and there is grave danger in it. The Negro wants no "Christ of the Dixie Road" but "The Christ of Every Road, of Every Race, of Every Man." He despises any church, calling itself Christ's, that tells him he cannot take communion at its altars because his skin is black. He wants no Christ or school or creed or church that preaches brotherhood on Sunday and Jim Crows, exploits, brow beats, insults, lynches and burns him every day in the week. The Negro holds the Southern Church of all denominations responsible for this condition for he believes that if one half the preaching and money spent in trying to enforce prohibition in the South had been spent in denouncing the crime of lynching—if the white preacher and court officials had exhibited one half the energy to see that he got a square deal as they have put forth to keep the country dry his condition would have been better.

The field for Radicalism is being prepared for the American Negro and it is being prepared by the officers of government and the attitude of the white church. May they see it before it is too late.

NEW YORK TIMES

AUG 24 1930

ERRONEOUS IDEAS OF THE SOUTH

Writers From the North, It Is Held, Spread Damaging Misinformation

To the Editor of The New York Times:

Recently we have been regaled anew with appraisals of the South based upon the imposture that civilization here began with what is termed the industrial era. From the North and East, where nearly all the book and magazine publishing is done, much has issued lately with the South as the text and a palpable hoax as the interpretation. Almost invariably the article or book gets around to the cotton field picture, and a contrast is drawn, summed up with the statement that no longer is the South a cotton patch of Negroes; that a great change has taken place; that life is now evident, industry seen.

Strange to say, this all refers to the South as though the very same metamorphoses were not characteristic of the rest of this country, to say nothing of other countries beyond the seas. That indolence, ease, without stress in the ante-bellum days was as much the rule around Eastern industry as around Southern agriculture appears never once to occur to these new writers. That no writer then ever discovered, right around him, in his day what these writers now "discover" about a day they never saw seems not to penetrate the brains of the latter. That 1930 is incapable of engrafting something upon 1850, and of making it real, never dawns upon them.

The Cotton Patch Not Typical.

Now, there was never a time in the history of the South when the cotton patch was any more typical of this part of the country than various other agricultural pursuits. And there never was a time when the Negro was the representative of the South, even adopting slavery as the key institution of the South—a palpable error. And this for the reason that there never was a time in the history of the South when as many as 50 per cent of the people owned slaves or controlled Negroes. Even if all of them owned slaves, what the slaves did would not have represented the South, for they were not part of the South any more than her other chattels. They could not have been more in fable, fancy or fiction than they were in fact.

What is the truth about this modern effort to measure the South in terms of the Negro? It does not emanate from the South, but invariably from the North and East. All of this modern "Southern" folklore is news to the people of the South; it was manufactured in most instances in New York, or in the South on order from New York simply because it is salable in this day of salable bunk.

Much Harm Done.

And what is the result? Inestimable harm to the people of the South who built her civilization. We have let New York and Boston publishers order out their interpretations of Southern civilization and let it go to the world, true or false. I will state, as an example of the ill effect, that only last year a very cultured and aristocratic woman of England came to Atlanta, and after a sojourn of a few days she told an Atlanta woman that her greatest surprise was that the culture of the white people in the South was above that of the Negro. She only believed what she had read. The South is to blame for the fact that she couldn't get any other view, for the South ought to have furnished a better in books published by the South.

Still, that does not relieve the New York and Boston publishers, who are unwilling either to publish anything bona fide and spontaneously emanating from the South—unordered and unaltered by them—or to spend any money getting at the facts that are amply available in Southern libaries from original sources. All kinds of encyclopedias and reference works of supposedly national scope are issued, but if you look in them you find the South gets the "skimpiest" kind of treatment, where treated at all, and even then erroneously treated. If you lay this charge to them and say "Why didn't you put so-and-so in your book?" you are met with a commiserating smile and the rejoinder: "Oh, the people of the South must not be so sensitive. You are too thin-skinned."

This representation to the world that civilization in the South is a new thing is the greatest injury the modern age of "bunk" books is working. The people of the South ought to think too much of their own forbears to stand for it. They ought to demand of Eastern publishers that they print some genuine Southern manuscripts, from the South, or stay out of the South with their wares. If such a defense is narrow, it is not as narrow as the provocation—and narrow or not, it is just. If all the future must some day become the past, it will be no better than what is now past, and the South ought to insist upon a decent treatment of the men and women who really planted civilization in these Southern States. These men and women are just as much entitled to a truthful record as any race will ever be—since all at last go to the same dim past.

WILLIAM W. BREWTON.

Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 18, 1930.

AS OTHERS SEE IT

Fairness to the Georgia Negro

All through the cotton-raising area of Dixieland lack of representation on juries, the race prejudice of white juries and the consequent non-protection of the Negroes in their ordinary dealings with white men have, we assume, had as much or more to do with slow but continuous exodus to the North as the scattered cases of lynching. The Eagle has more than once insisted that fairness in the courts, fairness in provision for schools, fairness in the application of criminal statutes, not one of which has anything to do with "social equality", would accomplish much to keep in the cotton states the loyal low-standard-of-living labor supply which no substitute has yet been discovered. We believe now that this theory is making headway, and we are willing to accord to Georgia the lead in this application of common sense. Three cases recently before the courts indicate that judges and juries are shifting toward giving a square deal to the colored man.

A man who said he had swallowed broken glass from the inside of a beverage bottle sued the bottling company and got a verdict of $10,000 damages by stressing the fact that the company's inspectors were Negro women. The state supreme court reverses the proceedings on the ground that "the law takes no cognizance of race or color" and that the appeal to prejudice was not admissible.

The same supreme court has just decided that two death sentences imposed on white men for the murder in Oconee county of a decent old colored man and his wife must stand. The white criminal had lured the Negro man into the woods and stabbed and beaten him to death. Then they had gone back and cut the wife's throat, stealing the couple's little savings. Barring a pardon, these murderers will die for their crime. We do not believe a pardon will be forthcoming.

And in Atlanta a white man who had shot to death a young Negro college student, later pleading that he was "trying to hold" the victim because somebody had said he had insulted a white woman, was last week convicted by a jury of "voluntary manslaughter" and sentenced to from twelve to fifteen years in the penitentiary. The hackneyed plea of "insult", which may have no legal meaning at all, did not avail to protect the slayer, though a verdict of murder in the first degree would have been justified.

Slow and tentative must be the steps toward social justice in Georgia and elsewhere. Indeed there is a question in many minds whether social justice can be achieved without race equality in the jury box, and with the franchise withheld from the Negroes. But Georgia, as the Empire State of the South, seems to be on the right track and deserves the fullest encouragement. Every other cotton state would do well to follow her example.—Brooklyn Eagle.

Macon, Ga

Schuyler's Foul

Mr. George S. Schuyler writing in last week's Pittsburgh *Courier* indicted Dr. R. R. Moton chairman of the Haiti Education Commission, as an "Uncle Tom" on two counts:

1. He, with his commissioners, sang spirituals in Haiti and on board ship returning to the U.S.A.

2. He invited chauffeurs of his party to dine with him when he stopped for lunch at a Haitian hotel in Gonaives.

Mr. Schuyler's number one argument is silly. Left to pass away the long hours of a five-day ocean voyage, some passengers played bridge, others staged a beauty show, and still others sang spirituals and read Negro poetry aloud. Had Mr. Schuyler been aware that the singers also warbled "Suwanee Ribber," he might have availed himself of real ammunition.

On the question of the inferiority complex, Dr. Moton's challenge to "Jackass" Smuts in New York, his defiance of the Klan in Alabama, and his refusal to endorse Judge Parker at the request of President Hoover, are too well remembered. Nor is there any bandana frontispiece to the Moton volume, "What the Negro Thinks."

Argument two is wholly false, because the order for chauffeurs and commissioners to eat at the same table was given by Dr. Carl Colvin, white, chief of the U.S. Educational Service in Haiti. Dr. Moton was 100 miles away in his hotel, not having made the tour referred to.

Had Mr. Schuyler read carefully the article from which he made his hasty conclusion, he would not have made this gross error.

For one who, like Mr. Schuyler, can hit hard, there ought never be any necessity for striking below the belt.

Atlanta, Ga

Race Problem - 1930

United States

THE WAYS OF RACE PREJUDICE IN OUR CHRISTIAN LAND

Volume

Washington

Seven Examples of Americanism are Here Set Forth

WACO, Texas. (CNA) — Sam Knight committed suicide here in order to avoid being lynched. The lynching mob formed when a rumor was spread to the effect that Knight had beaten a white man in a quarrel over the sale of a bale of cotton. In defending himself against his antagonist he committed a crime for which lynching was the penalty, but he fioled the mob by firing a bullet through his temple, instantly killing himself.

CHARLOTTE, N.C.—Miss Lillian Reading was arrested and thrown into a cell when she refused to be jim crowed on a street car. Miss Redding entered the car but instead of sitting in back as is the practice, she sat in front. "Hey you, nigger," the motorman yelled, "get back where you belong.'" She refused to do so. Thereupon a policeman entered the car and dragged her to the police station. She was held incommunicado and finally released on twenty-five dollars bail.

MERIDIAN, Miss. — A Negro worker by the name of Lewis was shot dead by Archie McMullen, a cotton dealer. A quarrel arose when Lewis refused to be cheated out of his share in a cotton transaction. Lewis' body was later found containing four bullets.

NEW ORLEANS, La. — Mrs. Thelma Cade lies critically ill in her home after being thrown off a bus by a drunken conductor. She was taken to a hospital and forced to get in bed with a woman whose body was infested with sores, finally being forced to leave the hospital, she had to hire a taxi home at her own expense. Her recovery is said to be doubtful.

CHARLOTTE, N.C.—The Supreme Court of North Carolina holds that presence of troops at trial is not prejudicial. The decision is the result of an appeal in behalf of Harvey Lawrence, a Negro convicted of burglary, in a farcial trial.

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—Luther Munson was shot and killed at police headquarters by a policeman who charged him with stealing a bale of cotton from a plantation in Arkansas. The cop defended his action by stating that Munson lunged toward him.

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—Not content with jim crowing Negroes on the same floors of poolrooms, theatres and other indoor places of amusement, the City Council here has passed a law stating that Negroes must be separated by a distinct floor.

MOTON MAKES HOOVER WAIT FIVE MINUTES

World

10-24-30

Haitian Delegation Late In Arriving To Keep Appointment

Washington

PRESIDENT REFUSES TO POSE FOR PICTURE

Decides To Wait Until Entire Commission Is Present

President Herbert Hoover flatly refused Wednesday to pose with the Moton Haitian Commission when members of the commission called on the president to present its formal report on the recent findings in Haiti.

The request for the president to pose with the commission was made by a representative of the World and Addison Scurlock, Washington photographer.

President Kept Waiting

The president was evidently vexed when the commission called, as the chief executive was kept waiting five minutes. The appointment was for 12:30 P. M. When the car bearing Dr. R. R. Moton and members of the commission drove up to the White House, it was 12:34. It took at least another minute for the group to reach the president.

Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University and member of the commission, stated that a request had been made for the president to pose with the delegation on the White House lawn, but it was later decided that it would be better to wait until the entire commission is present before a picture is made.

Posed With Other Groups

While a World reporter and the photographer waited on the outside the White House several groups of white delegations posed with the president. Mr. Hoover has been photographed with delegations of Jews, Catholics and other delegations this week.

A full half hour before the Moton Commission arrived, Chief Secretary Ackerson to the president, was asked permission for the picture to be made of the delegation with the president. He said the request could not be granted. Later Mr. Moton was asked to get the president's consent to pose with the group. Dr. Johnson told why the president refused the request.

President Hoover has never posed with a Negro group although Woodrow Wilson and Calvin Coolidge have been photographed with several Negro delegations. The present president has carefully avoided being photographed with Negroes.

Besides Dr. Johnson and Major Robert R. Moton, Dr. G. Lakes Imes, secretary to the Haitian Commission, were in the delegation.

Color of Skin Determines Length of Sentence in South

Reminder

10-25-30

Chicago

RICHMOND, Va., Oct. 24.—That robbery is a more serious crime than murder when the man murdered is not white was evidenced in the sentences imposed on William Whitehurst, Louis Griffin and Troy Harris. Whitehurst and Griffin were charged with robbing A. M. Page, a white man, of some $513 and for this crime they were sentenced to serve 20 years each.

Troy Harris (white), who was merely charged with murdering a nonwhite American, was given 90 days in the city jail.

HOOVER REFUSED TO POSE WITH THEM



Washington World

10-24-30

So they posed without the president of the United States near the entrance to the White House. They are: Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University; Dr. Robert Moton, principal of Tuskegee, and Dr. G. Lake Imes, secretary to the Haitian Commission, of which Dr. Johnson and Dr. Moton are members. Mr. Hoover declined to pose with them when asked by a World reporter and Addison Scurlock, photographer. He later posed with some foreign boy orators. One of the boys was from Germany.

Negro Problem As Much Economic As Social, Says Dr Alexander of Interracial Commission, Atlanta

Race Hatred Laid to Fight for Jobs by Leaders Of Thought; Says Laboring Classes of Whites Must Change Attitudes

Atlanta, Ga.,—Ultimate solution of the Negro problem, now threatening to disturb the peace of Atlanta, and perhaps other Southern communities, rests largely among the laboring classes of white men, in the considered opinion of numerous students.

The problem has its genesis, such men as Dr. Will W. Alexander, of the Commission in Interracial Cooperation, believe in the competition between Negroes and white laborers.

As long as the Negro is loafing and singing in Beale street in Memphis, or fishing his livelihood out of the bayous of Louisiana, he is hardly considered a problem. It is when he goes to work in competition with white men that resentment seems to grow.

"If one will think back a moment," said Dr. Alexander, "he can recall that up to 1860 the Negro was the worker who was trained and became skilled. He was taught to be a brick mason, a carpenter, a former or a skilled nurse or servant or cook.

Many Whites Untrained

"About forty per cent of the white population owned no slaves. It made its living as best it could, but becouse the slaves did the work of the great plantations and performed the important task of the laboring man, the non-slave-owning white was not trained in the trades.

"Then the slave was emancipated. Immediately he became a free agent, seeking work for wages. Because he was the skille dworker who was the better carpenter, a better farmer or a better servant on account of years of training, and because he would work for less, he got the jobs. His problem is increasing, for he is suffering the more from the causes of unemployment and from economic changes general over the country.

"Education will help. The work of intellectuals and of thinking men will help. The press of the South has done and is doing a tremendously valuable work. The church is aiding.

"But the crying need is for competent leadership to replace selfish men, agitators, demagogues, the unprincipled and the misguided to whom the workingman so often listens. When that leadership comes the working classes of white men may be brought to follow it and not the hotheads who lead the mob."

"Right there developed a social and economic situation which underlies racial troubles. The employing white man, the intellectual white man and the educated white man in the South does not despise the Negro, nor does he take part in lynchings, in violence or in denunciation of the colored man. He looks upon the Negro as a faithful servant and is ready to protect him at all times.

White Laborer an Enemy

"But the laboring white man is in a different situation. He comes into direct competition with the Negro for his bread and butter. He is not, in the South, an educated person. Often he is tragically ignorant and unreasoning. Often he feels the Negro his natural enemy.

"All the contact between the Negro and white is between the working Negro and the employing white. The laboring white knows the Negro only as a competitor, and even as an enemy.

"So the question is economic as well as social. The Negro perhaps dosen't understand it particularly, but he has a philosophy and he accepts it.

"Whites Need Leadership"

"Solution lies chiefly with the white man. What he needs is leadership, and it is dismally lacking now among the working whites. And while he waits for leadership

FEAR ITS EFFECT WITH THE ADDED EMOTIONAL APPEAL OF HUMAN VOICE

Infamous Film, When First Shown, Aroused Racial Antagonism, Hatred and Prejudice

NEW ALBANY, Miss., Nov. 20—(By ANP)—The white women composing the membership of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Southern Methodist Church here Tuesday unanimously agreed to send a letter to Will Hays, director of the Association of Motion Picture Producers, protesting the proposed making of "The Birth of a Nation" into a talkie.

Laying particular stress in their discussions upon the effect the silent picture had upon citizens in the South and how it aroused racial antagonism and prejudice, these women sent the following letter to Hays:

"We learn with apprehension that 'The Birth of a Nation' is to be reissued as a sound picture. We remember the powerful effect of this picture and that certain scenes featuring Negroes aroused violent racial antagonism, evidenced by hisses, jeers and yells from the audience.

"The women of the South, both individually and collectively, in civic and religious organizations have been working steadily to cultivate attitudes of fairness and good will toward Negroes and to curb violence and uphold the law. We especially deplore the presentation of this picture in view of the frightful increase in lynchings during this year. We fear its effect with added emotional appeal of the human voice and we hope that it will not be shown in our community if it is reissued as a sound picture."

Race Problem - 1930.

United States.

I immediately vote a bale of blood-red bandana handkerchiefs to the Negro members of the Moton Commission for the study of education in Haiti. Their slavish antics on board the S. S. Christobal of the Panama Line before an audience of vacationing crackers from the Canal Zone (world's worst hotbed of color prejudice) were almost unbelievable. Representatives of the President of the United States and holding the dignified position of envoys to a sister republic they had to show their slavishness and lack of self-respect by shouting spirituals and reading poetry for the entertainment of the white riff-raff that would have gladly lynched all of them if the excuse had presented itself. Captain Foster of the Cristobal said that "Nothing like this was ever heard on this ship before" and we can well believe him.

There was the principal of the largest Negro technical (sic) school in the world, the president of the largest Negro university in the world, the president of the largest Negro technical school in the state with the largest Negro population in the country and the dean of the largest Negro technical school in the world, all getting loose from barber-shop chords, rendering slave songs for the entertainment of poor white canal employes, their wives and children! Imagine the president of Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Massachusetts Institute of Technology and kindred institutions doing that! Think of it, and then weep for the future of a group that has to struggle along with such "leaders" on its back! No troop of Negro comedians would have crooned sorrow songs and recited for "poor whites" unless they had been paid for it. No member of a white commission appointed by the ruler of the greatest country in the world today would have so lowered their dignity as to scab on three-a-day thespians. One could not conceive of Senators Reed, Robinson, Secretary of the Navy Adams and other of the President's Naval Commission to London entertaining passengers by singing the Maine Stein Song, Alma Mammy or Sunny Boy and reciting "Gunga Din" or "The Face On the Barroom Floor." The members of the Moton Commission should have carried Eddie Rector, Billy Pierce or Bill Robinson along with them to teach them the latest tap dances so they could have given their white audience complete entertainment.

Appropriately enough, when these Negro "leaders" got through with their clowning amid the tumultuous applause of the white riff-raff, they were presented with the sort of gewgaws white traders once used to palm off on African natives in exchange for valuable rubber, ivory, cocoa, palm oil, etc., before the natives got wise. Moton got a silver match box and a silk and leather cushion, Dr. Mordecai Johnson and Secretary G. Lake Imes were given French Bibles; Benjamin Rupert was presented with a bottle of toilet water, Dean Williams of Tuskegee was given a thermometer. There was justice in such gifts.

Moreover, in Haiti, Moton so forgot the dignity of his position that he got up in one of the principal Haitian schools and sang old slave songs or spirituals to the descendants of people who shed rivers of blood to rid themselves of slavery. No wonder the Haitian elite were shocked. It surprises me that he didn't do the Charleston or the Black Bottom.

Worse, the King of the Uncle Toms, had to show his lowly origin by insisting that the chauffeur for the commission join them at lunch at the same table' Imagine Hoover asking his butler or chauffeur to join him at dinner! Or Imagine Nicholas Murray Butler doing it! Or any other prominent man with a sense of social status, and diplomatic position doing it!

How can one respect such "leaders" whether one is a Negro or a white person? No wonder the race is held in such low esteem when we are led by clowns and minstrels.

NO NEGRO IS SAFE

(From the Christian Century)

A Methodist bishop left his home in Kansas City on a recent afternoon to motor 28 miles to the tow of Excelsior Springs to attend to certain church affairs. With him in the car were a Methodist presiding elder, the pastor of a Chicago Methodist church and a professor in a Methodist college. En route, the party was set upon by a road gang, cursed and abused. When an attempt was made by the motorists to discover the license number of the state highway department road truck which was being used by the road gang, the bishop's car was surrounded and many threats uttered. (The license number incidestally, was found to be "Missouri Official 460.") The bishop and his guests finally managed to free themselves and drove on to Excelsior Springs, cared for their business there, and started home. In the meantime, the road gang had gone into the town of liberty, near which ironically named community a colored man was lynched a few years ago—and had collected a mob. On the return of the bishop's car, pursuit set in, more than a hundred men and boys, many of them armed, chasing the car for more than a mile, and finally catching and surrounding it. All those in the car were ordered to alight. They were searched for weapons. When no weapons could be found on them, they accused them of having hidden or thrown away their guns. A woman came running up, shrieking, "Take them because they almost frightened me to death." Tragedy seemed imminent when the bishop discovered the sheriff in the crowd and appealed for protection. The sheriff gave protection of a sort. That is to say, he took the three ministers and the professor as prisoners to Liberty, where they were charged with disturbing the peace, and held on bonds that were first fixed at $2,000 each, then reduced to $1,000, and finally to $500. At this point Judge Martiin E. Lawson, a prominent layman in the Southern Methodist Church, learned what was going on, went to the jail, had the charges dismissed and the prisoners freed, and they returned to Kansas City in safety. Our readers will scarcely need to be told that the men who underwent this harrawing experience were all members of the Colored Methodist church. The bishop was Dr. J. Arthur Hamlett.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.
PRESS

OCT 9 1930

Thinks Booker T. Washington Would Advise Northern Negroes as Follows

Editor Press:

Sir—"Let down your bucket where you are," said Washington in advising the Negro to remain in the south.

Leadership should radiate from business and education.

Apparently the statement by the sage of Tuskegee, and the statement by this humble writer are in no wise related.

I will endeavor to show their relationship.

Calvin Coolidge, in speaking at a Howard university graduation, said: "No group in America in the short space of time that the Negro has been free, has made such rapid progress. Using the Negro Year Book (edited by Monroe Work, Tuskegee) as a guide, the Ex-President said: "The Negro's welfare is in the hands of his own group."

The majority of Negroes live in the south.

The southern Negro excels in education, morals, finance, business and industry.

Professor Hancock, white, of Richmond, writing in the New York Amsterdam News, says: "The southern Negro has his hands in the lion's mouth, and the northern Negro is trying to twist the lion's tail."

The erudite professor claims that the "Negro Press of the North and East is most times bitter in its attitude." And that the southern Negro and the white man must be left alone to work out their own problems."

Glenn Frank again: Of the 35 paramount problems confronting this country today, the National Council of the National Economic League (see Press of Sept. 1st), rates the Negro Problem as receiving 200 to 300 votes—out of an additional minor 14 problems and in this classification the Negro is 10th in the scale out of 14.

Professor Kelly Miller leading Negro sociologist and father of the "New Negro," in commenting on James Weldon Johnson's book, "Black Manhattan," says: Of the 44,000 original New York Negroes of 135 years of free schools and liberal interpretation of laws towards all races, not one Negro has risen to prominence in commerce, finance, and industry."

"What progress achieved has been attained by the new or southern Negro."

In an article, subject, "The Battle for Bread," Kelly Miller, says: 'About fifty million Americans are in gainful occupations. Their main concern and their chief endeavor are devoted to things concrete and material."

"We still urge upon *our choicest youth* who devote themselves to the higher phases of professional life to think of the things from (Heaven) above rather than silver and gold."

"The physician, lawyer, and teacher are concerned with promoting health, justice, and knowledge, respectively. Any more than this is a handicap."

"The great generality of the species (the masses) spend their time like that of the beasts of the field or the fowls of the air, in quest of nourishments and creature comforts."

I quote profusely. "The Negro is up against the white man's standard without the white man's opportunity. He tries to keep up with the white man's style without his work or income. The poor Negro of the North is strained to the breaking point trying to keep up with the standards impossed upon him.

"There is unquestionably a disposition among Northern whites who employ labor to give the Negro the least renumeration and desirable places. When pressure increases the whites push them out of even manual and menial jobs."

In the south a Negro can work at anything he is capable of doing. The best carpenters, bricklayers, mechanics, iron workers, tile setters, shipyard workers, brakemen, firemen and engineers, etc., are found there.

In the north, the Negro is restricted to porters, and elevators, dishwashers, house work, hotel work, which is fast playing out.

Were the late sage of Tuskegee, and one of the true Americans of the two that this country has produced (Teddy Roosevelt, the older) to view this panorama of opinions and movements, broadcast his suggestions as to what course the Negro should pursue, in my candid opinion, the folllowing would obtain:

Negro!

(1) Get vocational education.
(2) Get industrial and agricultural training.
(3) Get technical knowledge.
(4) Get business and civic administration training.
(5) Get the technique of transportation economics.
(6) Get the good will of the southerner, as the northern white man through diplomacy, business education and division of votes.
(7) Build factories instead of churches and cemeteries.
(8) Build financial institutes.
(9) Buy public utility stock.
(10) Buy municipal bonds.
(11) Buy real estate, instead of renting.
(12) Reclaim the farms in the south.
(13) Send young men and women to European schools and military academies.
(14) Negro women!

Leave drunkards, gamblers, and illiterate men alone.

Be self-supporting.

Marry. Have children.

Keep young and active.

"Pass"—if you can.

(15) Combine, concentrate and consolidate small units of activity.
(16) Set up a constructive philosophy of defense, and utilize segregation as a means to cement the race.

HEROD EASTMAN McLEOD, Esq.
1815 Hummock av., October 6.

"WHY NEGROES GO NORTH."

Because we think that such examples of courage should be heralded as widely as possible we are giving this editorial over to the Rev Sam B. Wallace, pastor of Sidney Park C. M. E. Church, Columbia. The following is a letter published in The State Saturday, September 6 and speaks for itself.

"To the Editor of The State:

A striking illustration of one of the reasons why Negroes have been and are still leaving the south is contained in a news item from Georgetown in Friday's State, and I quote it for the further information of good thinking white people who desire to inaugurate a reign of good-will and fair play: 'Miss Elizabeth Pope, 17, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. S. M. Pope of this city, is in a critical condition in the Florence hospital as the result of injuries sustained when the horse she was riding ran headlong into a hearse on Highmarket Street here yesterday afternoon.

"According to eyewitnesses Miss Pope, taking a short ride on an artillery mount, dropped the reins on the animal's neck. The horse broke into a full run and collided with the hearse driven by T. J. Miles, manager of a Negro Undertaking establishment. The Negro cut his machine over to the side of the road but his efforts were in vain. Miles is being detained in the County Jail pending investigation.'

"T. J. Miles is one of the finest type of young Negroes in South Carolina, cultured, refined, and with a loyalty to the South that is evidenced by his going into business here, rather than going North where so many of his fellows have gone and are still going His father is one of the distinguished presiding elders of the A. M. E. Church, that can always be relied upon to give the proper advice to our restless, discouraged people. And now he, his son and all the rest of us must face the fact that a Negro must be detained in jail pending an investigation, if a white lady's horse becomes unmanageable, and runs into an auto driven by a colored man. And this is the rule and not the exception.

"This double standard of justice is the burden of a large part of our complaints. And then, there is the killing of Negroes by policemen with no sufficient provocation, and with nothing being done about it, that is another public prolific source of complaint. We are losing many of oour best people, and let no man delude himself that only the shiftless, worthless Negro is going North. Lillian J. Rhodes, former owner of the Good Samaritan hospital, one of the most active and public spirited women of our race has sold out and gone to Chicago.

Our Church rolls are being depleted of solid, hard working Christian men, and this can be verified if need be.

"As a South Carolinian, bred and born, I can only life my voice, weak though it be, in protest, and when the time comes that it will be unsafe for a Negro man in this state to protest against the wrongs perpetrated against his people, then the trains are still running North, and the highways are still open.

Yours for justice to all men,
Sam B. Wallace."

We venture the opinion that the above is among the most effective sermons uttered by the Rev. Wallace during his ministerial career; and we are doing our bit toward the increasing of the number of persons who shall benefit from it

Good White Folks

Down in Alabama, U.S. Senator J. Thomas Heflin, (Dem.), started his independent campaign for re-election last week by adopting as his emblem a Liberty Bell with the slogan "White Control."

The original Liberty Bell, now in Philadelphia, has long been cracked. In truth, the old bell is as worthless for ringing as is Heflin's notion of liberty, limited by his slogan which can only be interpreted to mean "Liberty for Whites Only."

In South Carolina, U.S. Senator Cole Blease (Dem.) who favors lynching and prohibition, although he drinks, is being opposed by ex-Congressman James F. Byrnes in a run-off contest this week.

Blease in his campaign said: "When the Constitution comes between me and the virtue of white women of South Carolina, I say, to hell with the Constitution." Blease declared his conviction that lynching is the only successful method of discouraging Negro assaults upon white women.

Neither Heflin nor Blease is a number one statesman. Like Tilghman and Vardaman, of the old days, they have been elected to office by cheap and sensational appeals to race prejudice based upon facts easily disproved but plastered over by a fanaticism and emotionalism that would do credit to a cheap evangelist.

To be sure, Alabama and South Carolina are agricultural states rating high in illiteracy and low in wealth. At the same time, these states are foremost in declaring that government is in the hands of the good white people. Perhaps it is, but if the "good white people" put in office men like Blease and Heflin, it is time for the "good colored people" to look their good whites straight in the eye and condemn them as fakes and hypocrites.

The AFRO'S view is that "good white folks" in South Carolina and in Alabama "ain't." The AFRO believed that Blease and Heflin are types of the average white folks in those two states, and as long as this is the case, we believe that Negroes, able to take the long look forward, should resolve that South Carolina and Alabama are states to be blacklisted and avoided.

Another Rebel Victory

Mr. Henry L. Mencken, white, liberal editor of the American Mercury, author, and newspaper feature writer, whose articles are syndicated to a number of dailies, married a wife recently.

Colored friends of Mr. Mencken shrugged their shoulders at the announcement. The new Mrs. Mencken is a native of Montgomery, Alabama. She and hers knew that Mr. Mencken had delivered many a hard blow upon the heads of the ignorant yokels and the slave drivers of the South. "Political parsons" and the emotional "Bible pounders" were not socked any harder than the Dixie rebels.

Sensing what some of his friends were thinking, Mr. Mencken issued a statement of which the following paragraph is a part:

"The bride-elect and I differ somewhat on politics. As an irreconcilable Confederate, she believes in chattel slavery. Many of her relatives in Alabama in fact still hold slaves.

"The Confederacy never has carried out the terms of the treaty of Appomattox in good faith. The Confederate army never has really disarmed; it still holds maneuvers every autum in the remoter reaches of Mississippi. More than 100,000 Negroes are still held in slavery in Alabama. As a Liberal I naturally deplore this, but I certainly am not a reformer, and hence plan to do nothing about it."

Well spoken is this paragraph. It does credit to the editor of the American Mercury, which, as the Kansas City Call points out, has printed more articles by and about Negroes than any other magazine of its class.

But, honestly, without discrediting Mr. Mencken's pre-nuptial resolutions, and, too, realizing that an old bachelor of fifty is somewhat "sot" in his ways, nevertheless, we think that the South has won another victory. Many a man who has resolved to do his own thinking, fails to realize the quiet and painless operation by which his wife takes charge and directs his mental processes.

Mr. Mencken resisted the wiles of the weaker sex until he had reached a half-century in years. Our guess is that the Menckian blasts against Confederates, rebels, slavery and Dixie yokels will be toned down, and that articles by Negroes in the American Mercury will grow gradually fewer in number.

General Grant won a military victory at Appomattox, but the South has been celebrating its subtle moral victories ever since.

EL DORADO, ARK.
NEWS
OCT 17 1930

NEGROES TOLD TO STAY SOUTH

G. H. Johnson, El Dorado negro attorney, who told Oscar DePriest, negro congressman from the first district of Illinois, he was "Crazy to send your wife down there to Mrs. Hoover's reception," urged the southern negro to "stay South," in a spirited address at St. Luke's Baptist (negro) church at Smackover Wednesday night.

"Take advantage of the opportunities you have in the South, and stay out of the North," said Johnson. "That's where the negro gets in trouble. The Southern white people understand us, and we understand them. Up North they may call you 'mister,' but they are cold-blooded and selfish. There is more suffering going on among the negroes in the North than anywhere in the South. They speak of lynchings and lack of opportunities in this country, but they don't know what they are talking about.

"I met that DePriest negro in a recent visit to the North to study the negro situation there. He said he did not like the South. I asked him why. He said they lynched negroes in the South, and that the southern negro was held in submission. He also said they didn't lynch negroes in the North. I called his attention to a lynching which had taken place in Indiana a few days before. He said, 'Oh, those fellows got out of their place.'

"I told him that was the only reason a negro had ever been lynched in the South. and told him that no race riots broke out down here.

"I think we should be proud to call ourselves negroes. That's what we are, and we have a heritage to live up to, and a land to live up to it in. The negro is treated better in the South than in the North, and has better opportunities."

Johnson, financed by a group of El Dorado white men, has recently returned from a trip through Illinois, Indiana, and other Northern states, to study the negro situation. He will speak at Norphlet Friday night.

Race Problem - 1930
U.S. Literary Exploitation of the Negro.

Scarlet Sister Mary

Scarlet Sister Mary, dramatized by Daniel Reed from the novel by Julia Peterkin. Ethel Barrymore Theater, November 25, 1930. New Republic

MISS Ethel Barrymore's long expected production of "Scarlet Sister Mary" turns out to be one of those characteristic theater events that appear from time to time and are only perplexing and embarrassing. It is clear that Miss Barrymore, reading the novel, saw in it a rich possibility and made up her mind to bring it to the stage. That was in its way a noble intention. It is equally clear that, having got it to the stage, she was both unwilling and unable to let it be itself. 12-10-30

Mr. Daniel Reed has done better by his novel than most dramatizers do. There is at least no sign of callow indifference on his part to the quality of Mrs. Peterkin's work. The course of Si May-e is necessarily hurried up and telescoped as it is being converted into a play; much of the fertile and warm atmosphere is lost, and the end, at least as we get it in Miss Barrymore's production, falsifies the main content or theme of the book. You may make, if you like, a sort of Pilgrim's Progress out of this story of a Gullah woman, sinning with her lover before their marriage, bringing him a child, being deserted by him, mourning him, and finally taking to other men, pleasuring herself with love and with children, seeing her first born leave her to join his father and return to die, and her daughter bring from town a child for Si May-e to say is her own, turning her husband out of the house when, after twenty years, he comes back, closing her son's eyes in death, and finally promising, after a fashion, that the deacon and the church members will see how she quits her sinful life. But, as we may see clearly enough in Mrs. Peterkin's story—if we note that episode with Andrew the blacksmith, and if we mark her holding on to the love charm in that very last paragraph—this great resolution is made with the novel's tongue in its cheek, as it were: Si May-e's life and ways will change in time no doubt, but not so suddenly as all that. For a while she will remain the goddess of fecundity, simple nature and abundance of life, and afterward she will be the goodness and humanity and soul of these things. This is part of the basic truth of the book.

You could see that real effort had been expended on the settings, which, though without much atmosphere, were ahead of the average stage provision, and that the company had been led to do some work. It was all finally absurd. The company, in which were Miss Estelle Winwood—whose mere return to the stage at least is much to be thankful for—and Miss Barrymore's daughter—whose first appearance on the stage this was—were all little more than honest people trying to do black-face; and in fact for a while during the first scene there was a sort of excitement in seeing who would come next and how. For a colored play given by the Sunday-school members at their strawberry supper, it might have passed. And yet this is not fair, for there was no little technical expertness among the actors and a degree of effort to talk the Gullah dialect, of which we got but odd hints now and then. Watching them, I was obliged to wonder, however, what it is in an actor who is a passable actor otherwise that prevents him from watching a Negro's movement and gesture and getting at least a mechanical trace of it, and how such an actor can have an ear at all and not be able to teach himself a few elisions and low, open-throated tones and cadences. As for Miss Barrymore, she seemed to have a few moments of humility in the first scene, where she touched on Negro sounds and movements and after that a few bits of dialect or physical relaxation. After that for the most part she played her own way. Sometimes by virtue of her sincerity, beauty and magnetism she achieved moving and dramatic moments, taking her as herself and the play not as itself but as some other piece of dramatic material. On the whole the event is not worth much discussion. It was not only tedious but curiously embarrassing.

In connection with it there is a point in esthetic theory, however, that is well worth a thought.

Often when I see Negro players on the stage and afterward when I hear people saying that they are great actors, I think of Seami, who said five hundred years ago, in Japan, that dogs and children should not be allowed on the stage, they destroy the artistic effect. He was speaking for a theater art of greater purity and abstraction than the modern theater, of course; but what he said was right enough in esthetic principle. It ought to follow, then, that it is better art to do as Miss Barrymore has done and have white players acting Negro characters than it would have been to have, as in "The Emperor Jones," a Negro playing a Negro, or, as in the Guild's "Roar China," Chinese playing Chinese. This is type casting with a vengeance, and the blindest must see what type casting has done to the acting in our theater. As a matter of fact, the principle is not affected at all.

In the first place Negroes, we may say in passing, are not great actors. They are at least as fair as the average on Broadway, but acting consists not only of medium; it needs technique, the power to focus, range and gradation of comprehension. What we ought to say is that the Negro brings to the art of acting a remarkable medium, in his throat, in his natural relaxation, his glow and warmth and excitability, and especially his strangeness or freshness to our audience, who are apt to be entertained by his very presence. His race brings to the theater an invaluable gift and endowment, and there is no reason why, in the course of time, it may not contribute great actors as well. But the fact remains that no Negro player at present would be likely to have given a great performance of this character from Mrs. Peterkin's book. What would very likely have happened, if the play were given with a Negro cast, would be this: a genuine, black woman, right for the part, Southern, in her own way wonderful enough, could never have been taught either the intricacies of the stage art or the general proportions of the role as it fits into the whole play, even if she could have been persuaded to keep up her attendance at rehearsals; and so, accordingly, we should have had, as we do with those distressing Eves and other Old Testament ladies in "The Green Pastures," a shrill pale-yellow person, doubtless from Harlem, with a divided quality, half white, half black, a sharp Yankee movement, rouged lips and cheeks, straightened hair, and so on, all of it sheer travesty and sickening rot.

The principle we spoke of is really not affected. It is possible to conceive that in some Negro role an infinitely great actor, though white, might give us an even greater piece of acting than a Negro actor, equally great, could do, because of the fact that he brings to it by necessity a more complete extension of his art than the other, of the same race as the role, is obliged to do. But this is only an academic point. Negroes would have been better in "Scarlet Sister Mary" for the simple reason that the whole nature of the play is realistic, a close following of life, or of Mrs. Peterkin, so far as possible. No whole company of white actors could hope to give us such a reality. "Scarlet Sister Mary" is not a great play—independent of all resemblance to the actual—sweeping everything along by its force and skill. It leans on and shines by its actual material. Without Negroes, then, the leading part in the play cannot happen in any fullness because it lacks the support that would come to it from the other characters, the warm and glowing, grotesque and significant life around it. There is no matrix from which the character of Si May-e can be drawn. New Republic Vol. 65 no. 836

All of this, however, does not in the least affect Mrs. Julia Peterkin's credit. If "Scarlet Sister Mary" and "Black April" are uneven in excellence, as most books must be, they still at their best almost obliterate any other writing about Negroes that has come out of America. They have direct truth, plenty, variety, complete and tender acquaintance, great courage and a sort of literal, physical, pagan, unobstructed—how shall we say it?—undercurrent of thought as to the meaning of the life that is depicted. We may take the place in "Black April" where the little boy, who has been given away by his mother, follows the

The best parts then of the episode were in those in which the human voice was not used.

Yet there was one moment in which actual dialogue justified itself. While Lloyd is hanging by his toe nail to the molding of the skyscraper, a sleepy Negro porter wanders about trying to tell people inside the building of his plight, and never gets beyond saying, "There is supposed to be a man flying around outside." The soft tone and the casual manner are a beautiful contrast to the violent activity, and although the silent film might have found a counterpart in this case, at least the actual use of speech, in counterpoint to the action, is entirely justified.

Scarlet Sister on the Stage

Telegraph 11-30-30 Macon-Ga.

Ethel Barrymore, member of one of the more famous American stage families, has had such a long run of bad plays or ill luck that her prestige has been considerably diminished. She has not had, in some years, a play that could do better than to offer her an opportunity to demonstrate that she could take a mediocre script and make it, through her throaty voice and fine acting, into something better than the playwright conceived.

Miss Barrymore opened Wednesday night in an adaptation of Julia Peterkin's Scarlet Sister Mary, in which she plays the part of the promiscuous Gullah Negress of a South Carolina plantation. For the first time in her life—and in the life of the Barrymores—she plays a black-face part, but she has been so sensitive about getting out of character—that is, out of her own natural make-up—that she has not permitted anybody to take a picture of her in the role. One photographer was thrown out of a theater in Columbus, Ohio, when the play was in the making, but another snapped a picture, which fails, however, to show much. But Robert Littell, critic for the New York World, gives assurance that the dark brown sister is instantly recognizable at Ethel Barrymore and the evening of the opening was chiefly notable for "Miss Barrymore's power to shine through any role, no matter how elided or obscure, just as her voice rose above the Gullah, just as her eyes and teeth broke, like sunrise, through the disconcerting gloom of a blackened face".

Like most other critics, Mr. Littell did not care for the play, which he called "uncertain, if not to say a pretty bad, play". From other sources, it is gathered that Mrs. Peterkin is not at all pleased with the adaptation, either, and that she asked her publishers if there was not some way it could be stopped. The complaint has been made that those who do not know Gullah talk have no idea what the characters are saying and that "large chunks" of the novel have been omitted.

Those who have read Mrs. Peterkin's novel find it one of her best, but Miss Barrymore is faced with almost insurmountable difficulties when she undertakes to transplant a Gullah to the New York stage. Northern audiences know little and understand little about plantation Negroes. Few Southerners even know anything about Gullah Negroes.

Race Problem - 1930

U.S. - Literary Exploitation of the Negro.

Says Carl Van Vechten Is Literary Bum

Michael Gold, editor of "Masses," declares in the current issue of the magazine that Carl Van Vechten, toast of some of Harlem's literati, is nothing other than a "literary bum."

"We believe Carl Van Vechten is the worst enemy friend the Negro has ever had," declares Mr. Gold.

"This night club rounder and white literary sophisticate was one of the first to take an interest in Negro writers in this country. He has thus influenced many of them. He has been the most evil influence.

"Gin, jazz and sex—this is all that stirs his [illegible]r world, and he has imparted [illegible]astes to the young Negro [illegible]rs. He is a white literary [illegible] who has created a brood of Negro literary bums. So many of them are now wasting their splendid talents on the gutter-life side of Harlem.

"What a crime against their race! This will lead the Negro nowhere. And what a slander against the majority of Negroes who must work so painfully in the mills, factories and farms of America. The Harlem cabaret no more represents the Negro mass than a pawnshop represents the Jew, or an opium den the struggling Chinese nation.

"I have known quite a few Negro revolutionists. I have seen Negroes in strikes. There are depths, nobilities and emotions in this race that are yet unexpressed, and that will amaze the world when revealed.

"I believe that Negro art and literature are only beginning. This cabaret obsession is but an infantile disease, a passing phase. There will be Negro Tolstoys, Gorkys and Walt Whitmans. The 'spirituals' have promised it; the works of men like Frederick Douglass and Toussant L'Ouverture have shown the way.

"Negroes are plowing into the revolutionary movement. It is the Negroes' only remaining hope. And among these masses the Negro will at last find his true voice. It will be a voice of storm, beauty and pain, no saxophone clowning, but Beethoven's majesty and Wagner's might, somber as night with the vast Negro suffering, but with red stars burning bright for revolt."

"Scarlet Sister Mary" Not So Good



DETROIT, Mich.—One of the greatest sensations offered by the current theatrical season is this appearance of America's most popular actress, Ethel Barrymore (left), in blackface makeup, playing the title role in her newest production. The play, "Scarlet Sister Mary," is based upon Julia Peterkin's novel of the same name. It is the first time in years that an outstanding American actress has made such a radical departure from her usual stage work, and Miss Barrymore justified the step on the grounds of artistry. Still another feature of the production is the stage debut of Miss Ethel Barrymore Colt, who plays in support of her mother. New York critics unite in failing to rave over the play.

A Good Actress Gone Wrong

"Scarlet Sister Mary" Sets a New Low for So-called Negro Plays

By Theophilus Lewis.

If all the bad features of all the bad plays ever written were combined in one play, and if twenty-one members of a cast of twenty-five were without doubt the worst actors to be found in Christendom, the result might be a play as banal as "Scarlet Sister Mary," now showing at the Ethel Barrymore Theatre, with Miss Barrymore herself in the title part. It is an almost unbelievably trashy play, ineptly dramatized from a downright silly novel, and not helped a bit by acting that is generally worse than either the play or the novel.

The scene of the play, which is based on Julia Peterkin's novel of the remote swamps of South Carolina inhabited by a mysterious tribe of Negroes known as the Gullahs. Sister Mary, the heroine of the tale, is distinguished above her compatriots mainly by the fact that every year or so she drops a baby sired by a different daddy. Eventually, she reaches the point where she delivers her young so casually that the day after her labors she does not know whether she has given birth to twins or triplets. Why the fact of a woman having many babies should be considered important enough for anybody but an obstetrician to write a book about is something beyond my powers of understanding. Why it should be made the subject of a play is something else that eludes me.

Neither the book nor the play has even the excuse of presenting the interesting folk ways of an obscure people. The Gullahs, as described by Miss Peterkin, have no original view of life, no arresting religious beliefs, no quaint customs and no curious ways of living worthy of the world's attention. An outlandish dialect, of doubtful importance to philologists, is their only offering to the world's fund of information, a contribution almost as valueless as Miss Peterkin's contribution to literature.

A story of this sort, in which there is no passionate desire to be either fulfilled or frustrated, is obviously a story in which there is nothing to dramatize. As a consequence of this meagerness of dramatic material it was not even feasible to divide the play into acts. It is presented in five jerky scenes apparently picked from the novel at random.

The ineptitude of the play is accompanied by gauncheries of production that remind me of a performance given in the basement of the Fourth Baptist Church by the members of the Ladies' Auxiliary to raise money to buy the pastor an overcoat. In the first scene Maum Hannah is shown as an old womon with a son old enough to marry. In the fifth scene, supposed to be twenty years later, the old lady steps about just as spry as in the beginning of the story while her son has nary a gray hair or wrinkle to account for almost a quarter century on this old earth. July, Sister Mary's first love and only legal husband, leaves her during their first year of married life. Twenty years later he returns looking as young as the son he deserted in the clothes basket, with voice and youthful face unchanged.

I intimated above that four of the performers out of the cast of twenty-five might not be among the worst in the world. First of the quartet who turn in tolerable performances is Albert Ridge, as Unex, Sister Mary's first born. Two years old and the only colored member of the company the audience is permitted to see, he crows and coos and kicks up his heels in a way that indicates that he is proud of his distinction. The other three endurable performances are given by Miss Barrymore, her daughter, Ethel Barrymore Colt, and Estelle Winwood. Not that any of the trio accomplish anything to write home about, but they at least give the characters they interpret some remote resemblance to human beings. The other members of the company handle their parts as if they were supposed to be blackface scarecrows.

Race Problem - 1930
U. S. - Book Reviews.

Paper Postdispatch
Town St. Louis
Date Jan 19 1930

'What the Negro Thinks,' Book By Tuskegee Institute Head, Surveys Status of Race in U. S.

Dr. R. R. Moton Says His People Wouldn't Mind Temporary Segregation if Accommodations Were as Good as for Whites.

DR. ROBERT RUSSA MOTON, principal of Tuskegee institute, and successor of Booker T. Washington in recognized leadership of the Negro race in the United States, has written of the problems and the prospects of his people under the title, "What the Negro Thinks." The book, Dr. Moton's third, is published by Doubleday, Doran & Co.

One thing that the Negro thinks and the first proposition Dr. Moton has chosen for discussion, is:

That the Negro knows the white man better than the white man knows the Negro.

A familiar assertion of whites, "I know the Negro," is taken as the heading for the first chapter. It is an assumption the writer says, that is only partly true. White people, especially in the South, do know many Negroes, employed in labor and domestic service; but there is an increasingly large part of the race with whom the whites have few contacts; and usually they do not know the Negroes in their employ so well as they think they do.



DR. ROBERT R. MOTON

Discriminating Admiration.

The Negro, on the other hand, "is in touch with every stratum and grade of white society, from the worst to the best," the author says. He has "an unconcealed and unabashed admiration for the best white people." But, "The Negro discriminates among white people; a white skin is not, to him, a thing to be venerated in itself."

The importance to the Negro of Jack Johnson's prize ring victory over Jim Jeffries was that it confradicted the assumption of racial inferiority. "Negroes feel," Dr. Moton says, "that the race owes much to Johnson for this demonstration, aside from any subsequent developments in his career. Roland Hayes, with his notable achievements, is one more vindicator of his race in removing the stigma of inferiority from the possession of a black skin."

"To a large extent," Dr. Moton writes, "the white people who do any thinking about the Negro today carry in their minds a picture such as is carried in the advertisements of Cream of Wheat, Swift's Hams, Gold Dust Washing Powder, and the illustrations accompanying the stories of Octavus Roy Cohen. All these present an advance over the early deliberate caricatures of the race; but even these are about a generation behind.

"The thinking Negro provides for his family the satisfactions of home life that intelligence and culture demand everywhere. Books, paintings, sculpture, music, newspapers, magazines, are common adjuncts. There is the annual vacation for all the family, sometimes by train, sometimes by motor car.

Among them is club life for women as well as for men. Card parties, receptions, at-homes, dances ar all a part of the social program for visiting guests; and where conditions make it possib without humiliation, there are theater parties, followed by supers and dances. With these g literary, scientific, professiona and art societies and clubs, whos members have qualified by degrees from recognized institution and have achieved distinction i their respective fields. These ar the finer flower of Negro hom life."

Rise of Professional Class.

The rise of a class of Negro professional men has reduced contacts with the white race, it is suggested, but has raised race standards. Many Negroes were slow to believe that their own physicians and lawyers could be as proficient as white men, a feeling still remaining among the older generation. "It is in business, perhaps," the writer says, "that the Negro gets more honest consideration and a fairer deal than in any other of his contacts with the white man, not even excepting religion."

A discussion of the Negro's general status before the law precedes the chapters on segregation and discriminatory measures.

"The great body of Negroes stand in America with only a precarious protection of the law," it is declared, "without participation in their own government, and surrounded by a public sentiment as yet hostile rather than sympathetic. The Negro is not without friends among the whites, but these must assist him most effectually outside the law."

This condition, carried to the point of rank injustice in Southern states soon after the World War, caused the exodus of Negro industrial workers to the North, Dr. Moton relates, and the effect on the South was so disastrous as to make the South wonder whether it had acted wisely. Inter-racial conferences were held, and as a result, "The millennium is not here yet, but life is better for the Negro in the South today than it has ever been before."

Segregation of the Races.

Segregation and discrimination are discussed by Dr. Moton in their application to common carriers, the ballot, the courts, and public office. Here, it will seem to many readers, the case is stated at the outset with great moderation.

"Many Negroes, perhaps the majority," he says, "would be willing to accept segregation as a temporary arrangement, in the process of reducing the inequalities between the races that are the unavoidable result of their differing condition through a period of 250 years and more. Unescapable facts made it necessary to effect adjustments in the contacts of the two races, which ultimately took legal form in statutes and ordinances known as segregation laws. These laws call for the physical separation of the two races in public places, presumably with equal accommodations for both. What actually happens constitutes a greater cause of dissatisfaction to Negroes everywhere than any other manifestation of discrimination.

"Anyone who has ridden on railroad trains, before and after segregation of the races was first introduced, could understand what brought it about. It hardly required any race prejudice to find a certain type of Negroes, seen in large numbers on the the trains, especially on Saturday and Sunday, objectionable to the point of being offensive, in manners and conduct as well as in dress and personal appearance generally. This was the day of the second-class coach where at least 90 per cent of the coloured (Dr. Moton follows the English spelling of this word) race rode with a small percentage of whites. It was no surprise that segregation came on the railroads, and the argument for it could hardly be gainsaid."

On most railroads, Dr. Moton says, inferior equipment has been provided for Negroes. He names the Illinois Central as a notable exception. Outside the regulation Negro section, he declares, it is practically impossible for the Negro to obtain comfort and convenience in travel. Pullman cars are closed to him either by law or by usage. It is difficult for Negro travelers to get suitable food on through trains. Waiting rooms in the principal Southern cities show a marked discrimination.

In street cars, the practices vary with different cities, but are generally annoying and humiliating. Bus and elevator practices are cited in further support of the assertion that "The Negro complains of segregation in travel for the obvious reason that he almost always gets the worst of it. It puts the badge of inferiority on the Negro, and Negroes believe that it is intended to do so.

"In all the instances," Dr. Moton says, "where colored passengers have been ejected from Pullman cars, there has never been a single instance in which the Negro interfered by word or deed with the comfort of any white passenger. In every instance it is the mere presence of a Negro that challenges the zeal of some valiant champion of white superiority to the point of demanding expulsion of the Negro. . . . The great majority of white passengers are little or not at all disturbed about the presence of Negroes decently clothed, well behaved, and accustomed to the surroundings. The protester is the rare exception, and the rest of the passengers are usually silent while he indulges in his tirade. But it is this silence that gives him courage."

At Disadvantage in Schools.

As to educational segregation the author cites figures greatly to his race's disadvantage. "Among the 11 states of the lower South, the highest annual appropriation

for education of a Negro child is $11.88, as compared with $21.02 for education of a white child in the same state; the lowest is $2.74 for the Negro child as compared with $27.88 for the white child in the same state." Lower pay for Negro teachers is declared to be the rule, but St. Louis, Baltimore and Washington are cited as exceptions, with uniform pay for white and Negro teachers of the same grade.

"There are some distinct advantages to the Negro in separate schools," the author says. "The most obvious advantage is in the opportunity for employment which the separate schools provide for Negro teachers. This means the engagement of 50,000 adults with an aggregate annual income of $15,000,000. In those places where the races attend the public schools without discrimination, there is a progressive falling off in the proportion of Negro children with the advance in age and grades, until the number graduating from such high schools are relatively negligible. On the other hand, where separate schools are maintained, the percentage of children enrolled in the higher grades is normal as compared with white children.

"Many Negroes would accept the separate schools but for the consideration that the matter does not end there. In those places where separate schools do not exist, such a proposal is but the first of a series of measures in a general program of segregation. Accepted in the schools, it is applied elsewhere without legal sanction, but with the tremendous weight of this precedent behind it. The effect in the large is to create a prejudice against the Negro which may not be eradicated for generations."

Housing Being Adjusted.

Dr. Moton's discussion of the housing and residence neighborhood segregation questions, and of court decisions against such laws, leads to the conclusion that "gradually the housing condition is adjusting itself without legislation and without discrimination against the Negro."

In the chapter, "The Ballot—The Courts," a historical review includes a defense of the manner in which the Negro used his brief political power in the reconstruction period. Of the Negro's present status as a citizen, the author says:

"Politics in America is far more practical than ideal; the interests of the Negro will be adequately protected when he has the ballot. This does not necessarily reproach the white man, nor does it mean Negro domination. It means simply that the Negro is his own best spokesman, and that in justice his vote will be permitted to count for what it is worth and no more. Statesmen of the South must freely admit that society and government in the South have been established far beyond the remotest possibility of disorganization through adequate protection of the interests of the black man by the use of the ballot in his own defense. Statements to the contrary are made only for political purposes."

Experience in the Courts.

The Negro's experience with the courts, Dr. Moton suggests, is a more serious matter than his exclusion from other functions of the Government. "The Negro knows, perhaps better than he knows anything else, that in those sections of the country where discrimination is in other things legal and common, he has nothing to gain by resorting to the courts even for litigation with members of his own race; while it is accepted by most as a foregone conclusion that no court anywhere will render a judgment against a white man in favor of a Negro plaintiff."

In the criminal courts, it is held, Negroes are more severely punished than whites for the same grade of offenses, and the killing of a white man by a Negro is treated much more seriously than the killing of a Negro by a white man. References in court to a defendant as "this nigger" are not so common as they were, and some judges have ruled them out as prejudicial. Appeals by lawyers to the race prejudice of jurors are still a favorite device for offsetting damaging testimony of Negro witnesses.

"Negroes," the writer declares, "generally feel that they have better chances for justice before a judge than before a jury. This is notably the case as regards the Supreme Court of the United States. The decision of that court declaring invalid the 'grandfather clause' in state constitutions disfranchising the Negro, was all the more impressive because it was written by Chief Justice White, a native of Louisiana.

Another was the decision of the Court in the Louisville residential segregation case, declaring that all such legislation was in contravention of the fourteenth amendment.

Mixed Marriage Decision.

"Of almost equal significance to the race was the recent decision in the Rhinelander suit for annulment of the marriage between white man and a colored woman of mixed blood. The point at issue, so far as Negroes were concerned, was not the desirability of a union between two such persons, but the legal rights of the individual with Negro blood where such a union has been contracted. The annulment of that marriage would have meant the sweeping away of the protection of the law from every Negro woman anywhere who has contracted such a marriage, and of every woman who for whatever reason enters into intimate relations with a white man, of which there are a multitude of cases, far more perhaps than either race would care to admit."

The question suggested by the last reference is faced, in the book's concluding chapter, with this expression:

"As for amalgamation, very few expect it; still fewer want it; no one advocates it; and only a constantly diminishing minority practice it, and that surreptitiously. It is generally accepted on both sides of the color line that it is best for the two races to remain ethnologically distinct.

"Theoretically, Negroes would all subscribe to the right of freedom of choice in marriage even between the two races, but practically they have never ceased to resent the action of those very few individuals of the race, particularly the men, who have chosen to cross the color line for wives. To the race as a whole it constitutes active disloyalty to the Negro race itself, as well as a reflection on its womanhood. In a word, though Negroes believe in the validity of their right to do so and resent its legal prohibition, the average member of the race is too proud to marry across the color line; for in those states where there is no legal bar to intermarriage of the races, the number of such marriages is almost negligible."

Negro Soldiers and Officers.

Several references are made to the treatment of Negro soldiers and their officers, both overseas and in American camps. Here the author displays more feeling than in other parts of the book.

"Men who have been defamed abroad by their own comrades," he says, "who found no stars for them in their community service flag on returning home, who have been forcibly stripped of the uniforms which they consecrated with their valor and blood, and have finally been denied the privilege of registering their names among those entitled to their country's praise and gratitude—these men can understand what a great many others do not, that reservations to truth and justice will forever return to plague those who wink at the practice."

The author's final view, however, is that post-war developments have hastened the prospect of "a civilization which can employ the energies and capacities of both races without sacrificing the opportunities or integrity of either—a model to the rest of the world. Meanwhile, nothing can contribute more to national welfare than the continued effort to realize for the humblest, whether black or white, that full measure of justice and equal opportunity for which America stands as a symbol."

Race Problem - 1930

U. S. — Book Reviews.

SECOND UNCLE TOM'S CABIN ANNOYS DIXIE

Afro-American

Evans Wall's "No Nation Girl" Has South Divided into Hostile Camps.

8-16-30

HEROINE MULATTO

Baltimore Md.

For Love of Her White Hero, She Commits Suicide.

Probably no book since "Uncle Tom's Cabin" has created as much discussion in the South as "The No Nation Girl," a book dealing with the race problem, written by Evans Wall, a white southerner.

The story's problem of miscegenation has aroused the South and divided it into hostile camps, relatives of the author being among those divided in their opinions. Many of those who approve of the book are women.

Heroine a Mulatto

The plot is roughly as follows:

In a Mississippi swamp to a white father and a black mother is born Precieuse. In childhood her appearance and instincts are almost white. At 14 her Negro aunt gets her drunk, sells her to a white swamper for $30 for the night. Precieuses mother, thwarted in a deal to sell her as a virgin to a white river trader for $300, horsewhips her from home. She boards the shanty boat of one Cliff Dale, young white man from the North who took to the swamp temporarily, when a southern inheritance failed.

For five years through Precieuse's "beauty days," they live and love in the swamp, mingling with Negroes and "low down" whites along the slimy waters. The girl's Negro blood is fired when once in Cliff's absence a "buck nigger" beats her to submission. Alone in the shanty boat, she bears a baby, drowns it blindly for fear it may be black and thus rupture her relations with Cliff. The baby was white. Her body becomes a battle ground between her white and black blood. The black gradually predominates. Cliff, catching her in an infidelity with a Negro, leaves her and the swamp. On the theory that a Negro never commits suicide, Precieuse drowns herself to prove she is more white than black. Drawn back into the swamp by love of the girl, Cliff shoots himself to death on her grave.

Book Sales High

Book-sellers report many sales of the book, but declare that because of its nature they are not able to advertise it very widely. One critic has said: "It is a book that one does not know exactly how or where to place, but it is book that will make history."

An aristocratic old southern woman declared: "I happened to know of a very sad case where one of our nicest young men did kill himself and a mulatto girl. Perhaps Mr. Wall had the same case in mind when he wrote the book."

The author, who is 40, was born in Mississippi of good white stock on the edge of the swamp country, and his knowledge of conditions is said to be accurate.

MIAMI HERALD

FLORIDA

DATE JAN 1

"WHAT THE NEGRO THINKS."

MAJ. R. R. Moton, head of the Booker T. Washington Institute at Tuskeegee, Ala., has rendered the white race in this country a distinct service in his book "What the Negro Thinks," just off the press.

We have had no such work from such a man, heretofore, and the publication is timely in that there is a very serious determination on the part of reasonable white men, not only to attempt to understand the negro, but to so understand him that the two races may cooperate in making the negro's situation and condition in this country more in consonance with our ideas of social justice.

The negro is not seeking social equality. Major Moton, probably the best authority in the world, says that the negro himself does not want social equality and rather resents the attitude of those ill-advised but well-meaning people who insist upon it.

What the negro wants is merely a squal deal and equality before the law with the white man. He wants the same service in his schools, in his traveling accommodations; he wants recognition of his worth in the same measure and on the same ground as that meted out by public opinion to his white neighbor.

Probably most people will differ with Major Moton on the question of race segregation. So far as avoiding friction between the two races is concerned we have, in this city, found that it works reasonably well. It does not, however, tend to bring about a better understanding between the better class of negroes and the better class of whites. It prevents allowable intercourse that would, perhaps, bring about a better understanding.

Major Moton deals with the whole subject of the relations of the two races in this country. He is qualified to state the case fairly well, and he does it splendidly in his new book. A reading by a white man of this book will, as The Montgomery Advertiser says, "Leave the white man a little in doubt of himself, a little less certain that his opinions regarding all aspects of the race question are the products of pure wisdom and are not to be further refined."

Every intelligent reader will find much of interest and much of instruction in the book, "What the Negro Thinks," and every intelligent reader, when he has come to the end of the work, will ask himself whether or not he has always been right on the race question.

To raise the question seriously is to start on the right solution of the problem of white relations to the colored brother.

TAMPA DAILY TIMES

FLORIDA

DATE JAN 1 [illegible]

"What the Negro Thinks."

Dr. Robert Russa Moton, principal of the Tuskegee Institute and in many respects the successor of Booker T. Washington as the recognized voice of the negro in America, has written a most important book—"What the Negro Thinks," published by Doubleday, Doran & Co., Garden City, N. Y and already enjoying wide circulation. Dr. Moton's work differs from the general run of books on race subjects, in that it gives "what the negro himself, thinks of the experiences to which he is subjected because of his race and color." This is a difficult task for any author, but Dr. Moton has met it squarely and covered it comprehensively.

Discriminations against the negro are thoughtfully treated without bias or prejudice; there is no effort to incite resentment or animosities; this author is not of the inflammatory type of negro leader who is ever endeavoring to stir up trouble and to increase ill-feeling between the races. He is not a DePriest.

The book tells of the author's knowledge of the negro, of the average white man's knowledge of the negro and the negro's of the white man, of the substantial advancement made by members of the race in the United States, of the negro and the law and the negro and the government; of public sentiment and the negro's reaction to it; and of the outlook for racial relations.

Dr. Moton suffers no illusions on the subject of racial equality. "As for amalgamation," he says, "very few expect it; still fewer want it; and only a constantly diminishing minority practice it, and that surreptitiously. It is generally accepted on both sides of the color line that it is best for the two races to remain ethnologically distinct. The increasing tendency among negroes is to build up their own social life in the midst of the common national existence."

The author thinks there is far less hostility manifest in contact between individuals of the two races than ever before. As an instance of this he mentions the fact that the word "nigger" is now rarely heard in public on the lips of white people. There is complaint that the white minister has fewer contacts with negroes than any group of the white race, although the negro minister has increasing contacts with the whites.

Dr. Moton is convinced that "the vast majority of white people in all sections of this country stand ready to give the negro fair and just consideration and an equal opportunity when once the shell of tradition is broken and the power of aggressive minority can be counteracted. In the author's opinion, the negro suffers a greater disadvantage in the courts than he does at the ballot box or with respect to public office. In this connection, he cites the recent Florida case where a white man was convicted and sentenced to execution for the premeditated and brutal murder of a negro; but he is mistaken in his statement that the white man got off with a recommendation to mercy from the jury. The jury convicted and the court sentenced; the date of the execution was fixed; but a Georgia politician and lawyer intervened, without any real connection with the case, and has succeeded in having the state pardoning authority hold up the execution, indefinitely, on some plea of insanity. Dr. Moton is entirely correct in saying that the circumstances in this case were regarded by the newspapers as "particularly atrocious." The negro feels that he may expect substantial justice where the decision rests with the bench, but with the jury it is different, depending entirely upon the prevailing sentiment in the section where he is tried, with the odds against him.

Dr. Moton insists that the white man cannot reap the waiting harvest of the great opportunities of this country "without the labors and assistance of the black man." The negro is to America "an asset of indispensable value." And the negro cannot advance without the assistance of the white man. The great need, as the author sees it, is for that "full measure of justice and equal opportunity for which America stands as a symbol before the world."

Dr. Moton's book should be read by every intelligent negro and every intelligent white man in the country. It would help.

Race Problem - 1930
U.S. Book Reviews.

"New York"

A REVIEW BY J. A. ROGERS

PARIS.

HARLEM continues to receive much publicity from the pens of European writers. This time some comes from Paul Morand, author of "Black Magic" and several other books on the Negro.

In his latest book, "New York," he has devoted a chapter to Harlem. The picture is not an attractive one, which means that it would be highly appealing to Americans. Cabarets, bootleg joints, "fairies," numbers playing, street fights, sale of "hot goods," and fights with policemen are some of the things he talks about. M. Morand is of opinion that, if it were not for the policemen, Harlem would quickly become a West Indian island, given over to voodooism and the fiery oratory of Soulouque, Haitian Emperor.

Like many another writer, he expresses his surprise at suddenly seeing the human color scheme change from white to brown, suddenly "to see all the New Yorkers become black. In the subway, hanging to the straps by a long bent arm, are these blacks, which make one think of the great apes of the Gaboon coast . . . It is all of working Harlem, the domestic, dishwashers, day laborers, cooks and elevator boys, returning after the day's work."

Later he sees Negroes skating clad in furs, and he, who has been accustomed to seeing them go nude in Africa, even in February, is astonished at "the tropics in furs."

"Extremes meet! Beauty parlors, banjo shops and undertaking parlors (next to a Chinese funeral, a Negro funeral beats everything), Negroes chewing bullets of gum with absent eyes, as if attacked by a fever of mastication, dreary as Orientals telling their beads; faces buried in light-colored waterproof coats, too light-colored, heavy jaws overflowing under hats too small. Thus, grouped at one end of Manhattan, these blacks are themselves again, and the quarter become a spot of exotic gaiety; of picturesque human disorder. They break the mechanical life of America and for this one ought to be thankful to them. It is sometimes forgotten that men can be happy without bank accounts and bathtubs.

"At the crossing stands the policeman, symbol of white civilization, surveying this little Africa. If this policeman were suddenly to disappear Harlem would quickly become a West India island given over to voodooism and the Caesarian oratory of a Souloque, plume in hat. . . ."

He visits the different cabarets, the Cotton Club, the Sugarcane. In the Harlem Club he sees the African Room decorated by Aaron Douglas; Small's, The Nest, Savoy Ballroom and the Capitol.

Last of all, he visits an underground cabaret to see some girls in green and mauve robes who are to take part in a review called "Bronze Beauties." In the offing are "two gentlemen who had quarreled the day before with a black policeman and he had given them reminders



— J. A. Rogers —

of the occasion on their heads with a heavily-loaded night stick; today quite reconciled, they are caressing the nude backs of the little dancers." Soon after this an old lady enters and begins to sell "hot" stockings to the dancers.

"Harlem is the home of jazz. Jazz is the melody of the Southern Negro getting off at the Pennsylvania Station, plaintive and languishing, suddenly carried away with this adored New York, where all is light and noise.....The Negro is happy in New York. No hard work, no Ku Klux Klan, no Jim-Crow car, and even in the heart of the city he may get service in the popular restaurants.

"A good many schools admit them save for the objections of the whites. The most cultivated ones are admitted to the liberal professions; they form an artistic and agreeable center, a little intelligentsia, in contact with similar white groups. There are artists like Roland Hayes, the tenor; Paul Robeson, the splendid baritone of Show Boat; Walter White, novelist, if one can call him black, because White is as rosy and as blond as a Swede.

"It is through art, music and poetry that Countee Cullen, Weldon Johnson, Braithwaite; by the novel that Chestnutt, Fisher, McKay, W. E. B. DuBois, Nella Larsen; by painting that Aaron Douglas, Woodruff and Albert Smith have been able in the last ten years to win the respect and the sympathy of New York."

There will be, in all probability, an English translation of "New York," as Paul Morand is one of the most popular of the French writers.

Christian Science Monitor
BOSTON, MASS.

FEB 3 1930

"What the Negro Thinks"

AMERICANS of the South—white as well as black—take lively pride in the award to Dr. Robert Russa Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, of the $1000-prize for the most noteworthy service done in 1929 in behalf of interracial co-operation. His "What the Negro Thinks," published in the past year, would alone have justly entitled Dr. Moton to the distinction now his. That volume easily ranks with Booker Washington's "Up From Slavery." In not a few respects, "What the Negro Thinks" excels in significance the moving story of Booker Washington's life. Indeed, Dr. Moton's book is one that should be read by every reasoning human being in the country. None the less should it be read by human beings not yet skilled in the habit of thinking straight. . . .

Though Dr. Moton's book may not please everyone in all its details, yet it should encourage everyone to think the race problem—in all its details—through. Herein lies the tremendous value of "What the Negro Thinks."

Optimism sounds clear in this volume's pages. "In the midst of all this," says Dr. Moton, "the Negro thrives. Segregation, disfranchisement, prejudice, injustice, lawlessness—in spite of them, he prospers. Above it all, his voice rises singing; and the note of his joy has become the symbol of our modern America. Whatever he hides in his heart, whatever he may think in the back of his head, he turns to the world a smiling face, and in spite of itself, the world, when it turns to look, is captivated by that smile; when it stops to listen, is thrilled by that song. And all the while he presses steadily onward, resolved to let nothing hold him down, to let nothing crush his spirit, to let nothing defeat his steadfast purpose of establishing his claim of equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and demonstrating even to the most skeptical that essentially all men are created equal, determined to let no man, no movement drag him down so low as to make him hate his fellow man."—*Birmingham* (Ala.) *News*.

WHAT THE STATE MISSED

The State published an editorial last week purporting to give an idea about Robert Russa Moton's book, "What The Negro Thinks." Lest those who read the editorial and haven't read the book should get the idea that it is filled with such quotations as were given in the State, we hasten to give a few statements made by Mr. Moton which may prove more encouraging.

The State missed this statement of Mr. Moton's: "The thinking Negro refuses to accept the idea that race prejudice is natural and inevitable, that it is inherent in the child, either white or black. He insists that it is acquired and cultivated, and that the greatest single aid to its cultivation is segregation."

And naturally this was overlooked: "When the Negro was represented both in state legislatures and in National congress, there were no disabling laws passed against the white man and no legislation enacted specialy favoring the Negro. When he came to power, albeit but recently a slave, he legislated like a free man for freemen without prejudice or discrimination."

Negroes should note this statement and ask themselves if as far as the American Negro is concerned isn't General Smuts right: "It is interesting that that America in general fears the segregation of all other elements of its population and exerts every effort to 'Americanize' its alien groups; whereas in the case of the Negro it has largely accepted a policy just the reverse."

The State would have done well to quote these words of Mr. Moton's: "The Negro feels that it is a libel against his race to say that segregation and discrimination are necessary to protect t white man's civilization, the sanctity of his home, or the the i tegrity of his race. He feels that it is an unwarranted insult bo to his person and to his character to establish that there is a place to which the public is admitted that will be defiled by t mere presence of a black man in the enjoyment of equal privileg with others."

This final quotation will serve to demonstrate the tenor of M ton's conception of what the Negro thinks: "In his forgivi moods the Negro actually pities the condition of the man who c not, and who dares not even recognize skill and talent, honor a virtue, strength and goodness simply because it wears a bla skin."

There are gems contained in the book but our idea here is t is to present just a few instances showing the emancipated ten of the author's utterances; and to present a version differing fro that published by the State.

PAGE SENATOR HEFLIN

Courier

BEFORE Senator Heflin sings his final "swan song," we hope someone will hand him a copy of a new book by Dr. John Louis Hill, entitled "The Battle of Bloods." We feel quite certain Senator Heflin will rise in his place on the floor of the Senate and, for the benefit of his constituents in the South, will condemn this book and consign its author to the burning regions below. 1-29-30

"The Battle of Bloods" is a new treatment of the white people and Negroes of this country. The author has gone into the question of origins, bloods, races, colors, masters, servants, ignorance, politics and religion like no white man has dared do since we have been reading literature. The book, if not already off the press, ought to make its appearance within the next ten days or two weeks. It was our pleasure to read it in its original text and we are quite sure the book will find a place in the library of every student of history in this country, and in other countries as well. The book carries so many facts to which Senator Heflin and his kind will take serious exception that it rises above the average discussion of race, color, blood mixtures, hybrids and whatnot. We expect a sweeping indictment of some parts of the book because of the irrefutable truths set forth therein. We expect to see the author bitterly arraigned for having the courage and the nerve, and some may say the audacity, to relate facts which have hitherto been kept in the dark. The book is only one of a series to be released by the publishers; but suffice it to say that the series will always be known because "The Battle of Bloods" was released first and set the reading public of this country wild-eyed and gasping. Pittsburgh, Pa

Having read about all that has been written concerning the Negro, we state without hesitation that "The Battle of Bloods" is about the last word that could be expected from the pen of any author on this so-called melting pot of ours which, according to the author, is melting faster than many of us appreciate. Social equality, inferiority complex, superiority complex, whole bloods, half bloods, origins, environment and, last but not least, a healthy prognosis are all found in "The Battle of Bloods." We are standing by, awaiting its release from the press, because we know we are now enjoying the proverbial "lull before the storm."

We do not know what southern types like Senator Heflin will do when the book is released, but in all fairness he ought to be given an opportunity to anticipate what is coming.

MR. WOOFTER'S ELUCIDATION

Two weeks ago we inserted an editorial excerpt from the Afro-American, taking to task Mr. T. J. Woofter because of his alleged views on equal educational opportunities between the two races in the South, as published in the new book, "Black Yeomanry." Upon reading the comment those of us who know the attitude of Mr. Woofter were somewhat chagrinned. His views on the race question have been practical and liberal, as shown in other publications as well as his efforts for a betterment of racial relations. Mr. Woofter claims that advantage was taken of him by disconnecting his thoughts and omitting other salient points. He has sent a reply to the article and we are here giving it the same prominence as the other one:

October 7, 1930

The Editor, The Afro-American,
Baltimore, Maryland.
Dear Sir: Tribune

I am in receipt of clipping from the Savannah Tribune of editorial quoted from you entitled Woofterism—A Fallacy. In writing this I think that you misunderstood my point of view and classed me where I do not belong, so I hope you will open your columns to the following statement which I believe will make my views on Negro Education clear. 10-11-30

I may start by saying that I do not think there is any fundamental disagreement between us as to Negro education. I am for more and better schools of all kinds and for a more just distribution of the public funds. I do not, for an instant, subscribe to the fallacy that the tax is wholly paid by the man who hands the money over to the collector, although you have ascribed this fallacy to me. I know that the renters of houses and lands and the laborers in industry create values from which tax money is derived. These are theoretical statements upon which to plead for an ideal program. In the St. Helena study I was not trying to state an ideal program but to describe an actual situation and did not endorse this situation as it existed and it is not quite just to me to make it seem that I do.

Fortunately, to keep the record clear, I wrote five years ago The Basis of Racial Adjustment, in which book I was dealing more with my ideas as to what ought to be, while in the St. Helena report I was dealing with what is. On page 155 of The Basis this statement occurs: "In order to equalize the opportunities in the rich and poor counties, almost every state has a state school fund which is distributed to these counties not on the basis of what they pay into the state treasury but on the basis of their school population and school attendance. This would seem to be a fair basis for the counties in turn to use in equalizing the opportunities in their richer and poorer school districts." Also on page 180 of the Basis the following sentence is found: "Justice should demand that such funds be apportioned more closely in proportion to the population of the two races." These statements, in a book which is widely used by college students as a text, I think put me on record as definitely opposed to the very thing you say I favor.

But to return to the St. Helena Study, as I have said, I was merely describing the conditions in Beaufort County as they actually are, not endorsing them as an ideal. Any one familiar with that county or other typical black belt counties, can readily subscribe to the truth of the statements which you quote from the St. Helena report even though they do not think that such conditions are desirable. In other words, there can be no successful refutation of the facts which you quoted from my study as to the poverty of both colored and white people in the black belt, the difficulty of whites in maintaining anything like satisfactory standards for their schools, the fact that under these circumstances anything given to the Negroes would be taken away from the whites and that this would require a degree of altruism which does not say it ought not to counties. (Mark you I do not say it ought not to exist) Finally that under these circumstances probably all that can be asked is that they receive back in school services at least as much as they contribute in school taxes. (Under other circumstances they might and ought to ask more. In fact, if you had gone a few paragraphs further in your quotation you would have encounted this statement: "Although the treatment meted out to the Island is permitted under existing laws, it is by no means prescribed by them. There is nothing to prevent the authorities of Beaufort County from apportioning the benefits and burdens of local government in a fair and impartial manner. An awakening on the part of the dominant interests in the country to the real needs of its backward rural communities and a more sympathetic consideration of their interests are perhaps all that is needed to solve St. Helena's tax problem."

Please remove me from the ranks of the Bourbons.

Yours for big red schoolhouses
T. J. Woofter, Jr.

CHARLESTON, W. VA.
GAZETTE

DEC 24 1930

The American Negro

Interesting at least are the views of Dr. John Louis Hill who has written a book revealing what he believes is the future of the Negro race in America. That the race will carve out its own destiny largely through its own efforts and will elect to preserve a system of segregation is one point that he makes that seems to have merit.

It is a fact that today many of the better class of Negroes are going ahead with their development largely through their own efforts, accepting gratefully the assistance of the whites and at the same time preserving their dignity and good nature as they climb rapidly upward.

We do not agree with all that Dr. Hill says in his book, but he does produce some illuminating facts. For instance, he says that communist agitators and big time racketeering gangsters recruiting followers among the American Negroes, have met with complete failure. This racial group, over 14,000,000 persons, comprising 10 per cent of the population of the United States, remains untouched by these two influences so dangerous to the nation's welfare, he says.

Dr. Hill finds that the present political affiliations, as well as the financial and industrial status of the millions of Aframericans, are undergoing a major revision. These changes he sees as certain to affect directly a majority of American wage-earners and a factor which will intensify existing interracial differences.

Discussing the Negro's place in the nation, Dr. Hill believes that the Negroes "in the all-important field of physical labor, have been and are the most vital and most essential element of the nation. In the realms of literature, music, dramatic art, and many other important phases of national advancement, they are not far behind the white race. In loyalty to the flag and the fundamental principles of our government, they are practically 100 per cent perfect."

"It is safe to predict," Dr. Hill continues in discussing the all-important question of segregation, "that in the future, the masses of colored people in our country will be segregated in the sense that they will voluntarily choose to live in racial groups. This will be for social and economic reasons which will contribute to their own happiness. In the first place, it will be for the purpose of racial solidarity, and for the demonstration of power, and the capacity to build for themselves a high state of civilization."

Dr. Hill's opinion as to the final solution of the problems involved, a solution that is still far in the future, is based on the generally accepted theory that climatic conditions and environment in Africa during the past centuries, account for the "color" of the Negro. The great migration northward in the United States has reversed the process and "it is only a question of some more generations through some more centuries, when nature, through the inevitable working of the laws of human proximity, and through temperate and colder climates, will eventually obliterate the line of demarcation between the so-called white and black races in the United States of America, and there will no longer be a race problem growing out of the question of color."

In the meantime, however, interracial relations will be bettered only by a more complete understanding of the Negro by the Caucasian races, Dr. Hill believes.

"The Battle of Bloods" is a new treatment of the white people and Negroes of this country. The author has gone into the question of origins, bloods, races, colors, masters, servants, ignorance, politics and religion like no white man has dared do since we have been reading literature. The book, if not already off the press, ought to make its appearance within the next ten days or two weeks. It was our pleasure to read it in its original text and we are quite sure the book will find a place in the library of every student of history in this country, and in other countries as well. The book carries so many facts to which Senator Heflin and his kind will take serious exception that it rises above the average discussion of race, color, blood mixtures, hybrids and whatnot. We expect a sweeping indictment of some parts of the book because of the irrefutable truths set forth therein. We expect to see the author bitterly arraigned for having the courage and the nerve, and some may say the audacity, to relate facts which have hitherto been kept in the dark. The book is only one of a series to be released by the publishers; but suffice it to say that the series will always be known because "The Battle of Bloods" was released first and set the reading public of this country wild-eyed and gasping.

Having read about all that has been written concerning the Negro, we state without hesitation that "The Battle of Bloods" is about the last word that could be expected from the pen of any author on this so-called melting pot of ours which, according to the author, is melting faster than many of us appreciate. Social equality, inferiority complex, superiority complex, whole bloods, half bloods, origins, environment and, last but not least, a healthy prognosis are all found in "The Battle of Bloods." We are standing by, awaiting its release from the press, because we know we are now enjoying the proverbial "lull before the storm."

We do not know what southern types like Senator Heflin will do when the book is released, but in all fairness he ought to be given an opportunity to anticipate what is coming.

MR. WOOFTER'S ELUCIDATION

Two weeks ago we inserted an editorial
hexcerpt from the Afro-American, taking to
ntask Mr. T. J. Woofter because of his alleg-
ted views on equal educational opportunities
nbetween the two races in the South, as pub-
rished in the new book, "Black Yeomanry."
eUpon reading the comment those of us who
cnow the attitude of Mr. Woofter were some
owhat chagrinned. His views on the race
aquestion have been practical and liberal, as
shown in other publications as well as his ef-
corts for a betterment of racial relations. Mr.
kWoofter claims that advantage was taken of
him by disconnecting his thoughts and omit-
ting other salient points. He has sent a re-
rply to the article and we are here giving it
the same prominence as the other one:

October 7, 1930

The Editor, The Afro-American,
Baltimore, Maryland.
Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of clipping from the Savannah Tribune of editorial quoted from you entitled Woofterism—A Fallacy. In writing this I think that you misunderstood my point of view and classed me where I do not belong, so I hope you will open your columns to the following statement which I believe will make my views on Negro Education clear.

I may start by saying that I do not think there is any fundamental disagreement between us as to Negro education. I am for more and better schools of all kinds and for a more just distribution of the public funds. I do not, for an instant, subscribe to the fallacy that the tax is wholly paid by the man who hands the money over to the collector, although you have ascribed this fallacy to me. I know that the renters of houses and lands and the laborers in industry create values from which tax money is derived. These are theoretical statements upon which to plead for an ideal program. In the St. Helena study I was not trying to state an ideal program but to describe an actual situation. I do not endorse this situation as it exists and it is not quite just to me to make it seem that I do.

Fortunately, to keep the record straight, I wrote five years ago The Basis of Racial Adjustment, in which book I was dealing more with my ideas as to what ought to be, while in the St. Helena report I was dealing with what is. On page 155 of The Basis this statement occurs: "In order to equalize the opportunities in the rich and poor counties, almost every state has a state school fund which is distributed to these counties not on the basis of what they pay into the state treasury but on the basis of their school population and school attendance. This would seem to be a fair basis for the counties in turn to use in equalizing the opportunities in their richer and poorer school districts." Also on page 180 of the Basis the following sentence is found: "Justice should demand that such funds be apportioned more closely in proportion to the population of the two races." These statements, in a book which is widely used by college students as a text, I think put me on record as definitely opposed to the very thing you say I favor.

But to return to the St. Helena study, as I have said, I was merely describing the conditions in Beaufort County as they actually are, not endorsing them as an ideal. Any one familiar with that county or other typical black belt counties, can readily subscribe to the truth of the statements which you quote from the St. Helena report even though they do not think that such conditions are desirable. In other words, there can be no successful refutation of the facts which you quoted from my study as to the poverty of both colored and white people in the black belt, the difficulty of whites in maintaining anything like satisfactory standards for their schools, the fact that under these circumstances anything given to the Negroes would be taken away from the whites and that this would require a degree of altruism which does not say it ought not to (Mark you I do not say it ought not to exist) Finally that under these circumstances probably all that can be asked is that they receive back in school services at least as much as they contribute in school taxes. (Under other circumstances they might and ought to ask more. In fact, if you had gone a few paragraphs further in your quotation you would have encounted this statement: "Although the treatment meted out to the Island is permitted under existing laws, it is by no means prescribed by them. There is nothing to prevent the authorities of Beaufort County from apportioning the benefits and burdens of local government in a fair and impartial manner. An awakening on the part of the dominant interests in the country to the real needs of its backward rural communities and a more sympathetic consideration of their interests are perhaps all that is needed to solve St. Helena's tax problem."

Please remove me from the ranks of the Bourbons.

Yours for big red schoolhouses

T. J. Woofter, Jr.

10-14-30

CHARLESTON, W. VA.
GAZETTE

DEC 24 1930

The American Negro

Interesting at least are the views of Dr. John Louis Hill who has written a book revealing what he believes is the future of the Negro race in America. That the race will carve out its own destiny largely through its own efforts and will elect to preserve a system of segregation is one point that he makes that seems to have merit.

It is a fact that today many of the better class of Negroes are going ahead with their development largely through their own efforts, accepting gratefully the assistance of the whites and at the same time preserving their dignity and good nature as they climb rapidly upward.

We do not agree with all that Dr. Hill says in his book, but he does produce some illuminating facts. For instance, he says that communist agitators and big time racketeering gangsters recruiting followers among the American Negroes, have met with complete failure. This racial group, over 14,000,000 persons, comprising 10 per cent of the population of the United States, remains untouched by these two influences so dangerous to the nation's welfare, he says.

Dr. Hill finds that the present political affiliations, as well as the financial and industrial status of the millions of Aframericans, are undergoing a major revision. These changes he sees as certain to affect directly a majority of American wage-earners and a factor which will intensify existing interracial differences.

Discussing the Negro's place in the nation, Dr. Hill believes that the Negroes "in the all-important field of physical labor, have been and are the most vital and most essential element of the nation. In the realms of literature, music, dramatic art, and many other important phases of national advancement, they are not far behind the white race. In loyalty to the flag and the fundamental principles of our government, they are practically 100 per cent perfect."

"It is safe to predict," Dr. Hill continues in discussing the all-important question of segregation, "that in the future, the masses of colored people in our country will be segregated in the sense that they will voluntarily choose to live in racial groups. This will be for social and economic reasons which will contribute to their own happiness. In the first place, it will be for the purpose of racial solidarity, and for the demonstration of power, and the capacity to build for themselves a high state of civilization."

Dr. Hill's opinion as to the final solution of the problems involved, a solution that is still far in the future, is based on the generally accepted theory that climatic conditions and environment in Africa during the past centuries, account for the "color" of the Negro. The great migration northward in the United States has reversed the process and "it is only a question of some more generations through some more centuries, when nature, through the inevitable working of the laws of human proximity, and through temperate and colder climates, will eventually obliterate the line of demarcation between the so-called white and black races in the United States of America, and there will no longer be a race problem growing out of the question of color."

In the meantime, however, interracial relations will be bettered only by a more complete understanding of the Negro by the Caucasian races, Dr. Hill believes.

Race Problem - 1930

West Indies.

NEW YORK HERALD

DOMINICAN PRESIDENT

Urena Named Provisional Chief of Republic.

SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic, Feb. 28.—(AP)—President Horacio Vasquez today signed a decree appointing Rafael Estrella Urena, chief of the interior department, secretary of state for the interior to act as provisional president.

The president himself then issued a request to the national assembly to permit his leaving the republic for some other country because of ill health.

Under the constitution in case of the absence, sickness or resignation of the president, the secretary of state for the interior takes up the duties of chief executive.

REBELLION FLARES IN SANTO DOMINGO PRESIDENT FLEES

Vasquez and Vice President Resign and Seek Passage Out of Country. Battle in Capital.

SANTO DOMINGO, Feb. 24.—(UN)—Revolutionaries seized the Santiago fortress at Monte Cristo on the northern coast of the Dominician republic today and advanced toward this city, the capital.

President Horacio Vasquez and Vice President Alfonseca presented their resignations to congress A provisional president will be named until a presidential election takes place.

It was unofficially reported that President Horacio Vasquez was trying to escape to Haiti. He was said to be in a fort near Santo Domingo, hoping to take ship to Jacmel, Haitian port on the Carribean.

Commercial advices said insurrectionists had seized the fort and police station at Santiago de los Caballeros, an important town in the tobacco district.

The commandant of the Haitian garde at Ounaminthe said he had received information that rebels disarmed municipal police and government partisans at Dajabon, near the Haitian frontier.

American travelers at the border reported shooting in Santo Domingo, the capital, with three of four persons injured.

Information received here so far indicated that the trouble was due to dissatisfaction with the reported intention of President Horacio Vasquez to seek re-election. Vasquez already has served one term, plus a two year extension. An economic depression due to a critical situation in the coffee industry was said to be an additional factor in the discontent. There also is a depression in the sugar industry of the republic.

A private American commission headed by Charles G. Dawes reformed the Dominican budget system at President Vasquez's request last year, but high governmental expenditures for public improvements, together with decreasing revenues, precipitated an economic and political crisis.

American commercial travelers from the Dominican republic heard sinister rumors that some disaffected Americans sought to force the crisis. The plan, the rumors said, was to bring about renewed occupation by United States marines—who were withdrawn in 1924—in the hope that the economic situation might be permanently improved thereby.

Reports of the Dominican insurrection have not been published in Port Au Prince as yet. When they are, they may intensify the troubled atmosphere here and present a new difficulty for President Hoover's Haitian investigating mission. The mission is expected to arrive here Friday.

WASHINGTON WATCHES WITH INTEREST.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 24.—(AP)—Washington officials watched tonight with interest the developments of the disturbance in the Dominican republic.

Under a treaty of 1907 the United States collects the customs for the republic, and under a restatement of the same treaty in 1924 a general receiver of Dominican customs is appointed by this government. That official is charged with the duty of collecting the revenues from the customs houses and apportioning them to the creditors of the republic.

State department officials said they had been unable to communicate with Charles B. Curtis, the American minister in that country, and any steps he had taken to bring peace had been prompted by his long experience in diplomatic affairs.

In 1916 marines were sent to the republic to re-establish order in the nation and make possible the orderly collection of customs. The marines were withdrawn again in 1924, and there has been no United States occupation of the republic since that time.

Census Definition of Negroes Causes Virgin Islands Protest

Mulattoes, Representing One Caste, Contend They Should Be Listed Among White

Special Correspondence

ST. THOMAS, V. I., March 22.—As officials prepare to take the United States census in the Virgin Islands, a clause in the forms has roused a wave of protest here which has its roots deep in the caste system. The clause in question requires enumerators to list as Negroes persons having any percentage of Negro blood. As administrator of the census, Governor Waldo Evans is expected to receive the brunt of the protests.

Of the inhabitants of St. Thomas, 95 per cent are Negroes or their descendants, but they are divided into castes according to their hue. Mulattoes object to being classified as Negroes. They contend that since they have a large percentage of Caucasian blood, they should be listed as white.

Newspapers Enter Controversy

Newspapers here have entered the controversy and an effort is being made by some of them to show, inferentially, that Americans are of mixed blood and that, therefore, those responsible for the Negro clause are themselves not "white," in the strict sense of the term.

Those newspapers with Negro sympathy are making the most of the situation to show that mulattoes are not "race conscious" and want to pass for what they are not.

"The Emancipator" says editorially: "Can there be anything more regrettable than that a race created by circumstances in the forces of nature, should try by unnatural means to ostracise and segregate itself? Would not the question of human relationship—man to man—carry a more far-reaching effect on the moral, educational and progressive tendencies of the 98 per cent Negro peoples of St. Thomas, if they would but expunge from their minds the curse of imitating another race whose psychological and temperamental idiosyncrasies are diametrically in contrast with their own?"

Indignation Expressed

In another issue the same newspaper says: "Many are the friends and compatriots we know of who daily express righteous indignation over a part of the instructions contained in the Fifteenth Census of the United States to which they as Americans, or subjects in an American possession, must be confronted and will have to answer only one way . . .

"While the conditions stipulated in the census for individual and collective examination is foreign to our traditions, we ought to be careful not to offend—as is common among us—those least to blame. . . . There is positively quite an unrest among our people who resent being styled 'Negro.' What are they going to do about it? Are they just going to sit quiet—as usual—and hope to take it out of the poor enumerator, or are they even at this ninety-ninth hour—going to record their objections in an intelligent and convincing manner in such places where it should count?"



Captain Waldo Evans, Governor of the Virgin Islands, from a photograph taken near the Executive Mansion

Aristocracy Based on Pigment

Ever since the change in sovereignty of the islands a certain group of people among the natives has been fighting the system which looks upon the Negro as the social inferior of the whites. During the period the Danes held sway this was not the case. It was a common sight then to see a Danish Governor riding in a mulatto man's carriage, or to see a mulatto dancing with the Governor's wife or daughter at social affairs at Government House or elsewhere.

Those whose skins were black were the ones who were ostracized. It was an aristocracy within the Negro race based on pigment, rather than on culture or education. The mulattoes thoroughly enjoyed the situation and thought it to be correct and logical.

Then came the American era, with the change in system and the contention that if a person contained any percentage of Negro blood he was a Negro. This casued mulattoes to be ostracized from white society.

Mulattoes, instead of fraternizing with Negroes, made a bid for the society of white Americans, thus widening the chasm. When this did not work out the Americans were severely criticized by some groups for their "foolish race customs."

Critics of the mulattoes point out that they themselves are practicing the same customs by holding their darker brothers from their society, regardless of education or culture.

DOMINICANS ELECT TRUJILLO PRESIDENT

But Aliancistas, Who Withdrew Candidates, Will Fight Contest as Illegal.

VOTERS HEAVILY ARMED

New Leader of Republic Began His Career Under Marines Who Trained Native Forces.

SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic, May 16 (AP).—General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo and General Rafael Estrella Urena, government candidates, were elected today to be President and Vice President, respectively, of the Dominican Republic.

The names of the opposition candidates, Federico Velasquez and Angel Morales, were withdrawn Wednesday by the coalition of the National Progressive parties and thus the govern-

ment candidates had a clear field. The Aliancistras, as the coalitionists call themselves, hope, however, to have the election declared illegal by the courts and thus bring about new balloting. They assert the members of the Junta Central Electoral, the body which supervises elections, were illegally appointed some time ago and that the election therefore will not stand up.

Voters Go Armed to Polls.

The voters went to the polls well armed, both Trupillistas and Aliancistas. To forestall trouble, liquor shops, restaurants and drug stores were closed so that the armed partisans might not congregate and cause trouble.

General Trujillo began in the United States Marine Corps the military career which in twelve years has brought him, at the age of 37, to the presidency of this republic.

In 1918 the marines occupying the Dominican Republic took into their ranks several native young men to train them as prospective officers of the Dominican Army. The marine corps was making many Second Lieutenants of its own that year, the last of the World War, and therefore the issuance of a commission by the President of an occupied country was considered of little significance by many of the Americans.

But Lieutenant Trujillo made the commission significant. When the marines withdrew in 1924 he was already a Major. Today he is Brigadier General in command of the Dominican Army.

General Trujillo has been a soldier continuously since the marines discovered him, and there have been few days since 1918 when he has not worn a uniform. In the political campaign, however, he put aside his military habiliments to allay the fears of those who regarded his candidacy for President as a threat of military dictatorship.

"I hate these clothes," he remarked one day, fumbling with his civilian necktie and tugging at his vest. "The soldier's garb, the soldier's life—they're the best for a man."

The young General, erect and slender, dark-eyed and gray-haired, of average height, makes a fine appearance in his well-tailored civilian clothes, but he feels at his best only when he is dressed as a soldier. All of his campaign pictures showed him in uniform.

Like many soldiers of history, General Trujillo does not excel as an orator. He prides himself on being "a man of action rather than words." He usually reads his speeches.

In contrast, General Estrella Urena is one of the most eloquent public speakers in Latin America. He has distinguished himself in his own country as a lawyer and abroad as Dominican Minister to France, Belgium and Italy.

General Trujillo and General Estrella Urena personify the "youth movement" in Dominican politics. The figures denoting the number of President Trujillo's years are the reverse of the 73 marking the age of Horacio Vasquez, who was president until last February.

Vice President Estrella Urena, who is 40 years old, succeeded Señor Vasquez as President but withdrew for the Vice Presidential race.

Former U. S. Marine Is Elected Dominican Republic's President

SANTO DOMINGO, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, May 16.—(AP)—Gen. Rafael Leonidas Trujillo and Gen. Rafael Estrella Urena, Government candidates, today were elected President and Vice President respectively of the Dominican Republic.

The names of the opposition candidates, Federico Velasquez and Angel Morales, were withdrawn Wednesday by the Alianza of National Progressive Parties and thus the Government candidates had a clear field. The Aliancistas hope, however, to have the election declared illegal by the courts and thus bring about new balloting. They declare that members of the Junta Central Electoral, the body which supervises elections, was illegally appointed and that therefore the election will not stand up.

Gen. Trujillo began in the United States Marine Corps the military career which in 12 years has brought him, at the age of 37, to the Presidency of a Sovereign nation.

In 1918 the Marines occupying the Dominican Republic took into their ranks several native young men to train them as prospective officers for the Dominican Army. The Marine Corps was making many second lieutenants of its own that year, the last of the World War, and therefore the issuance of a commission by the President of an occupied country was considered of little significance by many of the Americans, who had readily accepted as a "real buddy" and a "good soldier" the quiet fellow named Trujillo.

But Trujillo made the commission significant. When the marines withdrew in 1924 he was already a major. Today he is brigadier general in command of the Dominican Army.

Trujillo has been a solder since the Marines discovered him, and there have been few days since 1918 that he has not worn a uniform. In the political campaign, however, he put aside his military habiliments, to allay the fears of those who regarded his candidacy for President as a threat of military dictatorship.

"I hate these clothes," he remarked one day fumbling with his necktie and tugging at his vest. "The soldier's garb, the soldier's life, they're the best for a man."

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Like many soldiers of history, Trujillo does not excel as an orator. He prides himself on being "a man of action rather than words." He usually reads his speeches.

In contrast the vice president, Estrella Urena, is one of the most eloquent public speakers in Latin America. He has distinguished himself in his own country as a lawyer and abroad as Dominican minister to France, Belgium and Italy.

Trujillo and Estrella Urena personify the "youth movement" in Dominican politics. The figures denoting the number of Trujillo's years are the reverse of the 73 marking the age of Horacio Vasquez, who was President until last February. Estrella Urena, only three years older than Trujillo, succeeded Vasquez as President but withdrew for the vice-Presidency race.

UNDER THE LASH OF THE WHIP!



We are in hopes that the Jim Crow "educational" commission that President Hoover created will make some observations and recommendations in regards to educational improvement in Haiti. The first release sent by the newspapermen with the "commission" reads that President Hoover is in favor of granting self determination to Haiti. It was not at all necessary to send any group or delegation to the land of Dessalines, Christophe and Toussaint L'Overture to find out the president's attitude. By his actions and overt deeds Mr. Hoover has given very definite expression of his attitude toward Haiti and to the American colored people, for that matter. There are some good men in the body now in Haiti and no doubt they will bring back something of an illuminating nature about Haiti. That is what we would like to hear, but we are not interested in any conclusions in regards to the attitude of the President of the United States. We are not in need of any "soft soaping" and palaver about presidential attitudes. The President appointed no members of the colored race on the real commission to Haiti, and this secondary, Jim-crow contingent does not fill us with any righteous pride. We rather expected that most of the gentlemen selected to go would decline with thanks but they did not, and now we do not believe that the public will be interested in what purports to be the presidential attitude when and while the president's attitudes have been spoken eloquently to the contrary themselves.

NEW YORK EVE POST

JUL 1 - 1930

HAITI PRESS HAILS MOTON BOARD QUIZ

Hoover Commission Conducts Open Hearings on Educational Problems

MANY APPEAR TO TESTIFY

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, July 1 (AP)—The Moton Commission, named by President Hoover to study the educational problem in Haiti, went quietly and immediately to work after it arrived here and the members were hailed as brothers by the Haitian press.

Outstanding American Negro educators make up the group which is attempting to unravel the tangle of educational methods, administration and ideas in this republic of French-speaking Negroes.

Heading the commission is Dr. Robert R. Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute and successor to the late Booker T. Washington. The other members are Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University; Professor Leo M. Favrot, field secretary of the General Education Board; Professor Benjamin F. Hubert, president of Georgia State Industrial College, and Dr. W. T. R. Williams, dean of the College of Tuskegee Institute.

The group had planned to rest a few days after arrival, but found that several persons were ready to give their views immediately. Dr. Moton thereupon opened a session and each day since the commission has listened to any one who wished to give his views.

There has been no dearth of visitors. Editors, planters, Americans engaged in Haitian educational work, Haitian business men—all have appeared without specific invitation to describe the educational situation as they see it.

Dominicans Celebrate Exodus of Marines

SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic, July 12.—(AP)—The dominican republic today celebrated one of its two independence days—the sixth anniversary of the withdrawal of the United States marines.

The American occupation began July 8, 1916, because of unstable political conditions, ended six years ago today and since then every July 12 has been a national holiday. The day has much of the significance of February 27, the anniversary of the founding of the republic in 1844 after freedom from subjugation by Haiti.

Church and state dignitaries joined in today's observance. Te Deum at the old cathedral where Christopher Columbus had been buried, was followed by a reception at the presidential mansion.

President Rafael Estrella Urena gave a toast to the dominicians who helped the Americans arrange the terms of the marine evacuation.

Race Problem - 1930
West Indies.

"IT IS THE AMERICANS' ORDERS" --

Courier 9-13-30

Cuban Officials Embarrass Mrs. Mary Bethune, Prof. R. P. Sims and Daughter When They Land In Cuba—Say They Acted Under Advice of Americans.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

(Special to The Pittsburgh Courier)

HAVANA, Cuba, Sept. 11—(By ANP)—Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, famous woman leader of the United States, and President R. P. Sims of Bluefield Institute, with members of their families, were held back and annoyed when they were to embark at Havana.

The Cuban officials later claimed that they acted under suggested wishes of the United States government officials in harassing and discouraging Negroes from coming into Cuba. Strangely enough, this annoyance and harassing does not discriminate between those who go seeking work, as some from Jamaica, and those traveling as tourists and educators, like Dr. Sims and his daughter and Mrs. Bethune and her grandson, who came as a party from Florida.

"It Is Americans"

President Sims and his daughter, being lighter of skin, were about to be passed by the official, while Mrs. Bethune, being plainly Negro, was being held up. But they made it known that they were all of the same party and refused to be separated. The firm stand of Mrs. Bethune and the intervention of a colored family in Cuba saved the day. But the officer, to save his face, held back their return tickets, for which they had to call later. The Cubans say it is the Americans; the Americans, when you tackle them about it out of the hearing of Cubans, say it is the Cuban government. The Negroes believe the thing inspired by Americans. They had even refused to sell the Simses and Bethunes round-trip tickets from Miami, Fla., to Havana, saying it was "orders," and that they were not to "encourage Negroes to go to Cuba."

Pickens Threatened

Four days later than the arrival of the Sims-Bethune party, William Pickens was to arrive on the Morro Castle of the Ward line from New York. Mr. Pickens thinks he would have met similar treatment, and would have been threatened with being sent to Tiscornia, the Cuban "Ellis Island," if the Club Atenas had not heard of his coming and made representations to the Cuban government to prevent any insult or inconvenience being put upon him. The president of the club, Senor Cornelio Elizade y Lima, and the secretary, Senor Ramon Valdes, had made representation directly to the Cuban government and secured the written card of the commissioner of immigration that Mr. Pickens would be treated without discrimination upon his arrival. Senior Delisario Hereaux, a member of the club and son of a president of Santo Domingo, came in person to the pier to see that nothing went wrong with their assurances from the government officials of Cuba. Mr. Pickens landed ignorant of what had threatened him and of the action to prevent it, until he met these people after passing off the ship. The Club Atenas on the same day extended the uses and the courtesies of the club to Mr. Pickens, including its splendid gymnasium. The clubhouse was erected a year ago by a Cuban architect and stands diagonally opposite to the palace of the governor of the province of Havana.

Other colored Americans have recently been treated with great indignity by this American-inspired policy. The Rev. Mr. Downing of Tennessee and four high school teachers were kept at the island of Tiscornia several days and made to pay for the "accommodations." The contributing editor of the Associated Negro Press will write a letter to Secretary Stimson of the State Department in Washington, advising him of the situation and protesting against it. He also is establishing contacts in Cuba among those who will fight for equal rights for Negro tourists. And any colored person planning to visit Cuba is advised to notify William Pickens, contributing editor of the Associated Negro Press, 3423 Indiana avenue, Chicago, Ill., or the field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at 69 Fifth avenue, New York, N. Y. Mr. Pickens can then notify certain people in Havana and the traveler will get in fluential assistance if he finds i necessary to fight for his rights whe he reaches Cuban ports.

Meanwhile, steps will be taken t influence the right attitude in Amer can government officials, where th "color" discrimination seems t originate.

Mr. Pickens is the guest of James W. and Mrs. Margaret Martin in the Casas de Gomez Mena, in Havana. And on the day of his arrival a reception was extended in the evening at the home of the Martins and attended by officers and members of the Club Atenas and others. Members of Mrs. Bethune's and Dr. Sims party remained an extra day to attend the reception.

Tourist Held Back At Cuban Port

Amsterdam News

Official Says It Is in Compliance With U. S. Government

9-10-30

HAVANA, Cuba, Sept. 8 (ANP).—Mrs. Mary McLeod-Bethune, famous woman leader of the United States, and President R. P. Sims of Bluefield Institute, with members of their families, were held back when they were about to embark at Havana. The Cuban officials claimed that they acted under suggested wishes of the United States Government officials in harassing and discouraging Negroes from coming into Cuba.

New York, N.Y.

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The Cubans blame the Americans; the Americans, when you tackle them about it out of the hearing of Cubans, blame it on the Cuban Government.

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Other Americans have recently been treated with great indignity by this American inspired policy. The Rev. Mr. Downing of Tennessee and four high school teachers were kept at the island of Tiscornia several days and made to pay for the "accommodations."

CUBAN CURIOSITIES

By WILLIAM PICKENS (A.N.P.)

They can buy liquor on about every corner in Havana,—and in the middle of the block; but I have not yet seen a drunk Cuban.—There is gambling of all sorts; a lottery is run by the government, so that gambling is a sanctioned thing by authority. On the "Momo Castle," as we came down from New York, the Americans gambled, especially on Sunday; there was a "ship's pool," a sort of bet on the speed for a day, in which a few lucky persons got something and the ship officials go the big pile.—On English ships on the Atlantic, there is a "religious service" and preaching on Sundays; the Americans, en route to Cuba, promoted all sorts of gambling on Sunday. But since both of them try to rob other races, dear reader, you can just take your choice: praying British hypocrites or crap-shooting American barbarians.

In Cuba, where the native hair is naturally black and beautiful, you will find a horde of "synthetic blondes." People always want what they have not: in the United States, where there are many blacks, some of them are trying to be white; while in Northern Germany, where everybody is blonde, when a black man comes along, he is the lion of the place. Even the women all express the wish that they could have the beautiful kinky hair of that attractive black man.

In America, full dress is black; in Cuba, to be really dressed up is to be all in white, snow-white.

In America, it is "women first"; in Cuba, the men are all introduced first in polite society and then the women are introduced; even when the ice cream is passed around, the men are served first.—But this is no "man's paradise"; the women have a way.

When a member of the Cuban Congress is being introduced to you, the one making the introduction may say: "He is a celebrated poet; he won first prize in our poetry contest." Think of a Congressman being recommended to us in New York on his poetic proclivities! Wouldn't that be great campaign stuff in South Chicago?

And all the while this Congressman is talking to you, right on the streets of Havana, he has taken off his hat and kept it off until you separate. He is very polite; he looks up a dinner date for you, right on the spot. But also, when the one who was introducing you, saw the congressman coming in the distance, your sponsor said rather feverishly to you, who had your coat on your arm because of the heat: "Put on your coat! Put on your coat!"—In America, we would not worry if our lady friend met us with our coat on our arm, on a hot day,—let alone a mere congressman.

And only the men attend funerals in Cuba; women are deprived that pleasure.— I suppose that funerals are a sort of "limelight" parade business, and the men hog the stage.

I went to market in Havana: an agglomeration of everything from socks and chemises to fish, pineapples, and alligator pears. There is a great square in the center of the market building, a patio; and, they say, this patio is filled with squelaing pigs before Christmas and at other holiday seasons. The pig seems to be the "turkey" or "the national bird" here in Cuba.

Imitating the great nation to the north, the "white" element in Cuba is belly-aching to make the island a "white man's country." And what you want badly, you will make-believe or even try to lie it into existence. So you read in Cuban literature that "the population is seventy per cent white and thirty per cent of other races." But you find those figures should be at least reversed: for the population seems to be eighty or ninety per cent colored, "as color" goes in the United States. In its desperate aim to be "white," Cuba counts every brown and yellow mixed-breed a white,—and perhaps counts only the blacks and the Chinese as "colored." Every idea and classification depends upon what you want and what you NEEDS IF white people were as SCARCE in U. S. A. as they are in Cuba and Jamaica, they would immediately enroll into their ranks the four or five million mullattoes and "highbrows" of America.

Life is a screaming comedy!

Pickens Visits Cuba to Find Many Things Upside Down

Cuban Full Dress Suit is White; Men Served Before Women Only Men Attend Funerals. Can't Shed Coat on Hot Days. Cuban Population is 80 Per cent Colored. Many Mulattoes Pass for White.

By WILLIAM PICKENS
(The Associated Negro Press)

HAVANA, Cuba. — One can buy liquors on about every corner in Havana, and in the middle of the block; but I have not yet seen a drunken Cuban.

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In its desperate aim to be "white," Cuba counts every brown and yellow mixed-breed a white, and perhaps counts only the balcks and the Chinese of "colored." Every idea and classification depends upon what you want and what you need; if white people were as scarce in U.S.A. as they are in Cuba and Jamaica, they would immediately enroll into their ranks the four or five million mulattoes and "highbrowns" of America.

Life is a screaming comedy!

RACE RIOTING IN BERMUDA.

Soldiers Attack Negroes as Result of Assault Upon Lone Trooper.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

HAMILTON, Bermuda, Nov. 19.—Race rioting broke out last night when fifty white soldiers of a West Yorkshire regiment stationed here, armed with clubs and pistols, attacked a crowd of Negroes on the north shore near the barracks. Armed troops rushed from the garrison broke up the disturbance after exchanging shots, wounding two rioters.

The entire regiment was confined to its barracks pending an investigation.

The trouble had been brewing since Saturday night, when Negroes attacked a lone soldier.

Race Problem - 1930

West Indies.

HINTS RACE TOURISTS CANNOT ESCAPE "COLOR GHOST" IN ANY COUNTRY

Courier Journal 9-18-30

Pittsburgh Pa.

HAVANA, Cuba, Oct. 16—(ANP)—In the midst of the topsy-turvy jumble of political events which have kept the metropolitan area of Havana full of excitement and commotion during the last two weeks, El Mundo, one of the leading Havana dailies, takes time off this week to discuss the treatment accorded colored American tourists to that country.

El Mundo's interest in the subject was occasioned by protests to Cuban and American officials in Cuba and to the United States Department of State, made by William Pickens, field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, after the latter had learned of indignities suffered by Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune and other representative Negroes who sought to enter Cuba as tourists.

Mr. Pickens insisted that colored Americans met with a policy of evasion on the part of officials and that they were subjected to demands which caused them unreasonable and illegal inconveniences. When an attempt was made to find out the cause, the American officials said that the Cuban officials were responsible; the Cubans laid the blame on the Americans. The United States State Department declared that it knew nothing of such a situation and had certainly not ordered it.

El Mundo sought an explanation from Senor Pedro Cartaya, sub-commissioner of immigration, who emphatically declared that the claim that there had been established any distinctions in the immigration laws between North American citizens white or colored, who came to Cuba was false.

"All," asserted Senor Cartaya, "have been equally attended, without any difference whatever, whenever they have had the proper documents as tourists. If any colored citizens of the United States have not found it easy to disembark, it must necessarily be blamed on the fact that they have not presented their documents in the required form. The department of immigration has only endeavored to comply with the rules prescribed strictly, trying to avoid the importation of foreign labor; that is, those elements which would offer competition to the native workers."

To this avowal of the fairness of the laws of Cuba, El Mundo surrenders completely, adding:

"It is not possible that in Cuba any public official, under any pretext, may make distinctions between different citizens of the same country, basing such distinctions solely on the color of the skin. The North American tourists are and must be well received among us, be they white or black. Certainly any such distinction (as of color) in welcoming these visitors from the neighboring republic would be as far-fetched as to establish distinctions on account of different days of arrival, the nationality of the steamer which brought them, or the color of their baggage."

A reflection of Cuba's serious labor problem is apparent as El Mundo states that it is necessary "to watch with great care the classification of these travelers: that is to say, whether they, having the advantage of tourists, should be in reality persons without work, or immigrants."

El Mundo believes that the Cuban laws restricting the importation of laborers, as compared to those of Mexico and the United States, are far too lax, and that some good may come to Cuba out of the present agitation if it may cause Cuban officials to increase the precaution in immigration measures, excluding equally whites, blacks, yellows or reds who come to take the bread from the mouths of Cubans."

After all, concludes El Mundo, the color complex and the ideas of persecution which beset the colored American in Cuba is probably only a bogey man which the colored visitor brings along with him and can't get rid of. For, continues the writer "It is not possible that in Cuba we should speak of white and black. This is a problem which does not exist, which must not exist among us. If a North American organization, so famous as the N. A. A. C. P. has projected a protest of this nature, we are inclined to believe that its protesting members have been blinded by the reflection of their own problem at home. Leave, therefore the racial fight for the United States."

NEW YORK WORLD

SEP 14 1930

Santo Domingo Now White Country

Little State Still Has Considerable Negro Population

By Lester A. Walton

IN dispatches giving vivid word pictures of the great catastrophe that has befallen hurricane-stricken Santo Domingo, repeated reference has been made to its capital as "the white man's most ancient city in America." But little if anything has been said of the country's present racial complexion.

Although Santo Domingo occupies the eastern two-thirds of the island discovered by Columbus in 1492 which he named Hispaniola and Haiti occupies the western third, the two nations differ in their ethnic make-up. For the last thirty years Santo Domingo has sought recognition as a white government, while for more than a century it has been Haiti's desire to remain a black government.

At the instance of President Grant a commission of inquiry went to Santo Domingo in 1871. One of the commissioners was Frederick Douglass, Negro leader of his day, who officiated as assistant secretary. The exhaustive report submitted to Congress by the president of the commission's findings said in part:

"The physical, mental and moral condition of the inhabitants of Santo Domingo were found to be more advanced than had been anticipated. The population is generally of mixed blood. The great majority, especially along the coast, are neither pure black nor pure white. They are mixed in every conceivable degree. In some parts of the interior considerable numbers of the pure white race are to be found, and generally in the mixed race the white blood predominates.

"The Dominican people differ widely in this particular from the Haitian, among whom the black race is in complete ascendancy. The cultivated and educated, such as the president, members of his cabinet, senators, judges, local magistrates, compare well with the same class in other countries; and the uneducated appear equal to the same class in any country with which we are acquainted. They seem to be practically destitute of prejudices of class, race or color."

When Columbus made his second expedition to Santo Domingo in 1493 with seventeen ships and 1,500 persons, African slaves from Seville were brought along as artisans, laborers, also as attendants to distinguished voyagers, one of whom was Ponce de Leon. In building the City of Santo Domingo, Puerto Plata and Monte Cristo, not only did the blacks perform manual labor but were conspicuous as craftsmen.

Santo Domingo's last unmistakable Negro president was Juan Wenceslao Figuereo, who as vice president succeeded Ulises Houreaux, Negro dictator from 1881 to 1899. The latter, after eighteen years of uninterrupted sway, was assassinated. Figuero, described by Otto Schoenrich in his Santo Domingo as "an aged Negro," became chief executive. He was in power only from July, 1899, to the following September, revolutionists taking possession of the government and installing Jimenez as president.

When the constitution of 1878 was promulgated with amendments Feb. 11, 1879, Cesareo Guillermo became constitutional president, but not for long. On Oct. 6, 1879, a revolution broke out and a provisional government formed by Gen. Gregorio Luperon, referred to by historians as "an intelligent Negro," assumed the duties of provisional president. He fixed the president's term of office as two years, and upon retirement saw to it that a warm supporter, Father Fernado de Merino, an eloquent priest, succeeded him.

Schoenrich's naming of the strongest presidents of Santo Domingo include Pedro Santana, who served three terms and obtained annexation to Spain; Buenaventura Baez, who served five terms and sought annexation to the United States; Ulises Heureaux, dictator from 1881 to 1899, and Ramon Caceres, president from 1906 to 1911.

The first Negroes brought from Spain to Santo Domingo were members of expeditions sent to other islands, the mainland, and what was destined to be the United States. And while our histories chronicle the information that the first Negroes came to North America in 1619 on a Dutch vessel, this is disputed by those who maintain the black man made his appearance many years earlier, having set foot on these shores with Spanish explorers from Santo Domingo.

Dominican Negro's Plight Is Unbearable

negro world

Food Aplenty and Cheap But No Work, No Money; Workers Ousted

9-18-30

New York N.Y.

SANTO DOMINGO. — Following labor troubles in Central La Romana, in the southern portion of the Dominican Republic, hundreds of British West Indian Negroes have been ousted from houses occupied by them on company property and are said to be in a destitute condition.

As the "zafra," or cane harvest, will not commence until late in December and will continue only to May, no relief is in sight. Food is plentiful at a low price. Fish may be purchased at as low as three cents a pound, and five cents' worth of sweet potatoes will feed an average family for several days. But the difficulty is for the laborer to earn any money at all.

Sugar prices have probably reached the bottom figure. They can go no lower, or sugar cultivation will have to be abondoned entirely, planters declare. The vast sugar estates here are cutting expenses to the bone. On some of the estates no weeding is being done. On others weeding is done by contract, and even a fast worker may earn only 30 cents a day.

When the present harvest opens all employes of the various companies will be obliged to accept the lowest wages on record.

The La Romana estate, owned by the South Porto Rican Company, is a veritable principality nearly forty miles square. It possesses its own railroads, police, schools and hospital and besides the cane it grinds locally, it ships much to its plant in Porto Rico.

To obtain cheap labor is the problem faced by all sugar companies here, and the troubles at La Romana are no exception. Native Dominicans will not work in the fields for less than $1.25 a day. So foreign laborers, principally Negroes, are brought in from the Windward Islands. Each is bounded for $40 as a security for his leaving the country at the end of the season, and the company bringing him in pays the Dominican Republic $3 for the privilege of allowing him to work.

negro world

When the "zafra" is over these laborers are rounded up by the police and are confined for several days previous to the sailing of homeward

bound steamers. But not a few escape and wander through the country seeking work of any kind. The laborers say they are willing to pay the tax, but that they cannot find employment. 11-8-30

Fortunately, the Dominican Republic produces great quantities of food stuffs, and camions lumber down from the interior to the coast cities laden with food. Eggs are 22 cents a dozen and cooking bananas bring 70 cents a hundred.

Antonio Maceo, The Great

Chicago Whip

(For The Associated Negro Press)

Chicago, Ill.

The most that the colored people of the United States know of Antonio Maceo is that he was a Negro leader in the rebellion against Spain in Cuba, for a quarter of a century or so, and was killed in battle just before the thing he was fighting for, was achieved. And American white people do not know that much about him: they do not even know that he was a Negro, as nothing extraordinary is supposed to be a Negro. They do not even know that if Maceo stand up, riding in from seaward, as the most splendid monument of the kind in Cuba. —A picture on the walls of parlors of the Club Atenas shows Maceo and nine of his companions in exile from Cuba, in 1884, in the city of Kingston, Jamacia. So many of the patriot leaders had been driven out by Spanish tyranny that they had gathered for a photograph in Kingston, where ten of them found themselves at that time.—But they never stopped; while Marti travelled all over North and South America making speeches and seeking sympathy for the cause, the military leaders, chief among them being Maceo and Gomez, kept up the fight. When the Spanish prevailed, they ran out to other islands or to Central America or Mexico,—later to return and attack the Spaniards again. When Maceo was once in refuge in Central America, he was warned not to attend the theater one evening, as Spain had spies there to shoot him. He went, because he could not be stopped by a mere threat,—but he took the precaution to go unarmed, to remove all pretexts for killing him One of his fellow patriots accompanied him. They were attacked and sought cover behind some object in the theater. His companion was instantly killed with a shot through the head, and Maceo received a bullet in the shoulder. Later when the doctor was probing for it and struck something hard, he said to Maceo: "I have found it." Maceo replied: "Are you sure that is the right one? There are seven bullets in my body, and you have not reached one of the others." Before the Spaniards finally got him in 1896, he had received 24 bullets from them. The last two got him.

Gomez was in the west end of Cuba, hard-pressed His men were threatening to mutiny, as Spaniards had all supplies cut off and hunger was allied with Spain. The Spaniards also had a line across the island, north and south, separating Gomez from Maceo's forces in the east end of Cuba. Gomez sent word to Maceo to bring him help, if possible, else his starving men would have to capitulate to the Spaniards. With barely 150 men, Maceo, like a mad lion, broke through the Spaniard line actually got through,—then turned to attack them. He was raging that day. He got killed as he stood up and fired without cover,—but his men got to Gomez and new courage was put into the Cuban rebellion, until the United States entered to avenge the Maine (which perhaps the Spaniards did NOT sink) and Cuba got its independence. 9.27.30

No wonder the Cubans regard Maceo as their savior. And now they are building a monument to his mother, who sent all her ten sons into the revolution,—as fast as they reached the age of puberty, she gave them to the revolution. They died for Cuba. The monument to the mother is being made in Europe, as the equestrian statue of the son was made in Italy. This Negro woman was the typical "Spartan Mother" of Cuba.

Although Maceo was killed in 1896, his spirit led the Cubans until the final success. They sang songs of Maceo,—they made myths about him,—they defied him. He was "The Liberator."

When success came and when in 1902 the United States was turning Cuba over to the Cuban government, his wife, also a Negro, was invited to come to Havana to the celebration. When she reached the river and had to walk to her boat, the people spread the finest rugs in her path. On the other side of that river waited Gomez , co-patriot with her departed husband. And when she reached the Havana railway station, a great carriage of state was waiting for her. But the affectionate and expressive Latin mind would not allow the horses to do the job; the people unhitched the horses and themselves drew Senora Maceo to the palace.

Yes, Maceo has a descendent, a son,—who seems to have descended quite considerably. Of course, he has a government job. He went to school in America and is married to a white girl from Syracuse, N. Y.. That is not a crime, of course; but this man, whose mother and father were both Negroes, has been trying to forget that he is colored, shuns the people of his father's blood, and does an "Alice Rhinelander" by trying to pass for white, where it is unnecessary to do so. One may marry a white person in entire self-respect; but one shows an inferiorty spirit when one claims to be what one is not. If a white person wants to marry a colored person, because that colored person is of social standing, that colored person should insist that he or she be taken for what he or she is.

Undoubtedly the Negro and colored element were the backbone of the revolution here. But if our example finally prevails with them, the darker people will be gradually ousted from the heritage which their fathers did so much to win for the nation.

On my way back from following some of the trails of Maceo, I looked into the schools at Santa Clara, as I said before, and I found some interesting peculiarities.—I will not try to forget to tell you about them,—later.

Men Without a Country

Amsterdam News 9-10-30 New York, N.Y.

WHEN EDWARD EVERETT HALE wrote his famous story, "The Man Without a Country," he chose for his setting the America of a hundred years ago. It is surprising to learn that there are still many persons residing on United States territory who have no country. These persons are natives of the Virgin Islands who are living in the Canal Zone.

WHEN THE DANISH West Indian Islands were ceded by Denmark to the United States by treaty in 1917, the islanders who were then absent from the Virgin Islands and were not residing in United States territory at that time or on February 25, 1927, when Congress conferred citizenship on Virgin Islanders, were classed as foreigners and denied admission to their native home, their relatives and their business interests.

THE VIRGIN ISLANDERS now in Panama have formed a league to petition Congress to grant them American citizenship. Offhand, it would seem that Congress would not hesitate to grant it; but the red tape of citizenship is very taut. Bernt Balchen, the aviator, lost two years on his citizenship application because he spent them with Admiral Byrd at the South Pole; no allowance was made for the fact that during that time he was under the American flag.

Race Problem – 1930

Haiti

West Indies

HAITIAN ATTITUDE ON RACE.

When President Hoover appointed his commission of five members to investigate conditions in Haiti, there was an effort to put the responsibility for the failure to include an American Negro up to President Borno of Haiti, who it was said, had expressed his satisfaction with an all-white commission. Whether this expression represented the personal sentiments of the Haitian head of government, or merely that of the American High Commissioner, who is the Haitian government, for all practical purposes, is not quite clear. In any event, it gives rise to the inquiry, what are the true sentiments of the Haitian ruling classes in regard to affiliation with their brethren of the blood in America.

We have reason to know that when the Haitians had been threatened with American domination and when that domination became a fact they were quick to appeal to colored Americans to exert what influence they could muster in behalf of Haitian independence. Patriotic appeals from Haitian organizations for independence have been received by the Negro press and given the widest circulation. No force in America has been more consistent and persistent than the Negro press in urging that the marines be taken out of Haiti and the republic restored as an independent entity. Visiting Haitian patriots have appealed to audiences of American Negroes to assist the Haitian cause and have always received a sympathetic response.

Now, despite all these evidences of sympathy and understanding between the two colored groups, one partaking of an Anglo-Saxon civilization and the other a Latin, we are confronted with a situation which raises the question of Haitian preference for white Americans over colored Americans. If this preference was merely the personal sentiment of Monsieur Borno, it would be explainable upon the ground that he has been pictured by the Negro press as the instrument of the American occupation for the exploitation of his own country. Knowing that he was regarded in this light by most American Negroes, it would be perfectly natural for him to prefer a commission consisting solely of white men.

But there is a wider significance attaching to this matter of foreign people of African extraction preferring to deal with white Americans rather than with Americans of their own color and racial origin. It is the reflection of the attitude taken by the white American, when he has to deal with foreigners of the darker races and to stifle or subdue his color and caste prejudices. This can be done by white Americans when the stake of money or power is great enough; the color bar can be raised when the darker race is foreign and important enough to justify the concession. This was what Roger Babson told the big business interests of the United States they must do, if they wanted to secure the trade of South America. Many Latin-Americans of mixed blood would not come to this country to visit or trade, because they were liable to be discriminated against because of color prejudice. There followed a tendency among white Americans to relax color discrimination if the colored person in question was of foreign origin.

Colored nationals of foreign nations have all come to recognize this tendency of white Americans to drop color discriminations except in the cases of Negro Americans, hence they argue that it is not good for them to ally themselves too closely with colored Americans. This feeling, an instinctive effort at self-protection, may help to account for the fact that the American commission to investigate Haiti is composed of five white commissioners. The fact that a complementary commission is to be appointed consisting solely of American Negroes, to investigate educational conditions, does not change matters materially, although it is probably intended to make the American Negro think that his nose is not so badly out of joint as it feels.

THE HAITIAN COMMISSION

President Hoover has selected five white men for the Haitian commission. The chairman, W. Cameron Forbes, has been Governor General of the Philippine Islands and should be able to understand the Haitian viewpoint. Nevertheless, the record shows that in 1921 he looked with disfavor upon Philippine independence. Henry P. Fletcher, a former Ambassador to Mexico, is familiar with Latin-American affairs. The reason for the appointment of James Kearney is not so clear; he is a Catholic and therefore sympathetic with the religion of Haiti, but there are many Catholics. Elie Veina is acceptable as a strong Catholic, a master of the French language and a student of Haitian affairs. William Allen White is the only man on the commission whom the American Negro can accept without muttering.

The President was so careful to name two men of the same religion as the Haitians that it is strange he did not appoint some charter men of the same race as the Haitians. It is doubly strange, for the grievances of the Haitians having nothing whatever to do with religion. No one has complained that the American occupation showed disrespect to the Catholic faith, or suggested that a different attitude toward that faith would solve the Haitian problem. That problem is racial, not because of its nature, but because the American marines have made it so. They have not used the word Papist; but they have made the island ring with the word "nigger."

The choice of Dr. Moton to investigate the educational system of Haiti is all right in its way, but it does not touch the matter in hand. The present troubles of Haiti were not brought about by its methods and principles of education but by blood thirsty U. S. Marines, sent there by a President of the United States.

—THE AMSTERDAM NEWS.

WELL FOUNDED PRIDE

Haitians want no American Negroes on the commission which is investigating their affairs for President Hoover. We have more wealth than our island brothers, but they hold us cheap because our freedom was a gift while they fought and took theirs from the most powerful nations of the century ago. In effect they tell us to first show what we can do for ourselves before we attempt to advise them. Haiti may be badly governed. It may not use its resources with good judgment, but they have compensation in their glorious spirit, as fiery now as when it made their farm tools the match for Europe's best arms. They set us an example which makes every inch we crawl in the dust of supplication and surrender, another descent into shame. Banking interests may incite this nation to invasion of Toussaint's country, but that hero of Haiti was nobler dying in Napoleon's prison, than we in fashonable clothes emerging into God's sunshine from an American ghetto. His courage is a heritage for Haitians beside which we dare not place mere money.

WE TOLD YOU SO

With the appointment of the commission to study conditions in Haiti, President Herbert Hoover shows his true colors, and exposes himself to be what we charged he would be when we opposed him two years ago. At that time, when Mr. Hoover was asking for votes, the Defender reminded its readers that he was making no promises to black voters. He allied himself with the very forces which have operated against dark Americans since they came into being, and which have stood as effective obstacles to the progress we sought to make.

At that time we warned voters that Mr. Hoover would not be the president, but would be an instrument in the president's chair that would respond to the touch of "powers behind the throne." We called attention to the fact that he had never functioned as a "chief executive," but had always held secretarial positions where he answered to the roll call of his superiors. It was this training which we knew would hinder him from using initiative as president of the United States.

Whatever our readers may have thought of him since his inauguration a year ago, during which time he has completely ignored the dark portion of American citizenry, they cannot but admit that he has run true to form in the appointment of his commission, and his daring to suggest that Dr. Moton of Tuskegee accept leadership in a Jim Crow commission to Haiti.

That Mr. Hoover named Cameron Forbes, former governor-general of the Philippines, the man who was opposed to Philippine inde-

pendence, shows what America may expect of the commission in regard to Haiti. That the Haitian commission named by the president plans to hold its first meeting in Florida, where Jim Crow laws and regulations must be respected, is another probable reason for its lily-white aspect. Mr. Hoover would be the last to violate customs of the enlightened society of the South.

The Defender, in 1928, called attention to the fact that Hoover was in the South pledging complete and wholehearted support to southern traditions while Al Smith, Democratic candidate, was at the shrine of Abraham Lincoln praying that he might be guided by the wisdom of that great emancipator. Hoover, the engineer, needed no such guidance—he was amply protected by advice from his supporters who, at this time, were aligned with the Ku Klux Klan and Thomas Heflin.

Read this excerpt from a Defender editorial of Oct. 27, 1928:

> We as a group are unique in America. While overtures are being made by both the Republicans and Democrats to every other group, racial or national, in this country, we remain the football of both. It is either recklessness that prompted the Republican organization to open its campaign to drive us out of the party, or it was the great contempt for our feelings in the matter. On the other hand, the Democrats have remained Democrats throughout the campaign. That is, they have followed for the most part the pattern which our own attitude toward them justified, and which we have expected them to follow.
>
> Again, the campaign is now in its last stages. Both the Democratic and Republican candidates have been in the South. But it was the Republican candidate who handed out the choice morsel to southern bigots by the declaration that the Republican party and the southerners to whom he was speaking had the same ideals and aspirations, while the Democratic candidate, almost at the same time, was paying tribute to Abraham Lincoln at his shrine and praying for the wisdom that guided that great Republican. He was also denouncing the Ku Klux Klan, a group that thus far has done its utmost on behalf of the Republican candidate.

We didn't, therefore, expect anything more of him in the matter of Haiti than we expected of him on other matters affecting the Race. He did just what his advisers told him to do—he will continue to do just that!

DOCTOR MOTON'S SUB-COMMITTEE

A howl has gone up from the ranks of the Negro racial group throughout the country in view of President Hoover's failure to appoint a Negro on the commission to investigate conditions in Haiti. It seems that an arrangement that has proven very satisfactory to Doctor Robert R. Moton, of Tuskegee, has been made whereby a committee to study the educational status of the Haitians has been appointed, to have as its head the Tuskegee prinnipal and whomsoever he may be inclined to name to serve with him.

This little sub-committee to which Doctor Moton has been appointed seems to be a mere pacifier and accepted by the good doctor with a purpose of appeasing the complaints of the race members growing out of what appears to be a flagrant ignoring of the "brother."

The Haitians have already expressed themselves as not desiring interference in their matters by the American Negro and that should be sufficient to curb any further effort on the part of the group over here to force his services on the people of the little black republic, even as a committee to look into their educational needs.

It is also clear that the native Haitians are also opposed to the naming of any American Negro on the commission. They have so expressed themselves and because of such, the Negro, as far as we are able to see, has positively no grounds for complaint unless it is that he just wants some sort of recognition or appointment to some place or something, regardless as to what it is.

The Haitians must have some knowledge of the sinister and selfish motives of many of the "brethren" who court favors from the White House and would rather risk their affairs to a committee of white Americans.

HAITIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Major Moton has accepted the appointment of President Hoover to survey the educational needs of Haiti. It is being wondered just how the Haitians are going to accept such a representation from this country. They are vehemently against the already invasion by the military, and no doubt are in no mood to cooperate with this move, matters not how beneficial it may be. The Haitians are proud, able, and many of them well educated with the back ground of some of the greatest universities extant. This alone may cause them to look with disdain upon the efforts of Major Moton and those associated with him. It is readily noted that the peasant class of the island is sorely in need of more and improved educational facilities with a background of the industries, such as would be worked out by the Major. If the natives could be induced to cooperate heartily with the commission, and a way be found to carry out whatever proposition be presented, it would mean that in the course of the next two decades, Haiti would be a garden spot with a decreasing cause of restlessness in the government.

HAITIANS PRESENT PLANS FOR RELIEF

Native Lawyers Recommend Establishment Of Provisional Government

By H. P. BRAMAN
(Associated Press Staff Writer)

PORT-AU-PRINCE, March 4.—(AP)—The Hoover investigating commission today received its first concrete plan from the Haitian people for remedying the political ills which Haiti has complained of and blames American intervention in the republic's affairs.

George N. Leger, a native lawyer of high reputation, recommended that a provisional government be established at the earliest possible moment to rule the country until the election of deputies and senators to the National Assembly. The Assembly later would choose a president.

Leger's recommendation was backed by a warning from Justin Sam, leader of the League of Haitian Youth, that 10,000 young Haitians would join their elders in revolution on April 14 unless legislative elections were held. Mr. Sam also demanded that President Hoover issue a proclamation ordering the end of the Borno regime.

Mr. Leger, speaking in English, made a distinct impression on W. Cameron Forbes, and the other commissioners.

Accusing the American authorities of having aroused race prejudice in Haiti for the first time in its history, he admitted that much material good had come out of the marines' occupation of the island republic.

Roads had been built, sanitary conditions were admirable and the Nacional Garde was well organized.

But, Mr. Leger insisted, the price paid for the material progress realized was beyond its value. He maintained that the United States was dominating, instead of helping Haiti, and termed the choice of Brig. Gen. John H. Russell as American high commissioner "most unfortunate."

Specifically, he accused Gen. Russell of having made a report stating that the Haitian people had "the mentality of a seven-year-old child."

Haitian Agitation For Intervention By U. S. Reaches New Peak

(Continued from Page One.)

last week after a controversy with the President.

Cauvin declared that President Borno had on many occasions dictated to the councillors how they should vote. He said the council was "now packed with small groups jealous of each other, so that it is impossible for any other person than Borno to wield the power."

of the Salvation Army, to appear before the committee to discuss her organization's problems with young liquor drinkers. Throughout the hearing the wet members of the committee closely questioned the witnesses about their claims of prohibition's benefits to the various social classes and the farmers. Mr. Callahan said he thought the middle classes had benefited from prohibition, while the "dregs and the smart set" had suffered. In the hearing yesterday, dry witnesses contended that the "under privileged" class was a great beneficiary of prohibition.

American high society was represented by Mrs. Strawbridge as considering serving of liquor at social entertainments "an unutterable nuisance and their only anxiety was as how most effectually to free themselves and their families of it."

She characterized Mr. Atterbury's testimony favoring repeal as "utterly unsportsmanlike and unworthy a leader of public opinion." She termed Mr. Du Pont a private prohibitionist "in his own gun powder plant and publicly an anti-prohibitionist for himself and his motor driv-

Haitians Demand Recall Of General

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti,, March 3—(AP)—Two prominent Haitian leaders, representative groups with a total membership of 500,000 in testifying before President Hoover's investigation commission today, urged the immediate recall of Brigadier General John H. Russell, American high commissioner, and accused him of being virtually dictator of the island republic.

Antoine Rigal, president of a group of several liberal organizations, accused General Russell of being virtually a dictator.

Seymour Pradel, chairman of the National League for Constitutional Action, representing 150,000 Haitians, supported the claims of his compatriot, and also warned the commissioners that if the Haitians could not elect their own president they would not hesitate to shed their blood in protest.

Race Problem - 1930

West Indies

Haiti

NEW YORK WORLD

HAITI'S CASE AGAINST U. S. OCCUPATION

Citizens Charge Marines Maintain a Despotism of Insolence, Misgovernment and Corruption, Arising From Racial Hostility and Administrative Incapacity

In this article Mr. Glassman presents the case of the Haitians against the American Occupation. Next week The World will publish his report on what the American authorities have to say. A third and final article will give a resume of the writer's conclusions. Mr. Glassman went to Haiti to make a first hand study of conditions there for The World, following the riots of last December. President Hoover's commission is due to arrive on the scene this week.

The committee of five members and thirteen aids sails on the U. S. S. Rochester. The President's instructions are to make an inquiry with a view to devising a new policy for the Government to pursue toward Haiti.

No time limit has been placed on the stay of the body.

"We will stay until we have found the answer to the problem," a member of the commission told The World.

By Don Glassman

Special Correspondent of The World

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI.

HAITI'S head turns from east to north, from the French coast to the north Caribbean shore. An American commission comes to investigate affairs of the storm-tossed republic.

This nation echoed a paean when President Hoover assured her national independence and spoke hopefully of withdrawing the Occupation before the legal expiration, May, 1936. Tragic tension is relieved. Brimming with hosannahs, the Haitian press described Feb. 4 as a memorable day in national history, marked by a solemn declaration and an act of international justice toward a country suffering miserably for fifteen years.

President Hoover released some confidences in his message; that is, to Haiti they are confidences. For rarely does the Chief Executive of the United States make direct explanations to unhappy Haiti, and still more seldom does he acquaint Haitians with his convictions.

Factions in Haiti are now assured that Hoover holds these beliefs:

That the "great benefits" of the Occupation must be credited to the American High Commissioner, Gen. John H. Russell.

That America entered Haiti to arrest chaos by ending civil war.

That the Occupation has established peace and order, developed the country's natural resources, improved the financial condition and assured autonomous government.

President Hoover's message was published by Haitian newspapers whose contents and policies have denied the truth of these utterances for fifteen years. Written eloquence on this subject will some day be compressed between the covers of a few books and offered as testimony to historians. The most articulate blacks and mulattoes in the Western Hemisphere were summoned in the revolt against America, and their impeachment of policy, indictment of official conduct and disgust with our attitude is expressed in reverberating language.

The accusations preferred against the Occupation are countless. They range from truth to fiction, and sense to nonsense. They spring from personal experience, from hearsay, from the interpretation of official actions and reports. The body of cultivated Haitians is comparatively small, and popularly known as the elite. During 111 years of national independence they shaped Haiti's destiny, ruling 95 per cent. of the people, but rarely consulting them, either in the enactment of laws or in the election of officials. The masses were, and still are, but two steps above Africans on the native veldt.

The elite had always been divided into factions, those who held Government office, and those who did not—the "ins" and the "outs." If one could not derive an income from the national treasury, it was customary to foment a new revolution and throw the country into an upheaval. Between 1807 and 1915, Haiti honored twenty-four men with the presidency. Seventeen were deposed by revolutions; three were assassinated.

During the first days of the Occupation, many Haitians deserted former allegiances and retreated among the malcontents or entered the employment of that faction espoused by America. The present division is sharp; the proponents are hostile. The "outs" hold clandestine meetings; the "ins" assemble at the fashionable Union Club. After losing Government jobs, some Haitians joined the opposition; and vice versa.

The peasantry exhibits no intelligent, unified opinion. Born to poverty, suffering and obedience, they drown their sorrows in religion. Illiteracy frustrates the exchange of ideas and the interpretation of events. The peasantry is devoted almost exclusively to the Catholic Church and the spiritual force of that religion is all that unites them.

The elite faction which opposes the Occupation is led by lawyers, journalists, deposed politicians, doctors, writers and hangers-on. The philosophy of politics is their religion; a Gallic sense of justice prevails; hatred for Americans is concealed, although it is strong. These men resort to theory and logic by nature and instinct. The advocates exercise persuasion before the bar of the press, where they are as much at home as before a jury box. Journalists philosophize according to the Paris fashion.

Accuse them of duplicity and exaggeration or deny their martyrdom, but all men must salute their valor and ability at their chosen task. They have been jailed and guarded, hounded and trailed, but rarely squelched. They forced Haiti's cause before the world jury and raised skeleton despatches to 60-point headlines. They ban together into patriotic unions, fighting common enemies with deadly weapons which, if the 2,200,000 people of Haiti were literate, would drench this land in sacrificed blood.

The case of Haiti versus the Occupation, stated simply, rests on the universal differences between whites and blacks, on the polarity of the French and American cultures, on the rebellion against restraint and on ignorance of foreign speech.

The salient accusations against America and the Occupation are made by the elite class, fortified mass opinion and action. Here follows their frankly partisan argument, presented on its merits and without comment:

The Haitian situation is very bad and is due particularly to the military regime. It could be relieved by the suppression of the militariat and immediate restoration of national independence.

The first act of justice would be the restoration of legislative elections. The next would be withdrawal of the Occupation forces. Under military rule the Haitian Government does not exist, although our agreement with the United States guarantees our independence. Americans came to assist and advise, but by the letter and spirit of their conduct, they dictate. Orders come from a military High Commissioner whose power is illimitable. He creates legislation, judges and condemns.

But what has this High Commissioner done to smooth our differences? Has he consulted us? No. Does he try to understand us? No again. He refuses to meet us in person, although we, too, are educated and cultured. He erects barriers around his person. Can he be sympathetic to our needs if he does not care to meet the descendants of those who founded this republic? Indeed, we are led to believe that he hates us. Aside from a small group of Government officials, he stands aloof and apart.

This conduct of your High Commissioner applies also to all other American officials. They may rule Haitians, throw us into prison, expend our moneys, tax us without representation and take salaries from our Treasury, yet refuse to meet us socially. We are Negroes, Negroes by birth, Negroes in war and Negroes in peace.

Our so-called inferiority is based only on the color of our skin. Hoover and Russell think we are incapable because we are Negroes. We have little

upon the merits of its achievements. The proof
the pudding will come with the eating. Meantin
those who are cooking the pudding are entitled
a chance to show what they can do. One thing
certain: if the obstructionists spoil the work of t
board there will be no return to the status q
The farmers will demand something much m
radical, and they will get it.

But did the abuse of power cease when Harding
came into the White House? Did he remember
promises, verbal and implied? In this way American
political candidates have used Haiti as a bait fo
votes and as evidence of their compassion fo
down-trodden people.

Haiti resents the office of High Commissioner
especially a military man. We dislike Russell's char-
acter and aims. His ability as administrato
amounts to naught, and it was expected that i
would be so, since he had formerly led soldier
who shed Haitian blood. He is a master of martia
law, we admit, but withal a very short-sighte
man.

Russell and his staff will not mingle with Hai
tians. When they speak of us it is only on specula
tion. They send subordinates to learn what we say
but they themselves would not be polluted by ou
presence. Americans are so hateful of Haitian
that President Borno himself has never been in
vited to the American Club.

Haiti indicts the President of the United State
for allowing Gen. Russell to dictate. We have
no way of knowing whether he enlarges on hi
legal powers; but we do hold Wilson, Harding
Coolidge and Hoover responsible. We are not alone
in this view. The solid opinion of all civilized
peoples supports our contention.

Russell would impress us with a notion that h
is now a civil officer because he no longer wear
a marine uniform, and describes himself as
plenipotentiary "holding the rank of Ambassador."
Who believes this bluff? We Haitians know that
every American Ambassador must be approved by
the United States Senate, but that body has never
voted on Russell's appointment.

One whom all Haiti despises as a traitor wa
installed in the highest public office. In the Amer-
ican protectorates, Porto Rico and the Philippines,
the people are allowed to have legislative bodies—
but Haiti has statesmen who are equal to those
in American protectorates, and their general popu-
lation is as backward as ours.

Why did the United States withdraw so com
pletely and quickly from Santo Domingo, o
neighbor? Had the Santo Domingans mastered t
intricacies of government? We do not believe
ask that the new Governor has address

He has found an empty treasury.
r the first half of the current fiscal
len 25 per cent. behind the estimate
e budget was based, and there is a flo
ver $3,000,000. The financial conditio
cipalities is worse than that of the in
nt. Some of them have been borro
o pay back-salaries due a year ago.
progressive.

President Hoover has appointed a special commission with authority to evolve a plan for transferring our Government from American to Haitian control. The commission probably will hear testimony on the ability of Haitians to govern themselves. Are there Haitians competent to assume the responsibilities of high office in the Service Hygiene and Service Technique?

What has been the sole accomplishment of the Occupation? Nothing has been done to increase production. Business is throttled by extortionate duties and suppressive measures. Exports decrease. Legislature discourages both agriculture and industry.

The peasantry is educated systematically to the belief that we, the elite, are their natural oppressors. Can Americans love them better than their own people? We ourselves sprang from peasantry; we cannot hate them. In fact, the Americans have done nothing to better their standard of living.

By invoking a mediaeval law—the corvee—it ill-treated them physically and finally forced riots which caused the death of thousands. In addition peasants have been wronged in courts by the enforcement of illegal restrictions on property rights.

Never in our history has the defiance of law reached such a pass. Villainy and corruption are everywhere. Nepotism and favoritism govern appointments. Order prevails, but it is a fictitious peace, enforced by machine guns and bayonets.

Cercle Bellevue Closed by Marines

Seeking to prove the peasant's high respect for law, a group of Haitian editors and lawyers held forth that "never in the history of Haiti has there been a case of rape or physical attack of any kind made on a woman; never was a man killed for his money, and only one instance is known where a burglar wounded a man and his wife."

The editor of Le Temps, Charles Moravia, a former Minister to Washington, and Consul General in New York City, testified: "I have been jailed for my utterances four times, 120 days in all. Never was I tried. I was arrested and released at the will of President Borno. The only charge was that I had committed outrages against the President of Haiti.'"

There is hardly a Haitian journalist who has not been jailed during the regime of M. Borno. The editor of Le Courrier Haitien, Joseph Jolibois, served more than two years in the National Penitentiary under fourteen arrests. He escaped just as his fifteenth arrest was imminent.

Fleeing to South America, he followed the Hoover party on tour, denouncing imperialism and dictatorship. The latest reports tell of Jolibois's detention in a Buenos Ayres insane asylum. Haitians hold that it was the prosecution he received at the hands of his own Government that caused Jolibois to lose his mind.

The case of Le Cercle Bellevue is cited as an example of gross intolerance and petty animosity. The club was a roundhouse for the Haitian elite and distinguished foreigners. The national culture was paraded here in all its splendor.

The atmosphere was charged with cosmopolitanism. French romanticism German Socialism and English jurisprudence were the burden of speech. One heard the most polished French as well as Latin, Spanish, even classical Greek; by temperament and breeding the Haitian loves the classics. The club's charter—forced on it by the Borno Government—specifically forbade members from engaging in political activities.

In January, 1928, the membership was about 160, including ten Americans and about fifty men of other nationalities. One night, while sixty members were present, a detachment of the Haitian guard, led by two American officers, expelled everybody, locked the doors, took the keys and subsequently sealed the keyholes.

The Occupation declined responsibility for this expulsion, declaring that the officers had acted on orders from the Minister of the Interior, Charles Fombrun. That worthy, said the club members, had been barred from Le Cercle for supporting M. Borno. Whereupon he trumped up a charge to revenge the affront.

Are Deprived Of Right to Vote

Le Cercle had postponed all social events until two members—the editors of Le Nouvelliste—should be released from jail. It was this deference for beleaguered comrades which permitted M. Fombrun to construe human sympathy as political activity, and the whole business as an insult to His Excellency, M. Borno.

Pierre Hudicourt, a leading Haitian lawyer, delegate to The Hague Peace Conference, and a recognized interpreter of international law, was arrested at Santiago, Cuba, in company with Dantes Bellegarde, Commander of the Legion d'Honneur, former Minister to Paris and delegate to the League of Nations.

The two were about to proceed to the Pan-American Conference at Havana when they were incarcerated like vagrants and finally deported as undesirables. Haitians see the hand of the United States behind this conduct.

In April, 1927, United States Senator William H. King was barred from Haiti by order of President Borno, who regarded his presence here as one of the worst influences. Senator King sailed to Santo Domingo. Hudicourt motored across the border and extended an extra-mural welcome to the Senator on behalf of the Haitian people. But on his return to Haiti, Hudicourt was arrested at the border and his automobile ransacked for signs of a United States Senator traveling incognito.

The unfortunate M. Jolibois and an assistant editor, Joseph Lanoue, were once haled before Col. Meade, U. S. M. C., military provost officer, and charged with violating the press law. They had been notified at press time a day before, "not to write against the Occupation." But Jolibois, testifying that a defamatory article had already been placed in the page form, removed the "seditious" extracts and substituted dots. He had no time to reset the page.

Those dots had a hidden, spiteful meaning, decreed Col. Meade; a meaning that was at once insidious, villainous and sinister. The culprits were liable and their penalty was fixed at six months of imprisonment and $300 fine each. The sentence was served.

Subsequently Jolibois went insane. But on his release, Lanoue deserted journalism and, through underground channels, cemented a friendship with M. Borno; was later appointed President of the Land Commission, Minister of Finance and Councilor. He cast his vote for M. Borno in the 1926 Presidential election, and was therefore retained as a satellite in the Council of State.

Haitians ask: How long will Borno describe Russell as a man of great administrative talent? And how long will Russell refer to M. Borno as a man of profound culture and statesmanship?

Renewal of the original ten-year treaty, which expired in 1926, was forged, and thrust upon us without consent of the American Senate or Haitians. In less than one year after it went into effect, May 3, 1916, it was renewed, notwithstanding that the high contracting parties had bound themselves to a ten-year experiment, after which the pact might be renewed at the option of either party, provided its original purpose had not been accomplished. But the Americans would not permit Haiti to be judged, nor did they care to see how the experiment would turn out.

If we say Haiti should return to her own system of government, it does not imply that we want to return to savagery. The Haitian situation was never so bad as it is painted. American machine guns and bayonets have caused more mortalities than all our revolutions.

Surely, before the Occupation Haiti was in debt; now it is bankrupt.

We have had free and honest elections in the past when no restrictions were placed on the right to suffrage. But some elections—just as in the United States—were dishonest. Now we have no elections. By imperial decree, M. Borno and Russell have deprived us of a constitutional right.

Americans have supplanted all of Haiti's former oppressors. We are the fruit of 111 years of independence. We were slaves and sons of slaves, and sprang from peasantry by our own efforts. Haiti is the only nation in the world that did not ask or receive outside assistance. What nation would volunteer assistance to Negroes?

During the first sixty years of Haitian independence we were not recognized by the United States. Negroes were slaves, never citizens. Abraham Lincoln was the first American to understand our misfortune. He fought prejudice and secured our recognition.

Americans do not want to understand Haitian psychology. We have constitutional traditions which have never changed; only the procedure has changed. Chicago's race riots are revolutions, too. In comparison, ours are not nearly so horrible.

What examples have the Occupation set before us? First, unmitigated cruelty. Free citizens were beaten and maimed for refusing to be impressed by the corvee. Next, dissipation. American military and civilian officers show themselves publicly under the influence of liquor. They know nothing about moderation.

For the first time, Haitians are seeing drunken men. And immorality. The presence of American marines has enticed lewd women from Jamaica, Santo Domingo and Cuba. Dance halls and saloons are places of assignation.

The one American institution that has contributed toward our national welfare is the Rockefeller Institution, which has studied malaria and yellow fever and given free scholarships to Haitians for study in foreign countries. And we revere only Lincoln, Sumner, Senator King, Senator Shipstead, James Blaine and John Brown. By word and act, they helped Haiti.

The United States intervened only to protect her own selfish interests, to exploit this country for American capital, to protect the stake in the Panama Canal, to make us obligated by threats and coercion. Why, we ask, does not the United States interfere with Mexico's internal affairs? Or Portugal's internal affairs?

Again, we Haitians say, it is because we are Negroes, and former slaves. If you should withdraw the Occupation we would be peaceful for ever more. The mere thought of your return would terrorize us into self-submission.

A woman passing by and hearing this last remark, opined, "Pauvre Haiti . . . pauvre Haiti."

Haiti

West Indies

AMERICA IN HAITI

Big Bully or Big Brother—Which?

By P. L. PRATTIS

ARTICLE I

THE AMERICAN SPIRIT IN HAITI

Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard university leaned upon the starboard rail of the good ship Cristobal two hours after the members of the Moton commission on education had embarked from Port au Prince for New York. His mood was one of deep, earnest thought. I approached him indifferently. In my own mind there was great confusion.

We had spent 24 days in Haiti, days assiduously devoted to obtaining information bearing upon the educational needs of the republic. I had sensed all along that as a representative of the press the task would some time be mine to expose for the Race and The Chicago Defender readers of the "inside" of what has occurred in Haiti and to express judgments.

Steaming out from the Haitian capital the realization bore in upon me that the zero hour for my big effort was approaching. What, I wondered, was I going to make out of it all? I rested my elbow on the rail beside Dr. Johnson, a member of the commission. He, too, had been stocked with information. What was he going to make of it? What was he going to recommend to the president of the United States? He spoke:

"Well, Prattis, it is difficult to deal strict justice out to people who have been good to you."

The statement was a question volunteered out of his mood, but it contained the identical idea which was at the bottom of most of the thinking I had been doing. I replied affirmatively to the query, knowing exactly what he meant. I feel that the same thought will come to all members of the commission party as they assume the task of translating the knowledge of Haiti which has come to them into recommendations or opinions for the American public.

What Dr. Johnson had meant was this: The commission had studied the relations between two groups in Haiti, particularly the Haitians and the Americans. Much to admire and much to condemn had been found in each group. The commission had come not merely as an investigating body, but as distinguished guests. Haitians and Americans had rendered every possible service to facilitate the work of the commission and to make its stay in the island enjoyable. The time and money of many Haitians and Americans was given copiously on behalf of the commission. The commission party had boarded the ship amid cheers and flowers from Haitians and Americans. Now we were on our way. We sensed that the Haitians were expecting us to do something, however nebulous, for them. We also knew that the white Americans understood that we were black Americans and that we might be expected to have a blood brotherhood feeling for the Haitians. We knew that they were hoping we would not do anything when we reached home that would hurt them too much. Now the job was upon us. How were we going to relate whole and strict truth, so far as we had found it, about either the Americans or the Haitians whose representatives we had met? How were we going to "deal strict justice"?

Carl Colvin, a white American from Illinois, is the present director of the service technique de l'agriculture, or the American system of schools, about which most of the controversy of recent months has raged. I think I might like him. I know he served me while I was in Haiti, that he cheerfully conformed with each request I made of him. I remember that I was his guest at dinner at the American club, at which two other Americans were present. Later I remember that we played bridge and tennis and that Mrs. Colvin, a young woman of charming manners, came and made herself a pleasant part of the company. But I frankly don't know how much of what Mr. Colvin did for me and for others of our party was done in the name and spirit of duty, and how much in the spirit of friendship. His present position pays $7,500 a year. He is expecting to be promoted to the position formerly held by Dr. George Freeman at a saalry of $10,000. I don't know how much that additional $2,500 influenced any of Mr. Colvin's actions toward us, or is influencing his relations with the Haitians. He made me feel that he is capable. But he never made me feel that he could not be callous on occasion. I am not sure of the amount of pure human kindness within him. I think that, placed in the position where it would be necessary, he would try earnestly to do the just thing, but I can't imagine him, without being spurred, crying out against injustice. Yet, he would "do things" for Haitian students, for his servants, maybe, and feel that, because he knew he had done the just thing some time in some manner, he always acted justly.

But, so far as the American occupation of Haiti is concerned, Mr. Colvin is but an item. I don't think he represents to any great extent the spirit which has dominated American operations. That spirit has merely carried him along, as it has scores of other Americans in the republic.

I should like for it to be understood that there is a large group of hard-to-put-your-hand-on Americans in Haiti and a few in America who have cut the pattern of the spirit of America in Haiti. That spirit I condemn. It is a spirit of which I would be utterly ashamed if I were not a Negro. It is an ugly, arrogant, contumaceous force.

This spirit of the American occupation in Haiti is the lowest common denominator of significance in any consideration of what has happened in the black republic. Everything else is superficial and beside the point. It neutralizes American benefits and Haitian defects. It is the thing to be attacked and changed before America can be of any real service to the Haitians.

What is that spirit? It is the attitude which was assumed at the beginning of the occupation by the average American marine toward some "niggers" whose country had been invaded and taken under control. It is the attitude of being boss, without accountability of another person's household. It is the attitude of one who, finding that he has you in your power and can take some advantage of you, takes all; the position of one who goes as far as he likes with your affairs without considering any of the effects on you so long as they seem good to him. It is a spirit containing the arrogance which caused the Americans to ridicule French soldiers in the World war, the unstudied prejudice of the white person when confronted with the proposition of Negro equality, and the ambition of those whites in Haiti to make the country a "green pastures" for themselves.

I think it paramount that the existence of this spirit be made a statement at this point in this series of articles. I realize that saying it exists does not prove its existence. Articles which follow will do so.

I trust that the readers of this newspaper will understand that the opinions contained in these articles are my own, that they are not intended to reflect the opinions of the Moton commission, except in so far as the members of that commission and I find ourselves in agreement. Furthermore, it must not be presumed that these articles, considered as reports, are official. I accompanied the Moton commission to Haiti. These reports are to be taken as the summing up of information obtained by a newspaper correspondent who had the advantage of accompanying an official commission.

Next week we shall consider how America got into Haiti.

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Real State of Affairs in Haitian Republic

By P. L. PRATTIS

Staff Correspondent for the Associated Negro Press

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, July 18—In a spectacular political skirmish, lasting 10 days and just brought to a close, between the heads of certain Haitian governmental departments and American directors of the occupation, a convincing exhibition was given of the utter necessity of either the force of American arms or the connivance of the head of the Haitian government with these American officials to impose a program upon the Haitian people which they do not agree to accept.

In this latest skirmish the Haitian people won, and their leaders gave to the members of the education commission in the republic a significant demonstration of the finesse of Haitian politics.

President Hoover is in great popular favor here because the Haitians want to run their country as they please. They want the Americans to get out as quickly as possible, although some of the more conservative leaders recognize that there is a service of proper kind which America can perform for their country. The people feel that President Hoover is going to rid them of the occupation and that he is going to set about in a munificent way to help them. Here is at last an American president who will emancipate them from the indignities forced upon the country by President Wilson. They are so confident that that is Mr. Hoover's speedy intention that they are beginning to feel with each passing day a growing desire to ignore the Americans here. Hoover's words have emboldened them. At the same time, the messages and commissions from the States have placed the Americans here in a quandary. They will confess frankly that up until within a few months ago they just thought they were going to stay right on in Haiti indefinitely. They were making life plans. Today the man who was making a life work for himself is not sure that he will have a job next week. That is true of the highest and the lowest. The whites don't know what Washington is going to do, and they care. Most of them want to stay. They have good-paying jobs and they are working somebody instead of being worked by somebody.

In such spirits have the Haitians and the Americans had their tussle of the last few days. The fight waged around the central school of Damien, the headquarters of the Service Technique d'Agriculture, the service which has occasioned so much adverse comment and the school where the strike of last winter occurred. According to a convention between the American government and the Haitian government, this entire service, officered by Americans who draw large salaries, was to be under the direction of the Haitian minister of public instruction, who is also the minister of agriculture.

But for six years, the Americans, in the face of bitter Haitian criticism, have operated with little regard for the Haitian minister. It has not mattered much to them whether he approved or disapproved of a project which they contemplated. If he did not, a way would be found, either through the financial adviser's office or through the power of the Haitian president, to make the Haitian minister understand that he was the boss only through the agency of "a scrap of paper." There are not many jobs in Haiti, the minister's job pays rather well, it is in the power of the president of Haiti. If the Americans stand in with the president, why should they not be able to order things just about as they wished?

It is freely charged in Haiti that President Borno was an American tool. He worked with the members of the occupation. Perhaps it was because on one occasion the president's salary was held up by the Americans for three months. But the president today, M. Eugene Roy, is neither a politician or an American tool. He seems to wish to be a Haitian patriot. He has been chosen, according to the recommendation of the Forbes commission, to govern Haiti while legislative elections are held and until a new president can be elected by the Haitian legislature, the body qualified by the constitution to conduct such an election. Mr. Roy may be president for six or eight months and is bound to step out of the office when the new man is elected. For that reason he is called the provisional president.

Ten days ago, while members of the Moton educational commission were traveling in the North, accompanied by Carl Colvin, the American director of the service technique, the Haitian minister of public instruction, ordered the school of Damien closed on July 1. Cablegrams followed Colvin into the interior and he hastened back to Port au Prince. He showed real annoyance. So far as this correspondent knows, Mr. Colvin took the matter up with the American charge d'affaires, Stuart Grummont, not with the Haitian minister. Grummont let the state department at Washington know that the Haitian minister planned to close the American works and expressed the belief that President Roy would back him up. There have probably been times when instead of cabling Washington, marines might have been sent to the school to keep the Haitians from closing it. But this time it was preferred to make the matter diplomatic. I understand that after the receipt of Grummot's telegram, the state department responded with the information that Roy was not to exercise himself in such a relation, that he was provisional president only and not expected to initiate any reforms.

But before the state department replied, the Haitians and their newspapers had busied themselves. In the first place, they felt that Damocles

Vieux, the minister, was seeking to exercise a proper and conventional authority, required by conditions at Damien. They felt that his position represented something cherished by the Haitian people. Thsu they demanded that the government, as represented by Mr. Roy, either support Mr. Vieux, or resign as being unwilling to do what the people wanted done. Roy lost no time showing that he was with the minister.

He further let the American state department know that he was president without any provisions.

The American officials found themselves balked. They could not use the Haitian president. They dare not use the marines, with the commission on the island. A way was found by President Roy by interceding with the commission, or, it is more correct to say, with one or two members of the commission. Repeated conferences were held between the Haitian president and Dr. Moton and the American officials. They were held all during the day and late into the night. They were in secret and what went on is still a matter of conjecture. It is understood, however, that all sides presented their argument and that Dr. Moton was able to suggest a compromise. The compromise postponed the closing of the school until July 15 and exempted from the closing order the summer school now being conducted and the various field services of the Service Technique.

The foregoing description of this skirmish of officials is not intended to impress the reader with the thought that all Americans in Haiti have been all or partly wrong, or that all Haitians have been all or mostly right. There has been good and bad, individually and collectively on both sides. But examination of conditions will have to await future articles. It must suffice for this time to say that my present impression is that up until the last few months no effort had been made by Americans as a whole or as a unit, to handle the Haitian problem with any regard for the wishes, if not the welfare, of the Haitians who count. In 1918 an American major entered the chamber of the Haitian legislature, brandished his gun and chased the elected representatives of the people out. Since that time Americans have brazenly operated with hand-picked Haitian presidents, chosen by councils of state created by the president. It is easy to see that there could be little sympathy or respect for the Haitian people as the result of such an arrangement.

LAYS HAITIAN CRISIS TO ISLAND POLITICS

State Department Indicates Colvin Is Not Personally Objectionable to Port au Prince.

8-16-30

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 15.—Defending President Hoover's nomination of Carl Colvin, an American citizen, to be chief of the technical bureau of the Haitian Department of Agriculture, the State Department today indicated that the resignation of the Haitian Cabinet may have been due to political agitation in the island republic rather than, as reported, to the nomination of Mr. Colvin.

Mr. Colvin was named by President Hoover under a treaty arrangement by which it was agreed that the President of Haiti should appoint an engineer, to be nominated by the President of the United States, to head the technical bureau of agriculture, which has jurisdiction over matters of sanitation and public improvements.

Mr. Colvin, who had been appointed assistant to Dr. George H. Freeman, has carried on Dr. Freeman's previous work as chief of the Service Technique since Dr. Freeman left Haiti April 1. On June 26 the State Department proposed to President Hoover that Mr. Colvin be nominated by President Hoover for appointment by the President of Haiti as director of the technical bureau, and on July 1, 1930, the legation at Port au Prince was instructed to inform President Roy of Mr. Colvin's nomination.

"During the six weeks since Mr. Colvin's nomination," the State Department announcement says, "it has been reported to the department that the delay in consummating his appointment has been the result of opposition on the part of persons in Haiti affiliated in one manner or another with the participants in the students' strike, which involved the Service Technique, in the latter part of 1929. The American legation at Port au Prince received frequent official assurances that the delay in the appointment of Mr. Colvin in no wise implied any personal objection.

"The department has received official reports from Haiti for some time past of a campaign conducted in the local press with the purpose of forcing the resignation of the Haitian Cabinet. This campaign is understood to have been related to the campaign now under way in Haiti."

In pointing out that Mr. Colvin has carried out Dr. Freeman's duties during the period that Dr. Freeman has been absent from Haiti, the State Department says it is understood "that during his entire Haitian service he has displayed tact, administrative ability and sound judgment."

Haitian Cabinet Quits To Protest U. S. Act

8-15-30

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, Aug. 14.—(AP)—The entire cabinet resigned today in protest against the proposed appointment of Carl Colvin as director of the service technique to succeed Dr. George F. Freeman.

Mr. Colvin recently has been acting director.

8-15-30

The ministers said they resigned because the agreement with the United States called for the appointment of an agricultural engineer to the post and that Colvin does not qualify.

Protests by Haitians over the administration of the service technique—which is a vocational school—were studied last winter by the Hoover investigating committee.

Students struck against the administration of Dr. Freeman last year and stoned his residence.

The Haitians long have been restless under the American occupation which began in 1915.

Bulling Its Way

Amsterdam News

AFTER THE WORK of President Hoover's commission it was generally supposed that if the recommendations of that commission were followed the major troubles of Haiti would be over. Domestic discord was expected; but Haiti was to suffer no more oppression from the United States. It now appears that this expectation was over-optimistic. Last week the Haitian Cabinet resigned in a body in protest against President Hoover's nomination of Carl Colvin as director of the Service Technique.

8-20-30

IN THE TREATY of 1915 between the United States and Haiti it was agreed that the President of Haiti should appoint an engineer to head the technical bureau of agriculture. This engineer was to be nominated by the President of the United States. President Hoover has named Carl Colvin, who has been managing the bureau in the absence of Dr. Freeman, the regular chief, who left Haiti in April. The Haitians object to Mr. Colvin's nomination on the ground that the treaty calls for the appointment of an agricultural engineer and Mr. Colvin is not one.

New York Sun

THE STATE DEPARTMENT at Washington has issued a statement to the effect that Mr. Colvin's work has been entirely satisfactory, and that the Haitian Cabinet's resignation was merely a political matter forced by a campaign in the Haitian press.

THE HAITIANS have the better of the argument. Mr. Colvin, it appears, is not an agricultural expert; he has had experience only as the State supervisor of vocational education in Illinois. Later he was appointed to Haiti as assistant engineer to Dr. Freeman. Concerning Freeman's qualifications nothing appears in the news dispatches, except that he was either so incompetent or so unpopular that the students of the Service Technique stoned his house.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S attitude in supporting Colvin is more provocative to the Haitians than its action. Instead of trying to create good-will in Haiti it insists upon forcing upon the Haitians an official whom they do not want any more than they wanted the marines. When European and other nations do not want a proposed American ambassador or consul, it is enough for them to tell this country that he is persona non grata, and that ends the matter. It should end the matter in Haiti, too, where international courtesy is as obligatory as in Europe. By bulling its way in the Colvin matter this country may undo much that was done by the President's committee. President Hoover wants Colvin; but the Haitians emphatically don't, and that is what should count.

FORT WORTH STAR-TELEGRAM
JULY 14, 1930

HAITI RURAL TEACHERS PAID $4 TO $5 MONTH

NEW YORK, July 14.—Rural Haiti depends for its education on teachers who are paid $4 or $5 a month, Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute and head of President Hoover's Haitian Commission on Education, said Monday on his return with the commission from a 24-day tour of the island.

Dr. Moton said the commission's report will be completed and sent to the President within a few days. Although he declined to discuss the nature of its findings, Dr. Moton said that the report would include several recommendations which he felt were essential to Haiti's progress.

Race Problem - 1930

West Indies

Hoover's Negro Tools in Haiti

By HARRY GANNES.

A SERIES of articles from Haiti are being published in the Negro press in the United States, written by P. L. Prattis, who holds the title of "staff correspondent of the Associated Negro Press." The main purport of these screeds is to misinform the Negro readers of the true situation in Haiti. Prattis takes especial pains to glorify the imperialist chief Hoover, who complacently approves of the lynchings of Negro workers in the United States, and who backs the murders of Haitian workers and peasants.

"In my last dispatch to America," writes Prattis, "I indicated that President Hoover is in great popular favor here. . . . The people feel that President Hoover is going to rid them of the occupation and that he is going to set about in a munificent and beneficent way to help them."

Prattis merely gives his view, and the view of the petty-bourgeois misleaders with whom he hobnobs, as the opinion of the Haitian "people." For Hoover and his puppets, high commissioners and marines, the great mass of Haitian workers and peasants have the profoundest hatred.

Good Service.

Prattis also praises M. Eugene Roy as "neither a politician or an American tool," saying at the same time that ex-President Borno "was an American tool." In this Prattis does good service to the National City Bank of New York, the virtual owner of Haiti and the force behind Mr. Roy. Roy is a banker. All banking in Haiti comes within the grasp of the fat palms of the National City Bank officials. It was for this reason that Roy was chosen. While Borno was more brutal and open in carrying out the orders of his Wall Street bosses, Roy hides behind the halo which Prattis aids in holding up for him.

Hoover will not withdraw the marines from Haiti, as Prattis, Dr. Moton (another of Hoover's Negro tools sent to Haiti to mislead the Haitian masses and to throw dust in the eyes of the Negroes in this country) and others try to tell the 13,000,000 American Negroes to keep their faith in Hoover and the republican party. Sharp battles are sure in the future which must get the support of the American workers, black and white. Prattis, Moton and company are paid by Hoover and the American Negro petty-bourgeoisie to support Wall Street's policy in Haiti.

But the Negro masses in this country are rapidly learning what Hoover's good will and slimy,smooth, lying phrases mean—lynching Jim Crowing of Negro gold star mothers, increased terror in the South and North, mass unemployment and misery for the workers. In Haiti, Hoover carries out the policy of mass lynching with the aid of marines and his banker-tool, Roy.

The Agrarian Crisis.

The agrarian crisis has hit Haiti especially hard. The price of coffee, which comprises 80 per cent of the agricultural output of Haiti, is constantly dropping. Millions of pounds have been dumped in Brazil to keep up the price, but without avail. With the bankruptcy and ruin of thousands of small Haitian farmers, their land falls more and more into the hands of the bankers—including Mr. Roy and his banking outfit. These problems cannot be solved by Dr. Moton's "educational commission" nor Prattis' lying expedition. American imperialism does not propose to stop bleeding Haiti. Only the conscious mass uprising of the Haitian workers and peasants, with the support of the American workers, Negro and white, will force out the American occupation and lay the basis for the solution of the difficult problems in Haiti, from which both the Haitian bourgeoisie and the American bankers profit.

Haiti.

AMERICA IN HAITI

Defender

Big Bully or Big Brother—Which?

8-9-30

By P. L. PRATTIS

ARTICLE II

The American Entrance Into Haiti

In a previous article I sought to describe for you the spirit which dominates, or has dominated, most of the Americans, marine and civilian, who have been a part of the United States occupation forces in Haiti.

Chicago Ill

That spirit was defined as a compound of arrogance, prejudice and ignorance containing no sympathy for nor appreciation of the Haitian. Up until quite recently it does not seem that the Americans in Haiti have had any idea that they must be the big brother to the citizens of the black republic.

Hitherto they have preferred to play the part of the big bully, and whatever benefits have accrued to Haiti as a result of the American occupation have come not because of any love which the Americans there had for the natives, but because in the very nature of things there would have to have been some improvements effected. Some improvements have been made in Haiti because the Americans there have wanted to create conditions there as near like those at home as possible.

Others have been made because, after all, the men there in the service of the government are compelled to make some showing as a part of the advancement of their own careers.

How did America get into Haiti? Was her entrance necessary or were her motives sincerely in the interest of the Haitian people? No information that has come to me has been competent to destroy the suspicion in my mind that America went into Haiti as the result of the collusion of certain official and private interests in America.

So far nobody has been able or willing to expose the officials who were parties to such collusion, but all the facts surrouunding America's entrance point to the existence of some person or persons possessing government power who hoped to serve some special interest by placing Americans on Haitian soil.

The claim is often made that America's entrance was made necessary because of Haiti's debts to foreign nations and by the internal disorders or revolutions which occurred in the islands. Next week I shall write an article on the resolutions of Haiti, but I shall content myself here with saying that in 1915, when Americans began trying Haiti, neither her debts nor her revolutions justified American intervention. Haiti found herself facing a delicate situation in July, 1915, but America had helped to create that situation.

Paul H. Douglas of the University of Chicago was one of a group of six Americans who conducted an investigation in Haiti in 1926. Mr. Douglas went deeply into the political and financial aspects of the American occupation. His reports are found in a volume entitled, "Occupied Haiti." Here is what Professor Douglas writes:

"For over a year prior to the formal American intervention in July, 1915, the government of the United States had been attempting to negotiate a treaty with the Haitian republic which would have placed the collection of the Haitian customs in the hands of the American government. Special commissions were sent to Haiti during the first part of 1915 to secure such an agreement, but failed to secure the acceptance of the proposal by the Haitian government. The probable reasons for such a demand are not very clear, since practically all the external debt was held in France, while the Haitians had, moreover, met virtually all of the interest payments, and were only in default for some of the amortization payments.

"There were, however, two other sources of economic friction between the Haitian and the American governments, namely, the disputes between the Haitian government and the National Bank of Haiti, and that with the National Railroad company.

Let us consider the dispute with th railroad company first. In 191 the Haitian government had entere into an agreement with an American James P. McDonald, for the construc tion of a railroad from Port-au Prince to Cape Haitian, to be com posed of 21 sections. The Haitia government agreed to guarantee 6 pe cent interest on the cost of construc tion of the road up to a maximum o $32,500 a mile. Three unconnecte spurs of the railroad were built at total alleged cost of approximatel $3,600,000. The Haitian government after making one or two interest pay ments in 1913, refused to make fur ther payments on the ground that th railroad, by failing to construct th agreed upon number of sections, ha failed to fulfill its contract.

And now to quote Mr. Dougla directly again: "R. L. Farnham, wh was president of the railroad and a employee and later a vice presiden of the National City bank, replie that it had been the revolutions which had prevente further construction, and that con sequently the company was not re sponsible for the failure to complete.'

Thus as early as 1913 it can b seen that one of the representative of the National City bank of New York was involved in a financial dispute with the Haitian government.

In 1914, a year before the intervention, the attempt was begun t obtain American control over Haitia customs. Most active in that move ment was the National Bank of Haiti controlled by a French banking institution, and the American minister who made reports on the progress o the movement to the American state department. The bank officials, wh had the funds of the Haitian govern ment in custody, to hold up those funds at the conclusion of the fisca year, Sept. 30, 1914, and thereby t force the Haitian government t accede to the demand for the contro of customs. The government funds were held up by the bank.

"In December, 1914, the Haitian government tried to use force t secure possession of these funds," writes Professor Douglas, "but at the request of the bank, the United States cruiser Machias was sent to Port au Prince. Marines were landed and $500,000 of the reserve was transferred from the bank to the Machias, and taken to New York, where it was deposited with the National City bank."

How did the National City bank obtain control of the National Bank of Haiti? It first purchased the interests of the three other American banking firms (Speyer & Co., Hallgarten & Co. and Ladenburg, Thalman & Co.) and after the war bought the interests of the Banque de L'Union Parisienne for approximately $1,400,000. Today the National City bank of New York virtually owns the Banque de la Republique d'Haiti.

At the same time these attempts were being made to obtain control of Haiti's customs, Admiral Caperton was skirting the island, ostensibly to prevent a revolution. He was telling the revolutionary leader what he must and must not do and was doing nothing to add to the feeling of security of the established government.

Thus in July, 1915, the Haitian government found itself confronted by the following: A dispute with the National railroad, or the National City bank of New York; a dispute with the National Bank of Haiti, or the National City bank of New York; insurrection from the north, with an American admiral lurking around without showing the Haitian government why.

All of these problems contributed to a state of high excitement and a sense of insecurity which culminated on July 27 in the execution of 167 political prisoners and the assassination of President Sam. These executions and the murder of Sam were made the pretext for the landing of American marines and the taking over of the administration of the customs by Admiral Caperton.

Now it stands out clearly that American private financial interests did have a stake in Haiti. In 1914 a United States cruiser took a half million dollars belonging to the Haitian government to the National City bank of New York. Admiral Caperton has always claimed that he did not know exactly what he was snooping around for. Even after he had installed himself in the republic, his orders from Washington were not explicit. There was no program. There were no agreements save those which enabled the American government to control Haitian money.

Is it possible that there was some one in the American state department, some undersecretary, who had been persuaded that he should lend his influence toward protecting the interests of the National City bank in Haiti? Did the National City bank figure that the interests on the railroad bonds would be more easily collectible if America controlled Haitian customs? Did the National City bank have in mind taking over Haitian government funds, as it has done ever since, and failing to pay the Haitian government the customary rate of interest? Did R. L. Farnham, vice president of the National City bank and president of the National Railroad of Haiti, envisage some bold financial project for his institution which involved not only Haiti, but responsible and influential officials in American government departments? Would that possibly be the reason Mr. Farnham became one of the vice presidents of the National City bank? Why did the National City bank acquire 70 per cent of the railroad bonds which were originally held in France?

The foregoing facts cast grave doubt on the claim that America entered Haiti to help the Haitians because they were indebted to foreign countries and were the victims of constant revolutions about which so much noise has been made.

(Copyright, Associated Negro Press)

ENTIRE HAITIAN CABINET RESIGNS AS PROTEST

Crisis Averted by Dr. Moton Recurs in Haitian Capital.

COLVIN NAMED

Island Refuses to Accept U.S. Educator.

By CARL MURPHY

The failure of President Hoover to recall the nomination of Dr. Carl Colvin, white, as chief of the technical bureau of the Department of Agriculture of Haiti, caused the resignation of the entire Haitian cabinet last week.

The crisis was precipitated on July 1, when the U.S. State Department announced that Colvin had been promoted. He had been assistant to Dr. George H. Freeman, white, resigned. Dr .Colvin had already moved his household effects into the former Freeman home in the hills of Petionville near Port au Prince.

Damocles Vieux, Minister of Agriculture and Education in the cabinet of President Roy, to whom Colvin is subordinate, immediately objected and announced his resignation. The remainder of the cabinet agreed to walk out with Minister Vieux.

Acting on his own initiative, Dr R. R. Moton, heading the educational commission then in Haiti, succeeded in getting the cabinet to agree to withhold resignations until the commission had a chance to return to Washington and report to Mr. Hoover.

Members of the commission were furious over the Colvin appointment. There was talk of resigning commsisions on the spot. The administration was severely condemned for making changes in the U.S. educational personnel in Haiti during the period that President Hoover had commissioners on the ground investigating educational affairs.

Having waited over one month after the commission's return to Washington and Dr. Moton's conference with President Hoover, without the nomination being withdrawn, the Haitian cabinet last week carried out its 42-day-old threat to resign.

In addition, President Roy has advised that his own resignation as provisional president is also pending, because he will be unable to carry on the government without a ministry.

Objections to Colvin

Minister Vieux split with his subordinate, Dr. Colvin, during the later part of June when he discovered that the faculty of the summer school conducted by Dr. Colvin at Damien was nearly equal in size to the student body, and that American experts were drawing salaries of $350 to $600 a month for this work.

Minister Damocles ordered the school at Damien closed July 1. Colvin appealed over the head of his chief to the U.S. State Department. Peeved by this insubordination, Minister Vieux, as chief of education and agriculture, demanded Colvin's resignation, declaring that Colvin had refused to obey orders.

To the Moton Commission, Minister Vieux pointed out that Dr. Colvin and his aides, who now get the benefit of one-half the national budget for education, plan to wipe out all Haitian national schools and replace them with Americanized industrial schools, teaching trades and farming.

The Colvin Plan

Exposure of the Colvin plan to substitute industrial schools for the elementary and high schools, even in the capital where some thirteen new buildings are in course of construction, angered the Haitian populace to madness.

High Salaries Paid Experts

The third objection to Dr. Colvin is the high salaries paid American "experts," many of whom, including Dr. Colvin himself, cannot speak the French language with fluency.

The average pay of Haitian teachers ranges from $4 to $30 per month in rural sections, and from $30 to $75 in the capital.

The American "experts," draw eight to ten times this much from the Haitian treasury, despite their inability to speak French, their lack of acquaintance with tropical agriculture, and their race prejudice against Haitians who are Negroes.

Six Years of Colvin

Since 1924 Colvin has been assistant director of the technical bureau (Service Technique) at $7,500 a year, plus gas and auto repairs. He holds an M.S. degree. As director, he would draw $10,299 and "perquisites," which for Americans in Haiti, include many "trimmings."

High Salaries

Other white Americans are drawing pay as follows:

M. J. Perry (no degree) executive	$3,900
I. B. Boughton (Dr. Veterinary Medicine)	$6,000
L. R. McKinnon, assistant superintendent	$3,600
Ted Spenser, assistant director	$1,500
J. E. Boog Scott (Univ. of Edinburgh), ex-president Texas Sanitary Commission, director Hinche Agricultural Station	—$4,200
C. E. Arndt, Ph.D., director Coffee Experiment Station Fond de Negre	$4,500
L. R. Stadtmuller (Yale College of Forestry)	$5,500
Donald R. Scarborough (M.S., University of Ga.), director of rural farm schools	$4,200
Chas. R. Reiter (M.S., Univ. of Pa.) supervisor	$4,500
R. S. Lunden, M.S., director of Central Agricul. College	$4,200
A. N. Vinson, Ph.D., dept. head	$5,000
Andrew Tuche, Jr., B.S., dept. head	$5,000
*Lewis Y. Leonard, M.S., school garden head	$5,000
Herbert Dozier, Ph.D., dept head	$5,000
Henri D. Barker, Ph.D., dept. head	$5,000
*F. C. Kingman, B.S., dept head	$5,000
Mrs. Richards, Mrs. Osseman, Mary Batterton, Mrs. M. F. Edden, secretaries and stenographers imported from the U.S., are paid $1,740 to $1,800 per year.	
*Edna Hall, teacher of cooking (Knows nothing of Haitian foods)	$4,200

*Speaks no French.

The Hoover administration, while refusing a $20,000 increase in the budget which would raise rural teachers' pay from $6 to $20 per month, keeps in Haiti 34 U.S. white experts which cost Haiti nearly $100,000 a year.

HAITI ONCE MORE brings disturbing news. The Cabinet of President Roy resigned on August 14 in protest against the proposed appointment of Carl Colvin as director of the Service Technique, announced from Washington by the State Department in July. Feeling in Haiti is very strong against the expensive Service Technique, with its American personnel, and it was the ill-advised action of its former head, Dr. Freeman, it will be recalled, that gave rise to the disorders of last December leading up to the appointment of the Forbes Commission. The Department of State attributes the present crisis to internal Haitian political agitation and bluntly insists on the Colvin appointment, but it is impossible to disguise the seriousness of a situation in which friction between the Haitian government and the Occupation has reached a point causing the resignation of the Cabinet. The appointment of Mr. Dana C. Munro, of the Latin-American division of the State Department, as Minister to Haiti, cannot be said to offer great promise for a more understanding treatment of the questions constantly arising, and the return of General Russell to Haiti in September to supervise the coming election is almost certain to increase anti-American feeling yet farther, while the disbanding of the Forbes Commission, which has been bowed out with thanks, suggests that the Haitians may hope for no further official help from that quarter. The problems of withdrawal following our blundering fifteen-year adventure in Haiti are difficult enough, but why fritter away the good-will evoked by the Forbes Commission?

HAITI'S CABINET QUITS; PROTESTS NAMING OF COLVIN

Say His Appointment Is Violation of U.S. Agreement

Port-au-Prince Haiti, August 14—The entire cabinet resigned in protest against the proposed appointment of Carl Colvin as director of the Service Technique to succeed Dr. George F. Freeman, Mr. Colvin recently has been acting director.

The Ministers said they resigned because the agreement with the United States called for the appointment of an agricultural engineer to the post and that Colvin does not qualify.

The cabinet, which went into office with President Eugene Roy, May 15, was composed of Rodolphe Barraux, minister of the interior; Frederic Bernadin, minister of foreign affairs; Ernest Douyon, minister of justice and public works; Franck Roy, minister of finance, and Damocles Vieux, minister of education and agriculture. Protests by Haitians over the administration of The Service Technique—which is a vocational school—were studied last winter by the Hoover investigating committee. Students struck against the administration of Dr. Freeman last year and stoned his residence.

ASSAILS INTERVENTION IN HAITI

Mrs. Helen H. Weed Says President Put In Office Was Puppet President.

Williamstown, Mass., Aug. 19.—American intervention in Haiti was condemned by Mrs. Helen Hill Weed at the general conference on the Caribbean policy of the United States at the Institute of Politics today.

Mrs. Weed, who lives in Norwalk, Conn., was Haitian correspondent of the NATION, weekly publication, during the Forbes commission investigation of conditions in that country. She said the "first acts of intervention were to select and put in office a puppet President," who was obliged ,in order to secure recognition by the United States military forces, to promise to submit to a treaty written by the United States and giving this country military and economic control of Haiti."

"Rather Perish," She Says

At the time of the oFrbes commission inquiry, Mrs. Weed said, the Haitians, "tormened and tortured in their own land," had come to the point where they "would rather perish as a nation in an unarmed revolt than longer endure their national degradation."

Haiti.

Race Problem - 1930

West Indies

WE OUGHT TO GET OUT OF HAITI

Courier

FOR the past three or four years our government has received any number of suggestions, hints and even commands to get out of Haiti, especially with our marines. The recent election may be accepted as the official voice of the Haitians themselves; and if we are to believe the reports from the election, the Haitians are telling us to get out of their country, and they are talking out loud.

11-21-30

There has always been more or less discussion about the propriety of Uncle Sam sending his war vessels to Haitian ports and by the presence of actual force attempting to influence Haitian government. So long as the protests came from Haitians only, little attention was paid to them. It is known that under the governor general many things were done in the name of Uncle Sam which should not have been done, and would not have been done had not other protests than those from the Haitians reached the ears of Uncle Sam.

Pittsburgh, Pa

It now appears that the attitude of our government toward Haitians has been very subtly conveyed to all of the South American peoples and it requires no prophet to tell that not a little of the present unrest in South America is due to a well-cultivated opposition toward the United States. The Haitians, of course, are very insignificant when taken alone and considered separate and apart from the great South American countries; but the Haitians represent a darker people, and the South Americans are primarily people of darker hue. The attitude of this country toward Haiti has been accepted in South America as indicating the general attitude of this country toward all darker peoples, and the suspicions of the South Americans find ample confirmation in the treatment of American Negroes, who are supposed to be citizens of Uncle Sam.

Habit soon develops into custom, and when Uncle Sam developed the habit of sending warships below Key West, Florida, the South American people argued very correctly that soon Uncle Sam would develop the habit of sending warships as far South as he pleased. General opposition, founded in part upon fact and in part upon suspicion, developed rapidly against our government, and today it is no secret that the South American people as a whole want little or nothing to do with this country.

Some of the revolutions in the South American countries arose chiefly because of certain alleged influences which Uncle Sam is supposed to have exercised over certain South American officials, to the extent that those officials became financial pawns in the hands of wealthy men of the United States. There is little wonder that these unpatriotic South Americans were held up to public scorn and run out of public office.

The recent election in Haiti put into presidency a man who is known to be a strong opponent toward all things having to do with Uncle Sam. He has also enjoyed the reputation of having always fought for the best interests of his own people. In addition to these facts, he was elected in spite of the assistance Uncle Sam is supposed to have given his opponent. A" f this happened as soon as our warships were withdrawn ough to permit the Haitians to hold a free and uninflu ction. Now that the election is over and the Haitian have spoken, it seems idle for anyone to even suggest that our government should meddle any further in the affairs of the Haitian people. We ought to get out of Haiti, and we ought to do it before we incur the enmity of all nations and tribes south of Key West, Florida.

Board Asks Nation To Assist In Haitian Educational System Work

WASHINGTON, Nov. 30.—(AP)—The United States commission on education in Haiti today recommended to President Hoover that the United States assist in the establishment of an adequate educational system for the Caribbean republic.

Advertiser

The recommendation was based on the belief the United States should do this "in consideration of its vital interest in the progress and stability of states contiguous to the approaches of the Panama Canal."

12-1-30

It was embodied in a report on Haitian educational conditions made by Dr. R. R. Moton, chairman of the commission, after a sojourn of several months with the other four commissioners in Haiti.

Montgomery, Ala

The commission recommended immediate cessation of capital outlay for more farm schools in Haiti, which it said were not needed as much as progress in other educational lines.

Speaking of the service technique, which is the name for the American inspired system of elementary vocational schools operating under the Haitian department of agriculture, the report said this was a "step in the right direction." At the same time it said the present organization of the service technique left much to be desired.

The report said Haitians were disposed by tradition to favor cultural rather than vocational educational. It questioned the wisdom of too much emphasis on the service technique while the secondary junior colleges and colleges operating under the national government were without adequate funds.

The commission said it found too much tendency for Americans in charge of the service technique to elevate the system to American standards which were found extravagant in comparison to those of the other systems and it was feared the whole structure of the service technique might collapse as soon as the American occupation was withdrawn.

Besides Dr. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, other members of the commission were: Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University; Prof. Leo M. Favrot, field agent of the general education board; B. F. Hubert, president of the Georgia State Industrial College, and Dr. W. T. B. Williams, dean of the college at Tuskegee Institute.

HAITIANS UPHELD ON EDUCATION ISSUE

J Jones

Moton Commission, in Report to Hoover, Justifies Protest Against School Separation.

12-1-30

JOINT BOARD ADVOCATED

New York, N.Y.

With American Members of Negro Descent, It Would Re-establish the System.

FINANCIAL AID PROPOSED

This Would Take Form of Grant or Loan by Treasury at a Low Rate of Interest.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 30.—Substantial grounds for complaints by Haitians against the "service technique" or separate vocational school system set up during the American occupation of Haiti, were found to exist by the special commission headed by Dr. R. R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, sent to Haiti by President Hoover this year to conduct an educational survey, according to the commission's report to the President, made public tonight by Secretary Stimson.

Dissatisfaction with the "service technique" contributed to outbreaks late last year, which precipitated a serious situation for the American occupation. President Hoover sent the Forbes commission to investigate general conditions and later the Moton commission to study the educational system.

As a result of the Forbes commission report, military control of Haiti has been modified, free elections have been held, and a Minister has replaced the American High Commissioner at Port au Prince.

Major Recommendations.

The State Department is now studying the recommendations of the Moton report, which was signed by all members of the commission, comprising, in addition to Dr. Moton, Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University; Professor Leo M. Favrot, field agent of the General Education Board; B. F. Hubert, president of Georgia State Industrial College, and Dr. W. T. B. Williams, dean of the college at Tuskegee and field agent of the Jeanes and Slater boards.

The outstanding recommendation is that the service technique be articulated with the national school system of Haiti and that financial and administrative aid be given by the United States in developing an adequate system of education.

The Moton committee urged that a permanent joint commission be established, composed of Americans of Negro descent and Haitians, to formulate plans for articulations of the two educational systems and to advise how the two governments may cooperate in carrying out other recommendations of the commission.

It recommends a grant from the United States Treasury to aid Haiti to develop an adequate educational system, or the arranging of a loan at low interest from private sources in this country at the instance of the American Government for that purpose.

It suggests that President Hoover use his good offices to encourage private philanthropy in this country to aid education in Haiti.

Declining Support of Education.

Declaring that, from a financial point of view, education in Haiti has been worse off under American occupation than under exclusive Haitian control, with the national school system receiving progressively declining proportions of the annual appropriations, the commission asserts that the setting up of a separate system of primary schools "was a mistake" and that the fears of the Haitians that the service technique intended to supplant the national school system "appears to be justified."

All that could be justified under temporary American occupation, it adds, would be a limited program to demonstrate a desirable type of school for town and country.

Judged by Haitian standards, it continues, the service technique "appears extravagant," while the standard of achievement set up was far beyond the capacity of the Haitian treasury to support. The service, according to the report, was projected on too elaborate a scale, contained too many Americans with salaries too high in comparison to those paid Haitians and failed to cooperate with or recognize the authority of Haitian Government officials.

No practical results in agricultural promotion or improved standards of living have been noted, it is declared, after seven years of activity.

Change in "Attitude" Urged.

The commission finds, however, that the type of service inaugurated under the service technique represents a pressing need, that real progress has been made in laying the foundations for agricultural and industrial development, and that the motives of the leaders cannot be questioned, although the state of mind of the Haitian people following the American occupation has made it difficult to obtain their cooperation.

"The Haitian leaders themselves are not beyond criticism for neglecting the development of opportunities for their rural population, for overemphasis on the cultural branches of education, and for their apparent lack of concern for the welfare and progress of the masses who constitute the foundations of their government," the report continues.

"Your commission is distinctly of the opinion that a change of attitude on the part of officials of the American occupation, and especially those representing the service technique, from one of independent self-sufficiency to one of interested and sympathetic cooperation will meet with such a response from leaders of education and government officials in Haiti as will yet make that department a welcome addition to the forces of enlightenment and culture in the country, rather than an object of suspicion and a reminder of unwilling subjection.

"America can surely be generous toward the people whose forebears shared her struggles for freedom from a foreign dominion; by nothing can she more assuredly vindicate her claim to be the protector of liberties of the nations of the West than by the fulfillment to Haiti of her pledge to leave her lands more productive, her people more contented, her institutions more firmly established and her liberties more secure, for having gone to her rescue in the hour of peril."

Moton Commission Submits Report On Haiti, Upholding Complaints Against Occupation School System

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12-13-30
New York,

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TIAN PREXY ITS CAPITAL, OCCUPATION

SHINGTON, D. C. — Vincent, new Haitian ent, said his country nes U.S. capital with ence but does not want dventureres or a con- on of the U.S. occupa-

Pro-American

statement given Rep. Knut- ep., Minn.) who has just re- from Haiti, declared the is- are not anti-American or ite. 12-27-30

dent Vincent's statement

s true that our people and our ment officials have expressed pposition to the American oc- on of Haiti. The activities and tion of powers by the officials occupation have far exceed- contemplation of the treaty 5. Baltimore

Haitians have not the same experience in agricultural de- ment and other lines of busi- as have our American neigh- nor have we capital necessary ch development of our natural ces. We welcome such experi- and capital, and I emphasize

experience because capital without experience is usually lost.

"If invested in Haiti under the same conditions of careful primary investigation and subsequent management of a business that business men would give to a similar enterprise in the United States, capital in Haiti will give a good return. Our resources are not unlimited, they are those of a tropical country. For products of the tropics such as sugar cotton, coffee, pineapples, citrus fruits particularly grapefruit, oranges and limes, figs, cocoa, etc., we have large areas of land surpassed nowhere for its richness, waiting for experience and capital to develop it. We have labor, until now, cheap and abundant."

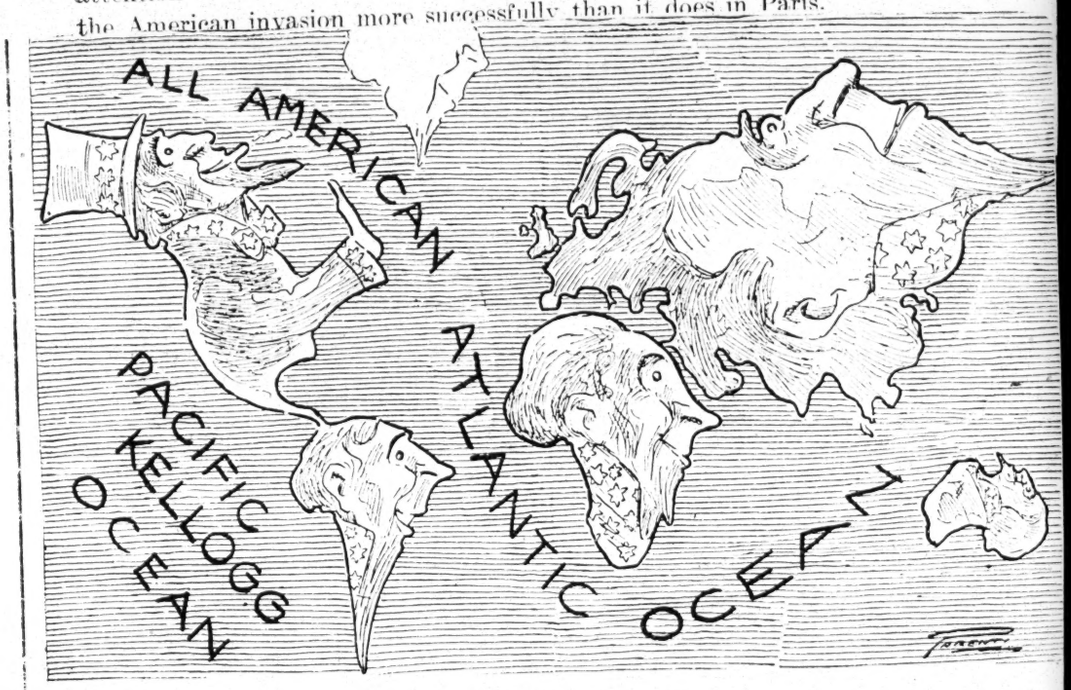
Race Problem-1930
West Indies.

Haiti

HAITI RESISTING YANKEEFICATION

DESPITE THE MARINES sent to Haiti by Washington, the French language remains there impregnable.

This we are told by certain French editors, who call attention to the fact that in Haiti the French language resists the American invasion more successfully than it does in Paris.



AN ITALIAN THRUST

"The map of the world as Uncle Sam would have it." —*Il 420* (Florence).

When the United States established order about 1915 in the tumultuous republic of the Caribbean, relates Pierre Soulaine in the Paris *Figaro*, an attempt was made to propagate the use of English in the Island. But the blacks, mulattos, and quadroons, he rejoices, refused to abandon the language of the old Creoles. This informant adds:

Literary Digest

"The newspapers of Haiti are all published in French. The principal ones are the *Nouvelliste*, the *Matin*, and the *Temps*. A new journal, the *Presse*, has been lately founded by a Mr. Auguste. He has set up a very expensive printing-plant at Port-au-Prince. The *Presse* does not contain a single word accessible to an American hostile toward foreign languages.

1-19-30

"The latest number of the *Presse* to reach France contains photographs of the demonstration by students on strike. The striking students remained within the limits of a pacific demonstration designed as a protest against the minimum salaries paid their professors in comparison to the magnificent compensation received by American teachers sent to Haiti.

Vol. 104, No. 3

But in other parts of the island, we are then advised, the demonstrations were marked by bloodshed. As this French journalist points out, in the tropics, rifles and revolvers are even more dangerous to handle than elsewhere, and he goes on:

"The approach of the Presidential election excites the emotions and sharpens the interest of the Haitians. They claim, as against the intervention of the marines, an independence of which they have never made very good use since the days of Toussaint Louverture et Dessalines. Their Parliament has been suppress, and they are weak enough to regret it. The Government is directed by an executive body composed of the President and of Ministers mostly chosen by the United States."

SAYS SOLUTION IN HAITI IS FOR US TO LEAVE

Times

Dr. Du Bois, Negro Editor, Attacks Our Intervention as Move to Exploit the Country.

1-19-30

The Haitian problem can be solved only by the United States quitting the country with as little ceremony as possible, according to Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, negro editor of The Crisis and director of publications for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples. Dr. Du Bois spoke yesterday afternoon before the Student Forum of Congregation Emanu-El, Fifth Avenue and Sixty-fifth Street. He has for many years been associated with negro advancement both in politics and the arts.

New York, N.Y.

"The whole difficulty is that we now say that we went into Haiti for philanthropic reasons," he declared, "whereas it was to exploit the country and also to get a site for a naval base so as to be able to defend the Panama Canal. To say that we occupied Haiti to establish democracy there is hypocrisy.

"If it is going to help the negro population of the island the United States should be more careful in choosing its agents. Most of these are now recruited from Louisiana, which is known to be the culturally most low-standing State of the Union."

Dr. Du Bois declared that nothing has been done by us for the general education of the Haitians except agricultural instruction.

"Agricultural education has been given because the United States wanted to build up an industry based on agriculture and o nownership of land by large corporations," he asserted. "Our government has started out making it possible for corporations to buy land and training some of the best of the Haitian people, so that these can become managers and experts on those lands. This agricultural training is not education in the sense of spreading intelligence but an effort to make exploitation of Haiti easier. However, our health institutions have had a great benefit."

The speaker said that nobody gets hurt in Haiti except United States marines, "who deserve it."

Borah and Haiti

SENATOR BORAH of Idaho, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, says that he sees no necessity for an investigation of affairs in Haiti, but that if it is the wish of the President he will not oppose it. He has not told why he thinks an investigation is unnecessary; he is satisfied because, for the moment, Haiti is quiet. If he is right, it is right to let any murder remain uninvestigated because the dead man is quiet. He is like the old Romans, who made a solitude and called it peace, and who firmly believed that the best way to pacify a territory was to kill off its people.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION affords a parallel to Senator Borah's way of thinking. Lord Germain, George the III's minister, always contended that the colonies had nothing to complain of. Germain, however, acquiesced in the investigation of the Boston Massacre and the trial of the British soldiers implicated in it. In Boston, in spite of extreme provocation, the troops killed only three people.

THE BOSTON MASSACRE was a tiny thing compared to the Haitian massacre. The colonists were not bullied and insulted by the troops of a foreign power; in fact, the colonists themselves did the insulting. Compared with the conduct of the United States marines in Haiti the acts of the British troops in Boston were models of decorum. The British occupation of Boston, which was deemed cause for a revolution, caused only three deaths; the American occupation of Haiti, supposed to be beneficent, caused at least five deaths in one encounter. And anyone who believes there were only five deaths deserves a Harmon award for innocence.

BESIDES THESE deaths, how many others have resulted from the occupation of Haiti? How many people have been killed by the wanton blood-lust of drunken marines? How many have died from disease, poverty and heartbreak? How many have lost their relatives, their occupations, their property? How many have been thrown into jail for saying, even for hinting, that the American occupation is not a blessing to Haiti?

GERMAIN'S NAME has come down through history as a synonym for brutal stupidity; his blunders taught England how not to govern colonies. But, blockhead as he was, he had some regard for human life. Senator Borah, whose position as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee is analogous to that of Germain in England, calmly says that the deaths of Haitians need not be investigated. What place does he expect to occupy in history?

HAITIAN BOARD IS NAMED BY HOOVER

President Of Tuskegee Institute Is Asked To Study Situation

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7.—(AP)—President Hoover took another step toward development of a new policy in the Caribbean today by appointing a commission to study the question of when and how the United States should withdraw from participation in the affairs of Haiti.

W. Cameron Forbes of Massachusetts, former governor general of the Philippines, was named chairman of the commission. Henry P. Fletcher of Pennsylvania, former ambassador to Rome and widely experienced in Latin-American affairs, was named as the second member of the group.

Other members are Elie Vezina, of Rhode Island, a student of Haitian affairs; James Kerney, editor of The Trenton, N. J., Times, and William Allen White, editor of The Emporia, Kan., Gazette. The commsision will leave for Haiti late this month.

President Hoover also announced that he had requested Dr. R. R. Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, to study the educational system of Haiti with a view to recommendations for the future.

It is a possibility, the President said, that a member of the Senate and a member of the House may be added to the commission, but remarking that at present, however, the congressional branches were disinclined to be represented in the investigation.

The treaty under which the United States now maintains a force of Marines in Haiti expires in 1936. It is the hope of President Hoover that the commission will find some means whereby the United States may safely withdraw its Marines now, but at the same time assure a stable government for the island.

N.Y. HERALD FEB 8 1930

President Picks Forbes to Lead Hayti Inquiry

Former Philippine Head Is Chairman; Fletcher and W. A. White Also Named

Education Study Planned

Full Survey of Island Needs Preliminary to Self Rule

From the Herald Tribune Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7.—Fulfilling his promise to lose no time in preparing for withdrawal of United States Marines from Hayti, President Hoover announced today the personnel of a commission charged with the duty of investigating the problems of the Haytian government with a view to the removal of American troops. It is headed by W. Cameron Forbes.

The commission is regarded as the strongest the President could have selected and reflects the importance Mr. Hoover attaches to the desirability for an orderly and stable government being established in Hayti before affairs are returned to insular officials for self-rule.

Personnel of the Commission

The members of the commission are:

W. Cameron Forbes, former Governor General of the Philippine Islands, chairman.

Henry P. Fletcher, former Ambassador to Italy and expert on Latin-American affairs.

Elie Vezina, of Woonsocket, R. I.

James Kerney, of Trenton, N. J.

William Allen White, Wichita, Kan., publisher.

In selecting the commission President Hoover gave careful thought to the national and religious viewpoints of the citizens of Hayti. The island is overwhelmingly Catholic and French is the accepted language. Both elements are represented on the commission.

Mr. Vezina is secretary of L'Union St. Jean Baptiste d'Amerique, a strong French Catholic organization, is a student of Haytian affairs, is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor and a Knight of the Order of St. Gregory, the latter being an honor that is bestowed only by the Pope.

Mr. Fletcher served as Secretary of the American Embassy at Havana, Ambassador to Chile, Ambassador to Mexico, Ambassador to Belgium, Ambassador to Italy and as Under Secretary of State. He was selected to accompany Mr. Hoover on his South American tour because of his extensive knowledge of Latin-American affairs.

Mr. Kerney is a Democrat and the author of a number of articles on Woodrow Wilson. Mr. White also is well known as an author.

Congress Choices Invited

President Hoover has invited the Senate and House of Representatives to designate one or two members. Thus far, however, Congress has been reticent to participate, taking no action other than to authorize President Hoover to spend $50,000 in the Haytian investigation if he saw fit.

In addition to the investigatory commission, President Hoover announced that with Mr. Forbes's co-operation he had persuaded Dr. R. E. Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, Negro college, on behalf of the institute, to undertake an exhaustive investigation into the educational system of Hayti with a view to recommendation for the future.

The investigation by Tuskegee Institute will be entirely independent of the more formal inquiry by the official American commission.

It was not indicated whether the President planned to finance the Moton investigation as well as that by his commission out of the $50,000 made available by Congress.

The United States occupied Hayti with marines in 1915 and established what amounted to military supervision over its government. Brigadier General John H. Russell is the American High Commissioner in Hayti.

Haiti.

Race Problem - 1930

West Indies.

DR. R. R. MOTON TO HEAD A SUPPLEMENTAL COMMISSION FOR HAITIAN INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.—President Herbert Hoover announced on Friday, February 7, the personnel of the commission of five which will investigate conditions in Haiti, as follows: W. Cameron Forbes of Massachusetts, former Governor General of the Philippines; Henry P. Fletcher of Pennsylvania, former American Ambassador to Italy; Elie Vezina of Rhode Island, high ranking lay Catholic; James Kerney of New Jersey, close friend of the late President Wilson, and William Allen White, famous Kansas editor.

Although no colored member is named on the commission, President Hoover has requested Dr. Robert Russa Moton to head a supplement commission to investigate Haiti's educational system. Commenting on this action, the President said:

"In cooperation with Mr. Forbes, I have requested Dr. R. R. Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute on behalf of the institute and such other educational affiliations as he may suggest, to undertake an exhaustive investigation into the educational system of Haiti with view to recommendations for the future."

Capt. Marshall Comments

Capt. Napoleon B. Marshall, for six years one of the secretaries in the American Legation at Port au Prince, Haiti, in commenting on the personnel of the Commission, pointed out that Chairman Forbes, as Governor General of the Philippines, was always opposed to granting self-government to the Filipinos, and it is only reasonable to suppose that his attitude as regards the Haitians will be influenced by his attitude in the past.

Mr. Fletcher, he said, was formerly 1st Assistant Secretary of State and as such was in a position to exercise great influence in changing conditions among the Haitian people, but his record shows that he opposed Haitian independence. He also pointed to the statement that James Kerney of New Jersey was a "close friend to the late President Wilson, under whose Administration the American Occupation of Haiti was instituted.

HOOVER SELECTS GROUP FOR HAITIAN PROBE; NO NEGRO IS NAMED

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 12.—Appointment Friday by President Hoover of five members of the commission which is to study conditions in the island republic of Haiti, with the understanding given out that there would be no colored members of the commission, has caused the political dopsters in the capital to catch their breath in an effort to recover from their astonishment and in an effort to understand the kind of politics President Hoover is playing.

For more than a year Mr.. Hoover has been President and the members of the "kitchen cabinet," or the successors to the confidential position once occupied by that rather mythical alliance, have been waiting and hoping for some sort of recognition of the Negro's vote that would be made in the appointment of some Negro to some responsible position in the government service. But the Quaker engineer in the executive office has done nothing, and it is becoming more and more difficult for the brothers to understand.

Many arguments have been used to explain the President's lack of action heretofore, but to the local dopsters it seemed to be a foregone conclusion hat in the appointment of the Haitian commission the President would be forced to appoint some Negro or else lay himself open to the charges that he was against Negroes, or did not think that they were capable of assuming responsibilities under the federal authority.

In many a barber shop and parlor, in many a poolroom and kitchen, and offices and cafes, the curious and the worried are trying to figure out what is in the President's mind.

"Why did he not appoint a Negro?" is the question.

Of course, there are those who claim to know it was prejudice and there are others who know it was not.

But the most interesting theory heard among the "philosophers" is that the Negroes themselves have got the President afraid to move. These theorists hold that every time there is a likelihood of the President making use of the Negro for some job that pays something, he finds himself the object of so many "influences," good and bad, exerted in behalf of some favorite candidate that, puzzled and exasperated, he has decided to pass up consideration of any of them for fear of setting various factions at one another's throats. In other words, the President is afraid that whatever he might do for one Negro would have the effect of starting a deadly war among the leaders.

But, of course, that is only a theory. Nobody knows what is really in the President's mind.

Although, he refrained from the appointment of a Negro as a member of the Haitian commission, he has asked Dr. R. R. Moton of Tuskegee to undertake an exhaustive investigation into the educational system of Haiti with a view of submitting recommendatons for the future.

The members of the commission appointed by Mr. Hoover are: William Cameron Forbes, former governor general of the Philippines and Boston banker, chairman; Henry P. Flethcer, Pennsylvania, former ambassador to Italy; Elie Veznia, Rhode Island, James Kerney, New Jersey Democrat, and William Allen White, Kansas publisher.

NEW YORK WORLD

FORBES APPOINTED HAITI INQUIRY HEAD

Fletcher, Kerney, White, Vezina on Board Hoover Names

LAWMAKERS ARE LEFT OFF

Leader Was Onetime Governor General of Philippines

From The World's Bureau
Special Despatch to The World

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7.—President Hoover to-day named W. Cameron Forbes of Massachusetts, onetime Governor General of the Philippines, to head a commission of five to investigate conditions in Haiti, with the end of recommending to Congress a new American policy toward that republic.

Other members of the President's commisison are Henry P. Fletcher of Pennsylvania, former American Ambassador to Italy; Elie Vezina of Rhode Island, high ranking lay Catholic; James Kerney, of New Jersey, close friend of the late President Wilson

and William Allen White, Kansas editor.

The President also requested Dr Robert R. Moton, President of the Tuskegee Institute, to inquire into the educational system in Haiti. The population of Haiti is almost entirely Negro

It is expected that the commissior will go to Haiti between Feb. 20 and 25. Congress has appropriated $50,000 for its work.

The President indicated he would like to name several Senators and Representatives to the commission.. But that, so far, the Congressmen have misunderstood certain phases of the inquiry and have shown a hesitancy to assume membership on the commission.

It is a matter of record that the Senate and the House struck from the bill appropriating the money for the commission's work, the word "commission." Both bodies substituted terms to the effect that the President should use the money as he sees fit. It was made clear that Congress was unwilling to bear any responsibility for the findings of the commission.

Possibly acceding to the wishes of Louis Borno of Haiti, who has signified a willingness that white men compose e commission, the President added e supplemental commission of Negro vestigators, to be headed by Dr. oton.

Mr. Vezina is a student of Haitian 'airs. He, like Mr. Kerney, is a tholic, the predominating religion in iti.

Withdrawal the Object

In his statement, commenting on e part Dr. Moton would play in the quiry, the President said:

"In co-operation with Mr. Forbes, I ve requested Dr. R. R. Moton, President of Tuskegee Institute, on beha of the institute and such other educational affiliations as he may sugges to undertake an exhaustive investigation into the educational system o Haiti with view to recommendations fo the future."

The main objectives of the commission, as the President recently pointed out, are to investigate when and how the American Government and the United States marines are to be withdrawn from Haiti, and what shall be done in Haiti in the meantime.

Under an existing treaty the American forces can be continued there until 1936. In all probability an agreement will be drawn up for some continued relationship between the United States and Haiti after 1936.

PRESIDENT MOVED BY RUMOR

Pittsburg, Pa Courier

Hoover Influened By Haitians' Attitude of Sending "White Commissioner Only" To Haiti—Negro Ignored—Commission All White—Moton Gets Special Duty

2/15/30

(Special to The Pittsburgh Courier)

WASHINGTON, Feb. 13.—According to reports, President Louis Borno of Haiti and other high officials of the Carribean Republic have registered strong protest against the appointment of an American Negro to the Hoover Commission of Investigation to Haiti, recently named by the President following the passage by Congress of a resolution authorizing the expenditure of $50,000 for that purpose. No specific reason was given by the Haitians for their attitude but from informed sources it is learned that the officials in question are but reflecting the viewpoint of the American Occupation as represented by General Russell, the American High Commissioner. It is confidently asserted that this allegedly inspired objection to the naming of an American Negro strongly influenced President Hoover in his selection of an all-white commission, headed by former Ambassador to Mexico, Henry P. Fletcher.

There has been no comment one way or the other from official aHitian sources concerning the appointment of Dr. R. R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, to head an independent commission to investigate and make recommendations concerning the Haitian educational system, although the press of Port Au Prince is reported by the United Press to be pleased with the selection.

A special wire to The Pittsburgh Courier from Dr. Moton at Tuskegee, declared he preferred not to make a statement until the personnel of the committee had been selected.

"This will probably be done about the latter part of the week," the wire stated.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 13.—Disregarding requests for the appointment of one colored person at least to membership on the Haitian commission, President Hoover last Friday named five members of the commission that is to investigate conditions in Haiti, with a view to working out a new and definite policy toward that republic. William Cameron Forbes, a well known merchant of Boston, was named as chairman of the commission. Mr. Forbes has had wide experience in insular affairs. He was a member of the Philippine commission and secretary of commerce and police in the government of the Philippine Islands from 1904 to 1908. He served as vice governor of the Philippine Islands from July 1, 1908, to Nov. 10, 1910, and as governor general from Nov. 11, 1909, to Sept. 1, 1913. He also was a member of the Wood-Forbes mission sent by President Harding to investigate conditions in the Philippine Islands in 1921. He is a member of the board of trustees of Hampton Institute.

Two other outstanding members of the Haitian commission are Henry P. Fletcher, a diplomat, of Pennsylvania, and Henry Allen White, a newspaper man. Mr. Fletcher was under-secretary of state from March 8, 1921, to March 1, 1922. He later served as ambassador to Belgium and Italy and as minister to Luxemberg. He was chairman of the United States delegation to the fifth Pan-American conference at Santiago, Chile, and a delegate to the sixth Pan-American conference in Havana. Mr. White is the publisher and editor of the Emporia Daily and Weekly Gazette.

In announcing his selection of five members of the commission President Hoover stated that he had asked Dr. Robert R. Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, to undertake a separate investigation of the educational system of Haiti.

He said orally that there was some disinclination on the part of members of the Senate and House to serve on the Haitian commission and therefore the congressional membership had not been determined.

President Hoover's formal announcement was as follows.

"I have now appointed the F commission, which will be con of Mr. W. Cameron Forbes as c man; Mr. Henry P. Fletcher, of Pennsylvania; Mr. Elie Vezina, of Rhose Island; Mr. James Kearney, of New Jersey; Mr. William Allen White, of Kansas.

"In co-operation with Mr. Forbes, I have requested Dr. R. R. Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, on behalf of the institute and such other educational affiliation as he may suggest, to undertake an exhaustive investigation into the educational system of Haiti with view to recommendations for the future.

"The commission will be leaving for Haiti about Feb. 20 or 25."

Upon final passage by the House, Feb. 4, of the joint resolution authorizing an appropriation of $50,000 for the inquiry, President Hoover issued a statement which said:

"The primary question which is to be investigated is when and how we are to withdraw from Haiti. The second question is what we shall do in the meantime.

"Certainly we shall withdraw our marines and officials some time There are some people who wish for us to scuttle overnight. I am informed that every group in Haiti considers that such action would result in disaster to the Haitian people.

"On the other hand, our treaty of 1915, under which our forces are present in that country, in the main expires in 1936, or six years hence. We have no mandate to continue the present relationship after that date.

"We have an obligation to the people of Haiti, and we need to plan how we will discharge that obligation. There is need to build up a certainty of efficient and stable government, in order that life and property may be protected after we withdraw.

"We need to know, therefore, what sequent steps should be taken in cooperation with the Haitian people to bring about this result.

"The answers to these questions must be worked out in broad vision after careful investigation of the entire subject by men of unbiased minds.

"It is for this reason that I have proposed to send a commission to Haiti to determine the facts, to study and survey the whole problem in the light of our experience in the past 15 years and the social and political background of the Haitian people, to confer with all sides, to recommend the sequent and positive steps which will lead to the liquidation of our responsibilities and at the same time assure stable government in Haiti.

"As I have stated before, I have no desire for representation of the American government abroad through our military forces.

"We entered Haiti in 1915 for reasons arising from chaotic and distressing conditions, the consequence of a long period of civil war and disorganization. We assumed by treaty the obligation to assist the republic of Haiti in the restoration of order; the organization of an efficient police force; the rehabilitation of its finances, and the development of its natural resources. We have the implied obligation of [illegible]

N. A. A. C. P. that virtually every police officer on the New York police force is following this case with intense interest, and it is believed that it is having a highly salutary effect on their atitude toward the treatment of colored citizens.

The N. A. A. C. P. also has written to Mayor Walker, asking that he rebuke Magistrate Rudich for remarking when told of Patrolman Lowe's arrest: "Show me a petit jury that would convict Lowe or even a grand jury that would indict him." The N. A. A. C. P. letter to Mayor Walker, signed by Walter

Race Problem - 1930

West Indies

Haiti

THE HOOVER HAITIAN COMMITTEE

Tribune

As an efficiency engineer, President Hoover has played peanut politics in the selection of a his Haitian committee. This committee has been selected ostensibly to study the conditions on the island with a view recommending a graceful withdrawal of the United States Marines. These soldiers of a foreign nation have unnecessarily been retained there since 1915 mostly at the behest of the National City Bank of New York City. Of course there is not a Negro on the commission.

Three of the members are rank politicians with absolutely no knowledge of Haitian problems, who evidently were chosen because of their readiness to hear their master's voice and thereby bring in the kind of report the National City Bank desires.

2-14-30

The commission includes: W. C. Forbes, ex-governor of the Philippines who made himself very unpopular with the natives while there; William Allen White, the crusading genius of Emporia, Kans.; James Kerney, an unknown newspaper man of Trenton, N. J.; Elie Veniza, a supposed student of Haitian affairs; and Henry F. Fletcher, ex-diplomat and Pennsylvania politician.

Washington, D.C.

With such a commission, it is needless to expect anything short of an evasive meaningless report that could be written without even expense of the trip to the island republic. The voice of the National City Bank will be heard and not that of the Haitian people themselves. Of course the marines will not be withdrawn soon. However, there may be a gradual withdrawal, timed to probably have most of them out by 1936 when the present treaty between the United States and Haiti expires.

The naming of Robert R. Moton, of Tuskegee Institute to make a study of the educational needs of the island is a joke. Dr. Moton is utterly unprepared to do this. The culture of Haiti is French. Its language and customs are largely copied from that country. This has been true since the estab ishing of a Negro government there. The Haitians should promptly resent their educational institutions being Motonized. Furthermore, if the educational needs of the island are inadequate, and need re-organizing from outside sources, why could not this person have been placed on the commission proper? Is Dr. Moton the jim-crow end of the commission?

The President is running true to form in making these appointments. On previous commissions named, this Quaker President has completley ignored the Negro. Not only has he ignored the Negro on his commissions, but has completely avoided him in making appointments to positions of trust in his administration.

We hope the commission will complete its report soon and that that report will recommend the full and complete withdrawal of the marines and all of the American carpet bag exploiters.

Dr. Moton Ought Not to Accept the Designation

It is a question with the best minds of the Race whether Dr. Moto should accept the job of outlining a course of education for the Hai tians. The brightest minds of the race are of the opinion that th Major should decline with thanks to His Excellency.

That the President blundered in failing to name a Negro on the Hai tian Commission is the unanimous editorial expression of the Negr Press. There is no reasonable excuse deductible from any premise why a Negro should not have been made a member of the Commissio The logical conclusion is, race prejudice controlled the President i making up the Haitian Commission, and the appointment of Majo Moton to a sinecure, is simply a subterfuge to cover up his blunde The constitution of the Haitian Commission is proof positive of the Ad ministration's attitude toward fourteen millions people it is his duty t protect and serve. The Negro need not look to Washington for an recognition of a citizen's rights in common with other citizens. Thi Administration has thoroughly established itself as anti-Negro to th bone, and we had as well make up our minds to take our medicine an wait until the republicans elect a republican administration.

As a man and leader of his race, who has regard for the constitutional rights of his people, Major Moton cannot afford to be used as an apology even by a President who denies his race the full enjoyment of their civil and political rights in common with every other American citizen. Self respect demands that Major Moton decline the place as an expression of the Race's protest against the President's policy of ignoring and eliminating the Negro from the party councils and from his constitutional right to hold office along with other citizens who voted for his election.

Independent

The Race will not accept Bob Vann's "yellow" apology for President Hoover's failure to appoint a Negro on the Haitian Commission. It was purely a case of racial intolerance, and nothing else. Bob Vann's far-fetched story that the Haitians protested the appointment of a Negro on the Commission is all bunk and nobody believes it—not even Bob who manufactured the propaganda. But, Bob belongs to that class of Negroes who accept without protest anything a white man says or does to the Race. But, Bob has his eye on Perry Howard's old job; but thanks be to God that Hoover looks at Bob as he does all other Negroes.

2 - 20 - 30

But, suppose the Haitians protested, as Bob propagates, what right did they have to name an American agency to make an investigation for purely American information? Congress authorized the President to appoint the Commission, and not the Haitians to dictate it. To object to a Negro member was equivalent to appointing a white member which contravenes the purpose of Congress. Suppose the Haitians had objected to a white man being on the Commission, who believes the President would have appointed all black men? Everybody who believes it, stand on your heads in the path of an automobile.

What can Major Moton do to establish a line of practical educatior for a people he knows nothing about? The Haitian people are not heathens. There are thousands of them on the island who have graduated from the best European colleges and universities. If the Majo is statesman enough to establish a curriculum for the practical education of the Haitian masses, why not put him on the Commission? As to what the sinecure to which the Major has been appointed suggests it would take the Major ten years to work out and direct a system of practical education fitted to the masses on the island. To simply prescribe the Tuskegee idea of educating leaders and servants will not meet the conditions in Haiti. The remedy best fitted to meet the conditions in Haiti would be for the United States to withdraw from the island, and let the Haitians severely alone to work out their own fortunes. Give the people Home Rule; leave them on their own resources and treat them like a sister nation, and they will work out their own salvation. Withdraw the Marines and let the people be free.

The American people have great faith in the integrity and wisdom of Dr. R. R. Moton, and they will retain it so long as he acts within the purview of commonsense. If he subordinates self-preferment for the good of all, the people will continue to love and follow him. There are some things that big men cannot do. Among these things is, a big man cannot accept everything offered him though it comes from the King. Little men accept everything coming their way, because they think it will make them big, but wise men accept only those things which commonsense and wisdom suggest they can best accomplish for the good of all. We hope the Major recognizes and appreciates this fundamental principle of hard horse sense.

Atlanta Ga

Tuskegee is a big enough job for any one man. At least, Booker T. Washington, the world's greatest schoolmaster, thought so. He accepted no position which would lessen his influence for Tuskegee's good. Major Moton would do well to follow his illustrous example.

Big men make little jobs big, and little men make big jobs little. It is clear to Major Moton and every other thinking man in America that the President is not just to the Negro citizens, and no self-respecting Negro man can accept any job under Mr. Hoover that does not recognize him as the equal of any other citizen, and in no sense an apology for race discrimination.

CITIZEN

Asheville, N.C.

FEB 10 1930

The Haitian Commission

PRESIDENT HOOVER'S all-white commission of five members, charged with making a thorough investigation of conditions in Haiti, is the thirteenth commission he has appointed since he entered the White House eleven months ago—an average of more than a commission a month. So far as its personnel goes, the Haitian Commission commands respect. It is headed by W. Cameron Frobes, of Massachusetts, a former Governor-General of the Philippines, and includes Ambassador Fletcher, who has had extensive experience in foreign affairs, and three "journalists," Elie Vezina, of Rhode Island, James Kerney, of the Trenton, New Jersey Times, a friend of Woodrow Wilson, and William Allen White, of Kansas.

Mr. Hoover is said to be impatient to have the commission proceed with its duties. No matter how promptly the commission may function, however, the fact remains that the Haitian problem is one that is practically insoluble on the lines the American people would like to see it solved. What the people of this country want is to see a plan worked out that would enable the United States to withdraw from Haiti, leaving there a stable native government to carry on. For our own part, we are sure that this cannot be done as we are sure of anything. The United States can turn Haiti over to the Haitians and retire from the island with the expiration of the present treaty if Washington so determines. But no one should be under any illusion as to what will happen afterwards. The Haitians will promptly overthrow whatever government is in power and revolutions and butcheries will again become the accepted order. In short, Haiti will go back to the conditions which had existed almost constantly before the United States took charge of the situation.

The very fact that the present Haitian government, our own creature, protested to Mr Hoover against the appointment of a negro on the Haitian Commission is symptomatic of the problem that exists in this troubled little island. Haiti's population of 2,300,000 is comprised of full-blooded negroes and mulattoes. There are hardly any whites—only three or four thousand all told outside of the military forces now in occupation. The full-blooded negroes outnumber the mulattoes ten to one. But the mulattoes are better educated, many of them being very well educated and possessed of considerable means. Between the full-blooded negroes and the mulattoes there is bitter

Major, rise, loom up, and shine above the job!

hatred. Through the years this hatred has flamed in repeated revolutions, president after president having been murdered. In the five years between 1910 and 1915 seven governments were overthrown, several of them with the bloodiest excesses.

This is the basic fact of the Haitian situation. It cannot be overcome. No wonder the United States Senate, agreeing to let Mr. Hoover have the $50,000 he requested to pay the expenses of his commission, nevertheless refused to become a party to the commission's creation.

NEGRO PRESS FLAYS ALL-WHITE COMMISSION

Good Idea is President Tricked Negro Constituency In White Selection

It is the general opinion of the Negro press that President Hoover failed his colored constituency when he appointed a complete white commission to a black republic. Tribune

The Journal and Guide of Norfolk, Virginia says the personnel "will not meet the approval of colored Americans." The Guide said: 2-21-30

"The personnel of President Hoover's Haitian Commission will not meet the approval of colored Americans, who from the standpoint of racial kinship and interest in Haiti, had a strong claim for representation on it. This special claim, as American citizens and as a traditional aid of the Republican party, was repeatedly urged upon the President to no avail. The appointment of Dr. Robert R. Moton, of Tuskegee, as an extra-commissioner, does not at all square with the justifiable claim of colored Americans for a place on the commission, and if the President feels that this move meets the administration's obligations of recognition to Colored America, he is doubtless mistaken." Washington D.C.

The Philadelphia Tribune hopes Dr. Moton will not accept his fim-crow appointment. Regarding the Commission it says:

"Many white people as well as large numbers of Negroes urged the President to select an American who is of the same racial extraction as the Haitians. A few of America's leading daily papers joined with the Negro press in suggesting the appointment of a Negro to the commission.

"This advise was predicated upon the peculiar circumstances which led to the present investigation. It has been alleged that the basic cause for the unrest in Haiti is the prejudice exhibited by the Marines in dealing with the natives. It is self evident that an American citizen who suffers from the same condition would gain the confidence of the Haitians and obtain a clearer picture of just what is going on in Haiti.

"In view of all the circumstances in the case it is sincerely hoped that Dr. Moton refuses to accept any such appointment. And since Dr. Moton will have the opportunity to reply to the request it would be an excellent idea for him to tell the President 'What the Negro Thinks.'"

The New York News heads its editorial with "No Colored Commissioner." It says:

"Neither the colored masses of America nor of Haiti will approve the failure of President Hoover to appoint a single colored member of the Haitian Inquiry Commission. Certain it is that this all-white commission, eminent and expert though it is, cannot approach the problems of the Black Republic with unbiased minds. Neither can these Caucasians appreciate the political racial traditions of these sons of Touissaint L'Ouverture and Emperor Christophe. They cannot feel nor respond to the spirit of this proud and poverty stricken black people. The appointment of the principal of The Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute to ascertain Haiti's educational needs, will of course prevent the possibility of any social issue either among the commissioners or in Haiti being raised but it does not suffice to satisfy the deep desire of black America to see black Haiti given a progressive square deal. President Hoover has erred we believe in trying to compromise the vital issues involved. He should have appointed some colored members on the commission." Tribune

The Detroit Independent thinks the Haitians have little hope from the Commission. It says:

"All six members on the commission proper are white. One U. S. senator and one congressman may be added later. The commission is expected to sail for Haiti late this month.

"As we see it, Haiti will have very little to hope from the commission in the way of relief. What the Haitians want is the withdrawal of American Marines and the restoration of their national sovereighty. It appears that American capitalists already have too much at stake in Haiti to allow this. Dr. Moton's assignment is definitely outlined and does not vitally relate to the main issues in the Black Republic." 2-21-30

The Savannah Tribune says that the members of the commission do not enjoy our confidence. It says: Washington D.C.

"President Hoover has appointed the Commission to investigate Haitian affairs. Since the announcement of this commission, efforts were made to influence the President to name a colored man as one of its members. The names of several outstanding men were mentioned, but the President failed to recognize any of them. With one exception the members of this commission do not enjoy the fullest confidence of our group."

Speaking of withdrawing from Haiti with honor, the New York Age says: Tribune

"That is a pretty hard proposition for the President or any one else to solve, as the question of honor is hardly consistent with any of the phases of the military occupation of Haiti, the subversion of its government and the establishment of military rule with the aid of marines and machine guns. The less said about honor in this connection, the better." 2-21-30 Washington D.C.

SCHENECTADY, N. Y
UNION-STAR

Negro Who Was Here Silenced in N.Y. After Haiti Rule Criticism

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, negro lecturer, who talked before the open forum here on November 21 at the All Souls Unitarian Church on "The Future of the Darker Races" was silenced after a talk before East Orange, N. J., club women Thursday when he attacked the policies of the United States in Haiti.

The audience became disturbed when Dr. DuBois stated that rule on the island by the Americans was by bullet and bayonet and that the marines in 1915 killed 3,500 natives. The crisis came when he said that the United States were there for money making reasons. The women jumped to their feet and demanded that DuBois leave the hall. One woman demanded that he retract his statements, her husband had been a government official in Haiti.

Haitian Commission Finds Great Hostility on Island

Natives Come to Testify Only After Members Announce "McCormick" System Is Junked.

Constitution

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, March 1.—(AP)—President Hoover's commission to investigate conditions in Haiti met and conquered its first opposition today on the very morning after its arrival on the U. S. S. Rochester.

When the commission opened its first session this morning to hear testimony from all Haitians, who had been invited to come freely and without fear, no one arrived to testify. The mystified commissioners were finally informed that the opposition press had advised the people to stay away, believing that the present commission was only a "second McCormick commission." 3-2-30

The opposition leaders consider that the McCormick commission which investigated conditions in Haiti and the Dominican republic in 1921 under Senator Medill McCormick, of Illinois, did no more than hear "all the past misdeeds of the occupation and threw their books into the ocean without remedying the situation." Evening Post

Witnesses Come at Last.

The boycott ended during the day after the commission had issued a statement amplifying that of yesterday, and saying "we are not another McCormick commission, but are here looking to the future and not to the past. We want to find from the people how and when the occupation can cease and national institutions be established."

Before drawing up their statement, the commissioners conferred privately with Ernest Chauvet, editor of the Nouvelliste, which strongly opposes President Borno. He explained that the attack of the opposition press this morning on yesterday's statement was due to its impression that the testimony the commission would take would be only about the past and would cover little more ground than the McCormick commission.

William Allen White, of Emporia, Kan., one of the commissioners, suggested at the first meeting today that a new kind of Pan-American union, of an informal economic type without a political character, be formed for the purpose of advising small and unstable states on the way to stabilize their governments. The organization would be a kind of friendly debating society, and no force would be involved.

U. S. Brought Troubles.

Mr. White's suggestion came out during the questioning of Pierre de Lespinasse, a Haitian lawyer, and historian, who was the first person to appear and make suggestions for the commission. The suggestion met with the approval of Lespinasse.

Mr. White asked the Haitian lawyer whether he believed it would be a good idea for all the nations of the western hemisphere to join with Haiti in conventions that would maintain a stable government in the country, assure good sanitation, and clear up similar troubles for other small countries.

Lespinasse answered, "We hope for it."

Nevertheless, he affirmed that Haiti's misfortunes had been brought in from the outside by the United States.

Though commending Mr. White's suggestion highly, he said that if Haiti had tried to establish relations with other American countries her financial advisor would have refused the money for establishing legations abroad.

"We always want to be on the best terms with the United States, but, like the United States, we want to run our own government."

No Abrupt End.

He declared that the United States need have no fear of leaving because of strategic reasons, the naval base at Guantanamo, Cuba, being only 24 hours away.

"We hope the United States will not long continue to permit the 21 men who form the Haitian council of state to run the country to suit themselves, but will allow us to re-establish governmental elections."

W. Cameron Forbes, chairman of the commission, said that probably there would be no abrupt end to American occupation of Haiti because of the danger to the economic situation involved, but that the commission certainly would recommend the best way and the best time for it to cease.

The statue of Jean Jacques Dessalines, Haitian negro revolutionist, on the Champ De Mars was covered with mourning crepe and placards demanding re-establishment of representation government today. Opposition leaders said that it would remain during the commission's stay and probably until the American occupation ended.

Haiti

Race Problem- 1930

West Indies

THE HAITIAN OUTLOOK

It now appears, according to our information, that the Haitians wanted an all-white commission and also requested an all-colored commission to make the educational survey. According to that those who took issue with President Hoover may find themselves feeling that they should apologize for hasty conclusions and remarks. If that is what the Haitians wanted then they should have it. They know why and, perhaps, it becomes us best to wait until they make known their reasons. Problems of this nature cannot be helped much by foreign sentiment.

Certainly, there is a dislike for the methods of the present High Commissioner but whether this dislike is based on reasonable grounds remains to be seen. The report of the commission now sitting is to determine that very thing, and, until that report is made, there is only hearsay grounds on which to base any opinion.

The policy of the United States has never been clarified on the occupancy of Haiti any further than that the constant domestic brawls were annoying to the neighbors and menacing the safety of our Southern shores against foreign invasion.

Haiti has done much better than Mexico and quite as well as some other small Southern countries in establishing government. It is quite certain that stable home government would have been established before this if there had not been something of a military government which prevented the voluntary development.

The physical improvement to the credit of the present incumbent and the United States Marines is all that can be shown for the years of occupancy.

These improvements might have come without the American occupation, but there has been a loss in many ways that outweighs all other considerations.

It seems that revolution is threatened if some relief is not forthcoming after the commission has completed its work and reported. This threat will precludе the activities of the Negro commission for a season.

It may be well to let Haiti have her revolution and be over with it. Since it must come, perhaps, the earlier, the better.

A VICTORY FOR COURAGE

Despite the assertions of those individuals who hold a brief for compromising and safety first methods where manhood rights and fundamental principles are concerned, it does pay to be courageous. We have an excellent illustration of that in what went on in Haiti during the first week down there of President Hoover's Commission.

Practically everyone, including, doubtless, the members of the commission, failed to take the body seriously. Political wiseacres felt that it was more or less of a "red herring" to divert the attention of the American public from the vital issues involved and to still the protests of the Haitians.

The distinguished members of the Haitian Opposition felt the same way about the President's commission, and when it opened its first session not a Haitian appeared to testify. For over half a day it looked as if the commission was going to be made to appear ridiculous for want of individuals to testify before it. Then a lone Haitian radical presented himself and let the commission know that the Haitians wanted no foolishness; that they would have nothing to do with an investigation that was merely an instrument for prolonging the occupation. Other Haitians followed him and said the same thing, speaking straight from the shoulder. They said they wanted something done immediately, and an end put to the stalling tactics that have heretofore characterized the efforts of the United States in Haiti. The commissioners protested that they were only an advisory group gathering facts, but so insistent were the Haitians that the next president be elected legally by the legislature and not illegally by the Council of State (Borno's appointees), that the commissioners have yielded and sent a long wire to President Hoover, recommending immediate action, in order to avert bloodshed.

Here is something no one intended or foresaw. It would never have occurred had the Haitians not first boycotted the commission's deliberations and then solemnly warned Mr Hoover's agents that unless there was immediate action some blood would be shed. The daily newspapers of this country, in reporting the incidents described, have referred to the Haitians with greater respect than heretofore. All the world loves and respects courage and manliness. It would pay some of our American Negroes in prominent positions to find that out.

Last Probe of Haiti Only Yielded Rum, Says Marine

Soldier Who Guarded "Official Records" Says Cases Contained Booze

The last official investigation of Haiti and the Dominican Republic netted the investigators only a good supply of Jamaica Rum according to R. E. Cole, white, a U. S. Marine who guarded the official documents that were returned to this country in 1921.

Mr. Cole writing in the Forum of the Washington Daily News has the following to say.

"Your editorial, 'The Haitian Boycott', reminds me of the Senate investigation in 1921 in Haiti and the Dominican Republic. I earnestly hope that the Hoover Commission will investigate the affairs of Haiti in a businesslike manner and will return with a cargo of official information on paper and not in liquid form, as did the commission of 1921.

"I was an enlisted man in the Marine Corps, stationed at San Domingo, Dominican Republic, at the time of the 1921 investigation, and I returned to the U. S. on the Navy transport Argonne. on which a great cargo of boxes marked 'Official Records' were stored. A Marine guard constantly guarded these boxes, and we were instructed that they contained records of the investigating commission.

Official Records

"We Marines were human, and had our doubts as to the contents of those large boxes marked 'Official Records, Handle With Care.' So one night a Marine guard decided to use his bayonet a littlee out of the line of duty and investigate a box of Official Records. To his surprise, or perhaps, as he expected, he found that the box contained a number of gallon containers of the choicest West Indies rum Of course the Marine was a good fellow, and he let some of his buddies know about his find. We enjoyed plenty of good rum on our entire journey.

"I again hope that the present Hoover Commission conducts its investigation in a businesslike manner."

Ousting of Russell From Haiti Looms

WASHINGTON, March 22.—(AP)—Early removal of Brigadier General John H. Russell from the post of high commissioner of Haiti is expected in some well-informed circles as a result of the investigation of the Hoover Haitian commission.

Russell, a marine officer, has held that position for eight years. At the same time it became known that the commission expects to complete a chronological report of its Haitian mission by the middle of next week.

ARGENTINIANS ASSAIL HAITI BOARD'S WORK

La Prensa Says It Has Meddled in Internal Problems Without Expediting Evacuation.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BUENOS AIRES, March 19.—The newspaper La Prensa today bitterly assails the work of President Hoover's Haitian commission, saying it has devoted itself exclusively to dictating measures for settling internal problems in which it had no reason to meddle and has done nothing toward expediting the evacuation of the island by the American marines.

"The entire plan of the commission concerns internal problems," says the paper. "There is not a single recommendation regarding the evacuation of foreign military forces and leaving a sovereign nation in enjoyment of its legal rights. The commission has avoided associating these two problems which are so closely allied and has refused to see that internal peace depends directly on the restoration of the sovereign rights of the Haitian people.

"The foreign commission sent to the island with the widely published objective of investigating measures to be taken in order that President Hoover might adopt a more defined policy toward Haiti has occupied itself solely with giving instructions regarding internal affairs and has abstained absolutely from any mention of the necessity or possibility of relieving the island of foreign military forces."

La Prensa says that a large part of the blame for the present situation rests on those Haitian political leaders who accepted foreign military intervention to solve a political crisis which they should have settled without foreign interference.

"The question of sovereignty has been studiously avoided by the Forbes commission, which is another proof that the United States is continuing its intensive activities in the territories it has illegitimately dominated without bringing its new activities into accord with its promise to re-establish right," the paper adds.

NEW YORK HERALD

FEB 1 - 1930

Haytian Literature on View

An exhibit of rare Haytian prints books and manuscripts is on display in the Division of Negro Literature and History of the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library. The exhibits, which are from the Arthur A. Schomburg collection, have been acquired as a permanent part of the division.

Haitian Commission Tells Hoover It Is Ready To Prepare Report

WASHINGTON, March 21.—(AP)—Expressing appreciation of the "good work" which has been done in Haiti during the last 15 years by American representatives, President Hoover's Haitian Commission returned and reported to him today that it was ready to prepare a full report of its accomplishments in the Islands during the brief visit here.

In a prepared statement, the Commission, headed by W. Cameron Forbes said it had been "particularly impressed with the splendid results accomplished under the sincere and efficient direction of Gen. Russell, whose policy had the cooperation of President Borno."

The statement followed a press conference at which President Hoover acknowledged receipt of a preliminary report from the Commission on its activities in bringing about the provisional government which is to be inaugurated May 15 with Eugene Roy, Haitian financier, in the presidential power.

President Hoover said the Provisional president would remain in office until Haitian congressional elections next Fall, when a new president would be constitutionally elected.

After a conference with Joseph P. Cotton, acting secretary of state, the Commissioners said they immediately would begin work on their report. For this purpose they established headquarters at the State Department.

The text of the Commission's statement was:

"The Commission in reporting to the President expressed its appreciation of the good work which has been done in Haiti during the last 15 years by the American representatives, both civil and military.

"The Commission was particularly impressed with the splendid results accomplished under the sincere and efficient direction of Gen. Russell whose policy has had the cooperation of President Borno, making such substantial progress possible in meeting the vital needs of the country along the lines of public health, public works and public order and full credit to these achievements will be given in the Commission's report.

"The Commission received the most hearty and cordial cooperation and support from Gen. Russell and his staff of able assistants. It also desires to express its appreciation of the extremely cordial reception accorded it by President Borno and by the other Haitians with whom it had the privilege of dealing."

Borno Agrees to the Demands of Hoover's Commission

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, March 21. — With the sudden acceptance on the part of President Louis Borno of the Hoover investigation commission's plan, it is believed that the long standing Haitian political problem, and eventually, the problem of American occupation, have been solved.

President Borno's abrupt acquiescence to the commission's plan for holding legislative elections and setting up a provisional government came on March 15. It was a pleasant surprise to all parties concerned as he had previously been recalcitrant to the extent of being termed unreasonable.

The commissioners at once capped his acceptance by giving forth formally that all sides and factions had agreed on the selection of Eugene Roy to be temporary president until legislative elections can be held later in the year.

Commission Returns Home

So confident is the commission that its work is over, that its members plan to leave Haiti within a few days. They came to the island on Feb. 28. Before leaving the commissioners expressed satisfaction over the turn affairs had taken and ventured the prophecy that within a few years Haiti will be established with a smoothly functioning government able to look after its own problems.

The New President

The choice of Eugene Roy has been approved by President Borno, by Brig. Gen. J. H. Russell, American high commissioner, and by the opposition groups. President Hoover also has given his approval.

Eugene Roy was formally inducted into office March 20, and his appointment will likely be ratified by the council of state April. 14. He will not take officer, however until President Borno's term of office expires May 15.

Eugene Roy is said to be about 65 years old and is a business man. He has never taken an active part in politics. He was formerly president of the government clearing house and is very well versed in financial management. Seemingly all sides are eager to co-operate with him.

[Chisholm News Service]

NEW ORLEANS, La., March 21.—The people of Haiti are gratified to know that the Hoover committee has succeeded in inducing President Borno to relinquish the presidency in order to assure a free expression of the people in the forthcoming election, according to Joseph L. Dujour, a native of Port-au-Prince, and a business visitor here, but he says what the people really want in addition to a new president is the removal of General Russell and the American marines.

"American occupation in Haiti has been productive of more ills than a quarter century of actual freedom will be able to eradicate," Mr. Dujour said discussing conditions in his country. "The hundreds of harmless natives deliberately murdered by the armed American forces and the rank immorality introduced in my country should force America to bow in shame and cease to prate about its high civilization.

"Not the least of the complaints we have," continued Mr. Dujour, "is the introduction of the virus of prejudice based on color. The arrogant representatives of the United States surely must have come from the scums of the states and to think that with all their vileness they have the effrontery to poke forth a white face as a badge of higher intellect is enough to make the blood of the proud Haitian people boil with indignation.

"The nations of Europe have been apprised of just what the policy of the United States means in Haiti and its possible effect on world peace. From August, 1914, to June, 1915, the Republic of Haiti received from the United States government five offers on different occasions of 'aid and assistance.' The different governments of Haiti refused each offer. In October, 1915, the United States government forced upon Haiti a convention known as the 'Friendship Treaty' and contrary to this treaty the United States continues to maintain an armed occupation, creating an unprecedented situation in international law."

Mr. Dujour is a native of Haiti speaking nine languages. He was educated in Paris and has been visiting the United States since 1918 at intervals. By profession he is an electrical engineer, but at present is engaged in the export business. From what he says educated Haitians are discriminated against whenever possible and Americans posing as experts come into his country at princely salaries to further impoverish the people who have grown poorer under American occupation.

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Race Problem - 1930

West Indies.

Haiti.

FREE HAITI IS URGED BY ARGENTINE PAPER

La Prensa Says Commission's Data Will Show Occupation Has Not Achieved Aims.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BUENOS AIRES, March 10.—La Prensa, continuing its editorial campaign against the American occupation of Haiti, says the data collected by President Hoover's investigation commission will demonstrate that the fifteen years of military occupation have served only to prove that none of the objectives held out as reasons for the occupation have been even partially attained.

The newspaper says native employes have been discharged wholesale to make room for American civil employes receiving higher salaries than those paid to the natives and that the failure of educational progress is proved by the fact that only 76,000 out of 400,000 children of school age are attending school.

La Prensa charges that there is no justification for continuing the military occupation which, it says, failed to assist the political, economic or cultural progress of the tiny republic. Even the so-called balancing of the national budget, the paper says, has been accomplished only by throwing out of work a large number of native workers, while the country is laboring under heavy tax levies to support the yoke of foreign intervention.

La Prensa expresses the hope that Mr. Hoover's "more definite policy" will remove Haiti from foreign vassalage and enable it to work out its own salvation, without further military or civil interference.

MAJOR MOTON'S HAITIAN COMMISSION

Independent

We have never raised our voice against Major Moton or his work, and never will so long as he stands for the principles and education enunciated by the illustrious founder of Tuskegee Institute. We have not always agreed with his political leadership, or his attitude in handling matters involving the interest of his race and the white man.

3-6-30

We have not criticized him or his conduct because we have loved him less, but because we love the race more. We love Major Moton and appreciate his service as an educator and publicist, but do not appreciate his efforts to direct and shape the political policy involving the rights of his race in America. Judging his attitude in the light of his conduct we believe that the Major honestly disbelieves in race equality. The environment which shaped and influenced the education of Major Moton were calculated to place an inferior complex in the Major's mind, and the Major in spite of himself cannot escape the environment that shaped his opinion and bent his judgement.

The President did not appoint any Negroes on the Haitian Commission because he did not think Negroes rose to the dignity and statesmanship of the occasion, and Major Moton in selecting his commission selected a white man as he believed a Negro commission could not do the work as efficiently as a white commission, and it would give dignity and character to their findings to have an outstanding white man a member of his commission.

3-6-30

Major Moton in this matter as in all matters that he handles for the public, undertakes and does dominate the task with the Tuskegee idea and influence. Nobody questions the ability and character of the commission to render efficient service if anything can be done, but the public regards the entire situation as being handled by the administration as impossible of any good to the Island.

Dr. Mordecai Johnson is the only person on the committee not influenced by Tuskegee propaganda. Prof. Favrot, the white man, has the Tuskegee idea of educating the Negroes. Prof. Hubert a graduate of Morehouse College taught at Tuskegee a long time and holds his position at the Georgia State College by reason of having worked at Tuskegee. Prof. Williams is dean of the College at Tuskegee, therefore, it is apparent that the Tuskegee idea will influence the result of the committee's investigation.

Atlanta Ga.

Major Moton is all right in the educational field, but all out of harness in the political field. The white people who select Major Moton do not select him because they think he will serve his race's interest best, but because they think he will carry out their ideas of what rights and privileges the Negro ought to have civilly, politically and economically. The Negroes feel they ought to be permitted to select their own leaders, and will not accpt or follow leadership thrust upon them by civil and political enemies.

Haitian Political Issue Believed To Be Settled

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI, March 15.—(AP)—After only two weeks of work in Haiti but armed with wide administrative powers conferred upon them by radio from Washington, the Hoover Investigation Commission tonight believed they had settled the long standing Haitian political problem, and ultimately the question of American occupation.

Advertiser

3/16/30

Montgomery, Ala.

President Louis Borno, who has been recalcitrant toward the Commission's plan for holding legislative elections and setting up a provisional government, suddenly agreed to the plans today.

The Commissioners immediately capped his acceptance by announcing in a formal statement that all sides had agreed on the selection of Eugene Roy to be temporary President until legislative election can be held later this year.

Haitians Appear To Be Satisfied With Commission's Plan

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI, March 10.—(AP)—A general feeling of satisfaction with the plan of the Hoover Commission involving selection of a neutral and non-political candidate for the provisional presidency was apparent in opposition circles today.

Advertiser

The palace was the scene of numerous conferences during the day. It is generally felt in Haitian circles that American withdrawal will be accomplished within a year except for certain financial supervision and a small commission of American garde officers.

3/11/30

Detailed plans covering the election of delegates from the various districts who in turn will assemble at the capital to choose a candidate for election to the presidency by the council of state must await the return of the Hoover Commission which left Hinche for Cap Haitien this morning.

Montgomery, Ala.

The People's party, headed by Gen. Emmanuel Thezan, form the only group which has not agreed with the commission's plan in principle. At a meeting yesterday Thezan attacked the confederated groups telling his peasant and labor following that the others represented only the rich and would despoil the lower classes.

HAITI COMMISSION AGAINST MASSES

Daily Worker

3-17-30

New York N.Y.

Banker Groomed As Wall Street Dictator

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, March 16.—Wholesale charges of graft and corruption was made by opposition forces before the Hoover imperialist-banker commission in Haiti. Whole volumes of documentary evidence was submitted porving these facts.

However, the opposition, composed mainly of petty-bourgeois leadership which does not represent the real needs of the Haitian workers and peasants is putting a great deal of reliance in the Hoover commission which already has its instructions to act in behalf of Wall Street.

Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, High Commissioner and marine commander, responsible for the Wall Street murder of hundreds of Haitian peasants, is grooming Eugene Roy, 58-year old banker, to become dictator of Haiti in place of Borno, who is slated for the limbo, to give the appearance that matters are to be changed, while in reality they are to be made safer for the American imperialists.

RUSSELL MINIMIZES DISORDERS IN HAITI

Times

3-12-30

New York N.Y.

Revolutionary Outbreak of Last Fall "Misunderstood" in America, He Says.

BLOODSHED IN ONE INCIDENT

Ten Natives Were Killed by Marines at Aux Cayes, the Commissioner Reports.

DEFENDS MILITARY REGIME

Economic Depression, Agitation, Love of Revolt and Liquor Blamed for Uprisings.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, March 11.—Discontent, arising from economic depression due largely to a drop in coffee prices, the agitation of politicians opposed to the régime of President Borno, who seized upon strikes that had spread from a walkout of students at the Darrien Normal School to encourage disorders, an inborn love of revolution, and the supplying of natives with intoxicating liquors are given as causes of the revolutionary outbreak in Haiti last Fall by Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, American High Commissioner at Port au Prince, in his annual report to the Secretary of State which was made public by the State Department today.

General Russell contends that the incidents were magnified beyond their due proportions and have been misunderstood by "uninformed" opinion in the United States.

"The disorders," he adds, "were quickly and quietly suppressed with but one incident of bloodshed—that at Aux Cayes, when ten natives were killed by Marines—and were the occasion of a display of loyalty of the majority of the personnel of the government departments and services. The masses of the population were untouched by the agitators."

The report is dated Jan. 8, and, in addition to reviewing events of the preceding twelve months, also gives an accounting of financial and economic conditions during the fiscal year, which ended Sept. 30, 1929.

It probably is the last annual report that will be submitted by General Russell, who has held the office since Feb. 11, 1922, as he has joined in the report of the Forbes Commission, which recommends that the office of High Commissioner be abandoned and an American Minister be appointed to Haiti instead.

Praises Work of Marines.

General Russell has high praise for the restraint of the marines in Haiti and for the efficiency of the gendarmarie, which is being trained by the marines to take over completely the maintenance of public order in the island republic. He also commends the treaty officials for "loyal, devoted and efficient service."

"Unappreciated by the malcontents in Haiti and the uninformed at home," he says, "these American treaty officials, of unimpeachable integrity, are giving their very best to assist in the rehabilitation of Haiti and to bring happiness and prosperity to the Haitian people."

In reporting upon the revolutionary disturbances near the close of 1929, General Russell recalls that President Borno had announced he would not serve another term and that, with the time approaching for the selection of a new President, the politicians opposed to the Borno Administration were eager for action.

The students' strike, he points out, started in November and was seized upon by "disgruntled politicians as an opportunity for a demonstration against the government and, they

hoped, for a revolution." The affair, he adds, "was a series of local disorders engaged in by a minority in a few towns and was the third attempt within a year of opposition politicians to foment general disorder."

Strike Not Widespread, He Says.

"The students' strike disorders," he continues, "were utterly unsupported, almost unknown and completely uninteresting to the passive, politically inarticulate Haitian peasants forming nine-tenths of the population who, in recent years, for the first time in their history, had been free from war, tyranny, graft and exploitation. Only in the vicinity of Aux Cayes were agitators able to play upon the ignorance of a mob containing some peasants and among the causes of that outbreak were liquor, hatred of the town and the expectation of loot."

A reduction in scholarships from the Danish Normal School so that the funds could go to agricultural students, according to the commission was unpopular with the "town students" and caused the students' strike.

"The affair," he contends, "might have terminated, but at this juncture occurred the inmixture of the opposition politicians and their press.

"The schoolboy episode offered, judging from previous national history, an opportunity for revolution. The tone of the articles in the opposition papers concerning the striking students became fulsomely laudatory, producing an exalted, unreasonable attitude among the strikers. Subtle but definite incitations to disorder were daily printed. A substantial fund is known to have been raised to provide free meals for the strikers.

"Emissaries were set at work by the politicians in the other schools. Intimidation was employed against students unwilling to strike and the prospect of excitement, publicity and a holiday had its influence on others. Parents of the 'out' group incited their children. Other schools joined the strike.

Some Employes in Strike.

"Efforts were made to undermine the loyalty of the Garde d'Haiti, the police force of the country. Subordinate employes were eventually persuaded to strike in the Custom House at Port au Prince, in the Custom Control Office and in the Service Technique. The employes in the Public Works and Public Health Departments and the Garde and all divisions and Customs Houses of the General Receiver, except as stated, remained loyal.

"With the students and custom clerks of the Port au Prince Custom House running through the streets, the mob element, always large and dangerous by reason of the general illiteracy and low economic status of the population, began to take part. The stage was set for rioting, looting and bloodshed.

"Martial law was, therefore, made effective on Dec. 4. Patrols were thrown out in Port au Prince and Cape Haitien. A curfew order was published. Almost immediately these two chief cities became calm, showing the lack of real popular interest in the affair. A few arrests of leaders and violators of the curfew order were made. In some of the outlying towns, where no military patrolling was enforced, the agitators attempted to promote disorders for a short time. Only in Aux Cayes did any serious trouble occur.

"There emissaries from Port au Prince had persuaded and organized a parade and strike of primary and secondary schools. Had the children been left alone, there would have been no strike, as there was absolutely no dissatisfaction with school conditions at Cayes. The children's strike started in orderly fashion, but a number of irresponsible hoodlums joined in and caused commotion. The stevedores' strike which followed was the result of political agitators who employed intimidation and persuasion to accomplish this result.

"Agitators then proceeded to work on the peasants in the district surrounding Aux Cayes. Unfortunately, economic conditions were temporarily favorable to their designs there and the gullibility and ignorance of the peasants was such as to persuade them to listen to the agitators. Rumors that the reduction in coffee prices which occurred as a result of the Brazilian situation were due to the Haitian standardization act, were spread by 'out' politicians to inflame the peasants.

Six Killed by Marines.

"The traditional antagonism of the country for the town, the hopes of looting, the supplying of liquor, the love of excitement, and their acceptance of the leaders' assurance that no real danger was involved, were the factors which started a mob of about 1,500 toward Aux Cayes. Halted by a group of twenty United States Marines, they first retired, but their leaders reformed them and advanced. Over an hour's parley ensued and then they tried to rush the Marines. Firing over their heads failed to stop them; they stoned the little detachment,and finally effective fire was employed, killing six. The mob broke, leaving twenty-eight wounded. Four of these wounded later died.

"In this contact, the Marines used the greatest restraint and only employed fire for effect when it became absolutely necessary. The Cayes episode was the only one with serious consequences. The ten deaths were inevitable in order to prevent the much heavier loss of life, crime, and destruction that would have ensued had the mob been allowed to wreak its will in Aux Cayes.

"Attempts to stimulate disorders in a few other localities, where Port au Prince agitators had penetrated, were quickly stopped with a handful of arrests. In no part of the Republic was there any dissatisfaction or disorder except where instigated by Port au Prince emissaries."

General Russell declares that until the mentality of the people becomes accustomed to stable government, as long as ignorance and poverty of the people furnishes a revolutionary field for irresponsible politicians, as long as a large irresponsible mob element of the population exists, as long as cheap alcohol can be obtained for this "hoodlum fringe," any police force in Haiti must be ready to act promptly and decisively and, until the courts are reorganized, to do their share in preserving public order, extraordinary measures must occasionally be taken.

Points to Lesson.

"This is the lesson of the
he concludes, "an event that
importance only because of the
of ten members of a mob in Aux Cayes, an extremely sad result, but unavoidable to prevent further deaths. The further lesson is the unwelcome one that revolutionary mentality is not dead in Haiti. It has been weakened and will weaken further as the lot and intelligence of the common people—already improved—gradually approaches standards of more fortunate countries. Should it further evidence itself, the Garde d'Haiti, fortified by the incidents just recited, will be even better able to handle it. For the nonce, however, the Garde, under present circumstances of organization and strength, should have behind it a reserve, a feeling of support."

Notwithstanding the disturbing character of the outbreaks, General Russell contends that "for the first time in their history the masses of the Haitian people have been really free and protected in their lives and callings." There has been economic depression, he admits, due, largely, to the collapse of coffee prices, but the government is practicing economy, efforts are being made to diversify crops, capital is being introduced for large scale agricultural and other projects, and the future is far from dubious.

Whereas, in 1915, the country was practically bankrupt, he reports that on Sept. 30, 1929, the government had an unobligated cash balance of more than $4,000,000, the bonded indebtedness had been decreased by more than $1,000,000 in a year to $17,735,479, internal revenues amounted during the fiscal year to more than $1,200,000 and a sound currency has been achieved.

Total revenue receipts in 1929 were $8,504,305, or 15.66 per cent less than in the preceding year, while total custom receipts amounted to $7,049,530, or 21.81 per cent less than in the fiscal year 1928. On the other hand expenditures increased 7.66 per cent to $8,823,900.

Haiti's foreign trade declined from $42,915,502 in the fiscal year 1928 to $33,961,756 in the fiscal year 1929. Imports declined 14.87 per cent to $17,237,920, while exports declined 26.22 per cent to $16,721,833, leaving an unfavorable trade balance of $514,089, compared with a favorable trade balance of $2,418,989 in 1928.

The proportion of Haitian imports supplied by the United States declined from 75.30 per cent of the total in 1928 to 69.85 per cent in 1929, while France continued to be the heaviest purchaser of exports, taking 55.29 per cent, an increase over 1928.

Haitian President Balks At Plan of Commissioners

Borno, After Agreeing To Quit in May, Refuses Official Signature; Will Be Ousted.

CAPE HAITIEN, Haiti, March 10. (AP)—The Hoover investigating committee, learning that President Louis Borno was attempting to break his promise of adherence to the commission's plan for a provisional government and legislative elections, tonight telephoned to Port-Au-Prince warning the president to keep his word.

The commissioners told him that he must take all the consequences, political and personal, if he refused.

Their plan, officially made public with President Hoover's approval yesterday, provided that President Borno, who has been strongly attacked by the groups opposing American occupation, should serve out his term, which ends May 15. On that day the council of state would elect a provisional president.

W. Cameron Forbes, chairman of the commission, and Henry P. Fletcher telephoned to Brigadier General John H. Russell, American high commissioner, asking that the president be told to keep his promise. They delayed their trip for two hours.

Just before leaving Hinche, where they stayed last night, the commissioners received a telephone call from one of the leaders of the federated group opposed to the president. They were told that the president had informed the prefects in all districts that the council of state would elect the new president, and that legislative elections would not be held until 1932.

It was learned that the message had been sent out on Saturday, before President Borno had issued his written, formal promise of support to the commission's plan.

One of the principal grievances of the opposition has been the president's threat to postpone the elections.

The commissioners believe that the text of the message, sent out by the minister of the interior, just leaked out this morning.

Mr. Forbes asked General Russell to act as intermediary. He also telephoned James Clement Dunn, counsellor of the commission, who remained at Port-Au-Prince, asking him to tell the opposition groups that "the commission is standing by its word. We are not double-crossing anyone. We will see that President Borno keeps his word."

Both Mr. Forbes and Mr. Fletcher told Mr. Dunn to urge the people to take President Borno's action quietly.

Mr. Dunn told them that the president had refused to send a new message to the prefects telling them about the commission's plan and informing them of his promise to adhere to it.

This was the last word the commissioners had this evening when they went aboard the U. S. S. Rochester They will keep in touch with events at Port-Au-Prince by radio and cable.

Unofficially, they believe that it is best to let the president "stew over the mess he has made" until they return. They have shortened their trip and will probably arrive at the capital within two days. If serious disorders occur, however, they will leave again.

Mr. Dunn was authorized to repeat to the people and the press that Haiti was certain to have a provisional government, then legislative elections, and then the withdrawal of the United States authorities as soon as possible.

Constitution
3/11/30
Atlanta, Ga.

Race Problem - 1930

West Indies

HAITI TODAY NAMES PRESIDENT PRO TEM

Delegates to Approve Eugene Roy and Plan His Formal Election by Council.

PARTY HEADS ENTHUSIASTIC

National Guard's Files Reveal 1918 Report That Designee Would Make Fine Chief Executive.

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, March 19 (AP).—Delegates from all parts of Haiti gathered here tonight in readiness for the electors' assembly at the hotel de Ville tomorrow morning when Eugene Roy will be formally nominated as temporary President of the republic.

Plans have been laid for an enthusiastic session, although the vote itself will be a mere formality because all the groups represented by delegates are solidly behind the temporary government plan formulated by President Hoover's commission of inquiry.

M. Roy will be nominated, seconded and approved and then tentative plans will be made for his formal election on April 14 by the Council of State. That body, through President Louis Borno, has given written guarantee that it will elect M. Roy to take up the executive duties when the Presidential term expires in the middle of May.

Newspapers of the capital today were filled with enthusiastic statements from leaders of the various political groups. These urged all Haitians to unite in backing the plans as to insure the future peace of the republic and permit nothing to delay evacuation by the United States Marines under recommendations which the Hoover commission has promised to make in its report at Washington.

An unusual official document in the files of the National Guard was shown to The Associated Press today. It was a report made in 1918 on M. Roy, and it said:

"Eugene Roy—This man would make an excellent President of the Republic of Haiti."

Further search of the files showed that this eulogistic report had stood for twelve years without change.

The report showed further that M. Roy was interested in foreign affairs and was known internationally in financial circles, but it added that he had no political ambitions, had refused the post of Minister of Finance several times and had never held public office.

Officials of the Guard, from Colonel Frank Evans, it commander, down, spoke today in highest terms of the ability of the President-designate. They believed he would make a fine Executive and be able to arrange public affairs so that a popular election for members of the National Legislature could be held next Fall.

Courant
Hartford Conn

A Good Start

Manifestly the commission which President Hoover has sent to Haiti to investigate conditions there with a view to terminating the military occupation has made a good start. Its experience has demonstrated afresh how much good-will depends on little things. When the commission arrived in Haiti, it was faced by a hostile public opinion. The memory of the inhabitants ran back to the investigation conducted several years ago by a commission under the leadership of Senator McCormick of Illinois, an investigation which resulted without tangible benefits in their eyes. Some resentment was perhaps also cherished because President Hoover had seen fit to appoint no Negro to the commission, although a separate investigation of education is to be undertaken by Dr. R. R. Moton of Tuskegee Institute.

Such an attitude might have colored the whole proceedings but for the tact and foresight of the commission. It made a favorable first impression when it announced that its inquiries would be made publicly and that all who had a right to be heard would be given a free opportunity to speak. It won further confidence when it refused to permit interference with a demonstration in front of the hotel in which it had its headquarters. It earned the open good-will of the population when Mr. William Allen White represented the commission at a church service held to pray for Haitian independence, while Mr. White himself became immediately popular by the courteous manner in which he received the importunities of an aged negress for Haiti's freedom.

In the hearings thus far, testimony of an exciting, even a sensational character has been heard. Such was to be expected after years of unrest, during which native propagandists have been busy. The commission none the less is acting rightly in hearing all grievances. The objective of the commission and of the United States is to do what is best for the people of Haiti. Their opinions should justly count heavily in the decision.

Haiti

Ending a Nightmare

PRESIDENT HOOVER is to be congratulated upon the work of his commission in Haiti. The commissioners, on their arrival, were greeted with natural distrust and hostility by the native population. The populace was soon won, however, by their urbanity and sincerity, especially that of William Allen White. They worthily represented the President's honest desire that the difficulties of Haiti should be settled to the satisfaction of Haitians as well as Americans. In two weeks they have done more to accomplish the ostensible purpose of American intervention than the military occupation has accomplished in fifteen years.

Omaha Bee-News
3/19/30

FOR THE FIRST TIME since Woodrow Wilson sent the marines down there we see a definite and promising step toward Haitian self-government. President Borno has been persuaded to yield control in favor of a temporary president after the expiration of Borno's term in May. Both the Borno and the opposition parties have agreed to the nomination of Eugene Roy. M. Roy, as soon as it is practicable, will call a parliamentary election.

THIS PLAN is purely political, but it strikes at the heart of the Haitian problem. Behind the tyranny and brutality of the marines, the suppression of free speech and the misery of the populace there was always the question of the government of Haitians by Haitians and for Haitians. The agreement just reached makes no mention of the terms of the withdrawal of the American forces of occupation. The commission is expected to confer upon that point with President Hoover, and to recommend a diplomatic minister in place of a high commissioner. The American financial adviser and customs control will probably be continued until a solid Haitian government has been established. The hygiene service may be made permanent, for it is the only feature of the American occupation which is praised by all factions in Haiti.

THE PEOPLE must not expect too much. The step proposed by the commission is only a step. A nation deprived of self-government for fifteen years cannot return to its practice in a day. A generation has grown up without experience in self-government and there may be considerable disorder in its sudden return. A man suddenly awakened from a nightmare requires a little time to master his faculties and get himself together. And the American occupation of Haiti has certainly been a nightmare.

HAITIANS CONFIRM ROY AS PRESIDENT

Crowd of 50,000 Cheers Action of National Assembly, the Republic and Hoover.

BOARD HONORED IN MIAMI

Commissioners Go on to Washington and Will Report at White House at 3 P. M. Today.

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, March 20 (AP).—Amid scenes of intense enthusiasm an assembly of people's delegates approved today the choice of Eugène Roy as temporary President of Haiti.

M. Roy will take office on May 15, when President Louis Borno's term expires. He will serve until legislative elections can be held next Fall and the Deputies and Senators, in joint session, can elect a President.

After the vote was taken, with thirty-four ballots for M. Roy and one blank, the candidate was taken to the Parisiana Theatre for a speech.

Outside a crowd of several thousand cheered wildly, mingling shouts for M. Roy, for the republic, for President Hoover and for the Hoover commission which brought calm to Haiti's political situation.

After a brief talk, in which M. Roy pledged himself to carry out the plan of the Hoover commission and thanked President Borno for his cooperation, he was taken for a triumphal ride through the streets.

Some 50,000 people shouted exbuerantly and joined the parade, with bands playing, while shouts of "Viva Roy" and "Vive la republique" were heard on all sides.

Haitians considered that today brought a rebirth of freedom, and they were happy to see delegates from all parts of the country approving the choice announced by the Hoover commission, which gave Haiti this new form of government and now has returned to the United States.

M. Roy, a dignified and elderly man, who has the confidence of every one, reiterated his desire to return to private life as soon as popular elections are held.

Board Passes Through Miami.

MIAMI, Fla., March 20 (AP).—Members of President Hoover's Haitian Commission, arriving here at 8:30 A. M., entrained for Washington early today after a sight-seeing tour of the city.

Members of the commission arrived off Miami Beach on the U. S. S. Rochester in the night and were brought into Miami later. Here they

were greeted by civic officials and taken on a tour of the city.

Soon after members of the commission landed, the Rochester weighed anchor and sailed for Panama.

Although members of the commission refused to disclose the nature of the report they will make to President Hoover within three weeks, Henry P. Fletcher, speaking for the group said:

"We had a most interesting experience and spent all of our time there investigating conditions. We were pleased to be able to make recommendations for the solution of the serious political situation in that country."

The group will arrive in Washington at 1 P. M. tomorrow and will go immediately to the White House whre they will appear before the President at 3 P. M.

U. S. Commission Leaves For Home

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI, March 16.—(AP)—The Hoover investigating commission sailed for home aboard the U. S. S. Rochester at daybreak this morning, leaving behind them an outlined plan for solving Haiti's political difficulties and for ultimately ending American occupation of the republic.

The capital was quiet as they departed and there were no demonstrations of any kind. The hour of their departure was not generally known and there was not even a crowd at the waterfront when the Rochester sailed.

The commissioners left behind them an apparent political peace with no sign anywhere of threatening attempts to void their plan. On board the Rochester, returning to Miami, they will complete their report to President Hoover and make their recommendations.

THE HAITIAN WARD OF FREEDOM

[Chicago Tribune]

Haitian spokesmen tell the commissioners of President Hoover's inquiry into the state of affairs in the republic that they want to be rid of the American Financial Assistance, they said, could be accepted, but domination was exasperating. That's human nature elsewhere than in Haiti. If expertness is to be taken to mean the administration of an office solely with a view to the work to be accomplished it is abhorrent to politics everywhere. It is contrary to the essential political requirements which is the adjustment of the work to the advantage of the person who administers it.

The political system expels administrative competency as a foreign substance injurious to the tissues. It may be conceded that the marines could run Chicago considerably better than it is, and the Haitians might ask why the Americans don't try their own experts if they are so keen for such results. There isn't much of an answer to that except that we are keen for other people to enjoy them.

Haitian ruling classes, which would be ruling if it were not for American administration, may say that our standards are for export only. If left strictly to themselves they might produce some high grade corruption in high places, decorated now and then with manslaughter and assassination, with petty thievery, pilfering, and racketeering wherever possible; but they might ask how, this being the case, it offered a picture much different from that of conditions in the big brother republic. Are they alone to enjoy some of the benefits of democracy?

POSSIBILITIES OF THE MOTON COMMITTEE

With the return of President Hoover's Commission to Haiti, after it has provided for the transfer of the government back into the hands of its people, an important part of the rehabilitation of the republic would seem to be on the way toward performance. President Borno, after some hesitation, it is reported, has agreed to the naming of Eugene Roy, a Haitian banker, as provisional President at the expiration of his term of office. Mr. Roy is said to be acceptable to all parties, he having never been in politics and his choice has been approved by President Hoover and the State Department.

This result was not brought about, however, until the advisory power of the commission had been increased by the conferring upon them by President Hoover of unlimited administrative power, to supercede all American officials in Haiti in the settlement of the political problem. When Mr. Roy assumes office on May 15, he will be pledged to arrange for the earliest possible election of a legislature to choose a permanent President, who, when elected, will be recognized by the United States. The withdrawal of the American marines is not looked for until a permanent government is installed and American relations with it have been established on a new basis.

The committee headed by Dr. Moton, to investigate the educational needs of Haiti, according to report, is not to sail for a month yet. Manifestly, it could not well enter upon its work until the political situation was settled. Its aims are entirely independent of the political commission and its work will require more time and consideration. When it is considered that this committee has to map out a comprehensive program of education to fit the needs of the masses of the people and which will enable them to advance economically as well as educationally, the importance of its task will be appreciated.

A program to meet the needs of the people must bear in mind the necessity of preparing them to assume the duties and responsibilities of citizenship in order to make the republican form of government function as a reality, instead of being merely the mask for a dictatorship. Republican institutions among the Latin-American nations have been hampered in their development by the lack of elementary education among the masses of the people. The masses were not educated to vote as citizens, but when the ruling classes decided that a change of government was necessary, the peasants were impressed as soldiers or revolutionists to fight on either side that his fate might decide. After the conflict was over, if he survived, he might go back to his farm and labor until the next revolution.

The only way of changing all this and making the people who till the soil and form the backbone of the country, a factor in their own government is to give them education. The kind of education that will make them better farmers and better citizens. It is no easy task that lies before Dr. Moton and his associates but it is one that will call forth their best efforts in view of the possibilities that it involves in the future of the Haitian people.

PREPARING AN EXIT FROM HAITI

HOPE OF GETTING OUT of the Haitian mess rises. At least we are "getting somewhere," according to news dispatches and press opinion.

For unless President Borno or somebody else upsets the apple cart, the reported compromise plan worked out by the visiting Forbes Commission, approved by President Hoover and also by Borno and the Opposition groups, will pave the way to popular elections and eventual ending of our military occupation.

The diplomatic program for setting up a new government is "officially" reported in the New York *Times* as follows:

"The groups opposing the present Government will choose delegates as soon as possible, who will meet at Port au Prince to select a candidate for Temporary President.

"This candidate shall be a neutral, not identified with politics, who is also acceptable to the Borno Government. This candidate then will be formally elected President by the Council of State to succeed President Borno on May 15.

"The new President will then proceed to call popular elections for the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, which have been dissolved under the occupation.

"These elections, it is expected, will be held in August and the Legislature would convene in September. Its first business would be the election of a constitutional permanent President."

Belief is general in our papers that the commission has discovered the way to take the next step out of troubles in Haiti. "Having dispelled the atmosphere of cynicism and suspicion which beclouded its arrival by immediately making known its desire to hear all testimony regarding conditions in Haiti, whether favorable to the United States or not, the commission within a week accomplished a year's work," says the Boston *Herald*.

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A "hopeful beginning" has been made to bring about the return of constitutional government in Haiti, typically commented on the New York *Evening Post*, which continues:

"It should lead to the withdrawal of the American marines and the ending of our military occupation.

"How soon this will be accomplished—as well as the extent to which the commission has spent its energies in the interests of American High Commissioner and American Minister sent to the republic—is undetermined. The commission's action is frankly based on the assumption that the Haitians have learned their lesson, will agree to proceed in a peaceful manner to conduct their affairs in a constitutional way, and are entitled to quite complete self-government.

"If the arrangement so promisingly initiated has the desired result," ventures the Philadelphia *Bulletin*, "it will be a new vindication of the policies of good-will which worked so admirably in Mexico and Nicaragua."

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Race Problem - 1930

West Indies.

Haiti

HAITIANS OFFER PLAN OF GOVERNMENT

Haitians opposed to the shameful, enforced occupation of their country, by the dictator—Uncle Sam—have offered a solution for the ending of this unnecessary usurpation by the United States Government.

They have asked for the recall of the High Commission, General Russell and the appointing of a civillian to represent President Hoover in the island until they can adjust themselves for the assumption of the government which they proposed to do by the 15th of next December when the United States would withdraw from the island and leave Haiti alone.

They ask that the special American agent surround himself with a council, including Haitians; promulgate an order providing for an election to be held under liberal rules for the selection of senators and deputies, and later to elect a president and then the U. S. government can prepare to withdraw about December 15.

President Hoover has no excuse for keeping the Marines in Haiti, save at the dictation of the National City Bank of New York. A republican form of government certainly has not excuse for acting as the bill collector for one of its private institutions. This government is robbing the Haitian people of the very principle upon which our own Constitution is founded, and the principle so loudly advocated ten years ago, "self determination for small republics or nations." Since Haiti has a republican form of Government, why should the President of the United States of America become the dictator over it through a "High Commissioner" forced upon a helpless people?

"Haiti for the Haitians," should be our motto

American High Commissioner In Haiti Claims Charges Are False

PORT AU PRINCE, HAITI, March 14—(AP)—Brig. Gen. John H. Russell today filed with the Hoover Commission investigating conditions in Haiti, a lengthy refutation of all charges made against him in the hearings last week.

The American High Commissioner in Haiti was bound by his diplomatic status from giving a statement himself, and the Commission announced it was considering the report before releasing it, but it is believed to deny all charges that a dictatorship exists and to cite many accomplishments of the American High Commission.

Late this afternoon the American newspaper correspondents accompanying the Hoover Commissioners requested W. Cameron Forbes, the chairman, to give out Gen. Russell's statement in justice to the General.

Mr. Forbes replied that the information in the statement was "too controversial" and that he feared it might have a serious effect upon the Haitian people. He indicated, however, that it might be made public later.

The commission announced that its relations with Gen. Russell were of the best, indicating that when the expected recommendation for abolishment of the office of high commissioner is made, nothing of a personal nature will be involved.

Meanwhile all sides awaited clarification of the muddled political situation—clarification expected in a statement promised by the Hoover Commission tomorrow.

Rumors of all sorts were current today. One was that President Borno, not liking the Commission's way, had appealed to the League of Nations.

That was characterized as absurd, and assurances of a favorable outcome to the troubled Haitian situation were expressed again by the Commission.

In answer to the opposition's fear that Borno is trying "to defeat the plan of the Commission" by interpreting the Constitution to mean that an election by popular vote cannot be held until 1932, the Commission unofficially but strongly hinted that Borno would be unable to bind his successor, the proposed temporary president, to such an interpretation, and that this successor would be the choice of the opposition.

This hint also indicated that Borno soon might be forced to sign a written agreement that he would accept the man chosen by the opposition as also agreeable to him.

Threats of demonstrations in front of the Presidential Palace tomorrow night were heard on all sides. These would be directed against Borno but not against the Commission. Justin Sam and Sylvio Cator, young people's leaders, told the Commission that such demonstrations were planned. When the Commission promised a statement tomorrow, the leaders agreed to advise the groups not to demonstrate at present.

Under martial law, which still is in force, three days notice must be given before a parade permit is issued. The students threaten to parade anyway tomorrow, however, and to ask Borno to resign unless the situation is clarified.

Dr. Moton Should Resign Haytian Education Commission As Duty to Race Here and There

By Arthur A. Schomburg

The difficulties in Haiti seems to be gathering speed and will continue a source of friction that is likely to be aggravated and become dangerous so long as the Haitians remain unsincere in their efforts to come together and solve the question of the permanence of foreign soldiers on her native soil. Nations no matter how small look with despair and apprehension on the domination of their country, it is a blot on the escutcheon, it looks like a denial of the exercise of its sovereign functional power and reflect to the world its inability to rule and govern. The United States like England, has always looked upon Haiti like an abortive republic that should be eliminated from the scroll of nations.

President Hoover's commission is made up tentatively of diplomats. Men who are well versed in what they are going to say. We augur that its reports will convince any lay-man of the legality and justify the United States interference in the affairs of the Black Republic. Mr. Davis, author of "Black Democracy," who spoke recently on Haiti at the 135th Public Branch Library, said plain enough, that including the year 1926 there was no way out of the dilemma into which the Haitian people through their representatives had placed themselves. There is nothing left but to bear the burden of their misfortune with resigned patience. A lesson its people must take to heart when its President lacks the human qualities of a L'Ouerture, Christophe, Dessalines, Petion and others who have crowned themselves with a halo of glory. We hope the Haitian territory to the value of anything knowingly will not be violated but respected by the Colussus of the North.

II.

It is rumored by the press that President Borno has resorted to the technical phrase that any colored American appointed on the Commission would be considered "persona non-grata." There is no way to gainsay his right to this challenge, it is within his powers as the sovereign ruler of his country to pass judgment on who should judge him. For this reason we hope Dr. Moton will see his way clear to thank the President for his nomination and decline appointment to a commission after the expression given from the grapevine, it is tantamount to a reflection on the colored people of the United States that their services are not needed. The qustion with Haiti is not of education but political. We can point with pride to former Haitian rulers and presidents who have paid homage to our Negro diplomats. We beg to mention the honorable John Mercer Langston and none other than Frederick Douglass, whose defense against the territorial rights of the Haitian Republic was very annoying to the government of the United States, whose representatives he was. The unquestioned and unchallenged stand of Douglass, for which he was insulted by rear-admiral Gherardi, and afterwards recalled is remembered by many living today. He gave his need of service to Haiti when she most needed it, and should be brought to the notice of President Borno, that among our population of Negroes we have men just as capable and worthy as anywhere else to give and take reward and punishment alike. We revere today more than ever before, the services that Frederick Douglass was able to render Haiti in her hour of travail against the determined effort of the United States naval clique to obtain by naval demonstration the Mole St. Nicholas. Let us watch carefully what is going to take place, Borno no doubt will or has already entered negotiations; who can tell, to present to the United States under some concordat not yet disclosed, but hidden away in some secret dossier, lands assigned to some individual to be re-conveyed at some future date.

III.

The outlook of agriculture in Haiti does not seem to require any investigation for future use. The supply is greater than its demands and the Department of Agriculture does not permit many plants and fruits to enter the United States under the excuse of dangerous lurking parasites that may propagate and do our soil untold damages. A kind of protective tariff that surrounds our land.

The education of the Haitian people is distinctly French in principle, and their literature is Haitian in character, adequate to the need of its people. King Christophe tried to bring the Lanchanshire system of England and it was abortive. Which infusion of the various American system is the learned Tuskegean going to apply to Haiti? We must remember that many Haitians have received their academic training in French Universities and are highly capable of measuring wits with the white Americans. They are justified in resenting such intrusion in their domestic schooling, even if suggested by the President of the United States for we would do likewise by telling any nation that the matter is domestic and it is none of their business to interfere. The creole spoken by the natives deserve a careful investigation and effort to cultivate it into a language of the people as distinct contribution to letters. In fact, it is not void of a grammar for John Jacob Thomas of Port of Spain, a Negro, graced it with such a treatise, this will give the natives something racially of their own and distinctively characteristic of the African people to evolve a spoken and written language.

IV.

The ultimate means of getting Dr. Moton appointed as a special commission on education may be highly questioned in the light of the manner and methods urged by his friends for his appointment. The excuse of finding a place outside the plenary powers of the commission should awaken in Dr. Moton's mind to see that if his friends could not land him on horse back he should not go afoot. Anything less should bring him to a frame of mind to decline for the good of his friends and race.

Will he do it?

SENATOR LAUDS HAITI WORK

Shipstead Says Commission Has Relieved Dangerous Situation.

Senator Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota returned from a rest in the Caribbean yesterday on the steamer Cristobal and left in the afternoon for Washington. He spent only a short time in Haiti, but has been there twice before since Jan. 1. He was enthusiastic in praise of the recommendations and findings of President Hoover's commission there.

The commission deliberated in a fashion reflecting great credit on the United States and relieved a "very dangerous and tense situation," the Senator declared. The need for such a commission was apparent several years ago and study of conditions at that time would have been more graceful, he said, but added that the present investigating body under Chairman Forbes had been highly successful.

Conditions under our "military supervision" would never be successful and fair, he declared, and called the findings of the commission "a damning indictment" of America's position in Haiti.

Also on the Cristobal were several clerks and government employes who accompanied the commission to Port au Prince.

AS our Haitian experiment comes within sight of the end, there are two outstanding facts about it. First of all, the report of the Hoover commission shows that there is no real reason why it should not have been ended at least ten years ago. All the good that we have done in Haiti might as easily have been accomplished in five years as in fifteen. And secondly, if we were sincere in saying that the occupation was primarily for the benefit of the Haitians themselves, the whole experiment must be regarded as a failure. A benevolent despotism which cannot, in fifteen years' time, convince its "beneficiaries" that it is worth while, obviously should never have been begun in the first place. We have no delusions as to the degree of democratic government which is possible in Haiti now or in the near future; and we are well aware of the selfish motives by which some of the opponents of the Occupation have been animated. With every discount made for these factors, however, the whole experiment must be regarded as one which, on the basis of the Hoover commission's report, cannot be considered to have justified itself. This fact is of double importance because Haiti was supposed to be the star example of "the white man's burden" at its best. If we have failed there, it is overwhelmingly improbable that we could succeed anywhere else. We have abandoned the Monroe Doctrine as a pretext for our activities in tropical America; we must now abandon humanitarianism as well. We are left only the motive of selfish economic advantage; and the present mood of the American people is not one to tolerate any very extensive activities on that basis only.

A Splendid Month's Work

THE FINAL REPORT of the American commission to Haiti, and President Hoover's approval of it, should dispel any remaining Negro resentment at the President's failure to appoint a Negro to the commission. After all, the object of the President was not to recognize the American Negro, but to alleviate the condition of the Haitian Negro. If the commission had had one Negro member, or five, its recommendations could not have been more just and satisfying to the Haitians.

THERE WAS SOME FEAR that the commission, in spite of the presence of such a liberal as William Allen White, might adopt the viewpoint of the marines, as a previous committee had done, and give the American occupation of Haiti another coat of whitewash. There was fear that the commission might err, not through prejudice, but through honest misconception. It has always been hard for the Anglo-Saxon to understand how men of other races, especially the black, could be fully as proud, cultured and self-governing as he.

TO THE LASTING HONOR of the President and themselves, the commissioners looked at things as they were and reported them fearlessly. They said things about the American occupation that Haitian editors had been jailed or exiled for saying. Their two main criticisms struck unerringly at the root of the question. The first was: "The failure of the occupation to understand the social problems of Haiti, the brusque attempt to plant democracy there by drill and harrow, the determination to set up a middle class — however wise and necessary it may seem to Americans — all these explain why, in part, the high hopes of our good works in this land have not been realized."

THE SECOND CRITICISM is much more severe; it implies bad faith in the men who were sent to restore order and establish self-government in Haiti. It says that the American occupation had acted as if the occupation would continue indefinitely; that no preparation had been made by the treaty officials to supplant Americans by Haitians at the expiration of the treaty; that Haitians had not been promoted to take the place of Americans in the Haitian police force; that there was no reduction in taxes; and that the treaty officials had usurped more control of the Haitian Government than was warranted by the treaty.

THE COMMISSIONERS even anticipated the attempts that may be made to discredit Haitian autonomy after the end of the American occupation. They said that an oligarchy was liable to develop and that for many years the government must be necessarily more or less unstable and in constant danger of political upheaval. This danger was pointed out in The Amsterdam News of March 19.

THE UNITED STATES Government has appointed hundreds of commissions, but not one of them ever did a better month's work than President Hoover's commission to Haiti.

Moton and Party Sail for Haiti

WASHINGTON, June 13.—Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, called at the White House last Friday and received from the president final instructions regarding the investigation which the committee he heads is to make into the educational system of Haiti.

The committee sailed from New York for Haiti Tuesday. They were requested to sail with the commission which made a study of conditions in Haiti in the latter part of February and the first of March, but Dr. Moton had not had time to complete his plans.

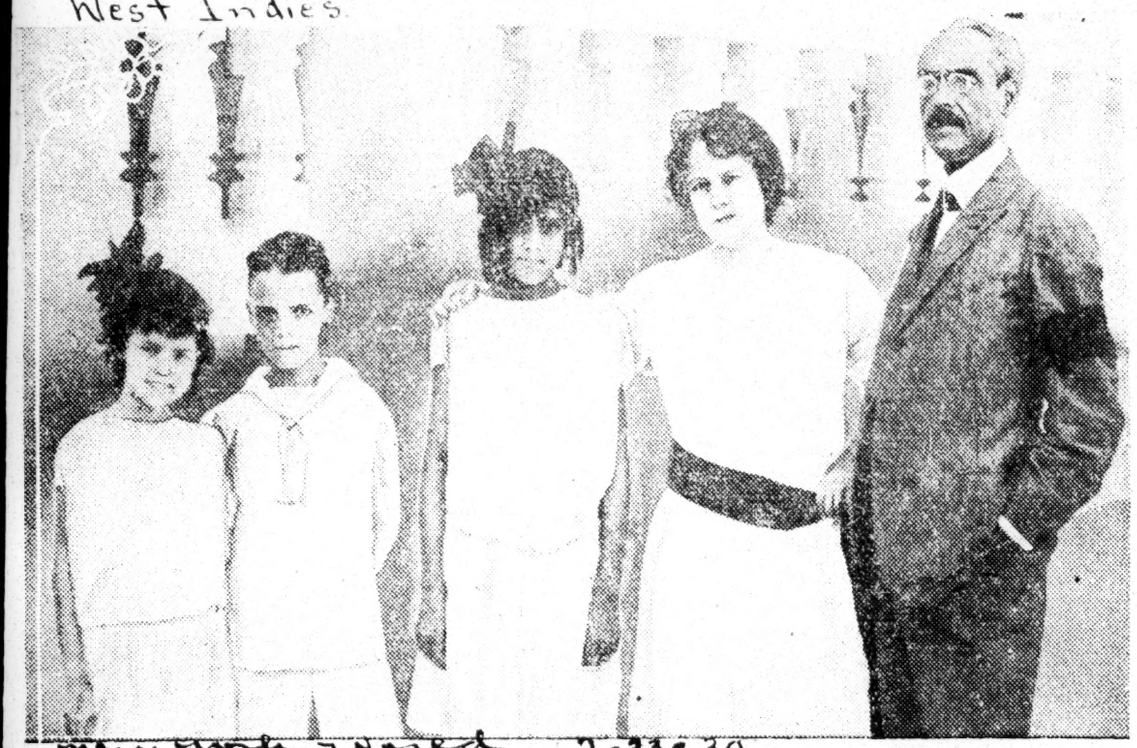
The commission has made its report to the president on Haitian conditions, but pending receipt of Dr. Moton's report the commission dealt only incidentally with educational matters.

The other members of the committee, who were selected by Dr. Moton are Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard university; Prof. Leo M. Favrot, field secretary of the general education board; Prof. Benjamin F. Hubert, president of Georgia State Industrial college, and Dr. W. T. B. Williams, dean of the college, Tuskegee Institute, and field agent of the Jeanes and Slater funds. Two newspaper men, Carl J. Murphy, editor of the Baltimore Afro-American, and P. L. Prattis of the Associated Press, accompanied the committee to Haiti.

Race Problem - 1930

West Indies

Haiti



President Louis Borno, His Wife and Children

New York World 2-23-30.

4 LEADING EDUCATORS NAMED

Mordecai Johnson, Favrot, Hubert and W. T. B. Williams To Accompany Moton

Courier

Special to The Pittsburgh Courier

WASHINGTON, D. C., Mar. 6.—Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, refused to comment upon the announcement of his selection by Dr. Robert R. Moton as a member of the "separate" committee to investigate educational conditions in Haiti at the request of President Hoover. 3-8-30

Dr. Johnson claimed that he had not been officially notified of his appointment on the unofficial committee to visit Haiti in the interest of education. He would not state whether or not he will accept the membership on the committee when he is officially notified of his selection.

Pittsburgh Pa.

No date for sailing has been announced.

Just what reception will be accorded this committee by the Haitians is a matter of conjecture. Although the Haitian legislation, through Raoul Lizaire, secretary and charge d'affaires ad interim, issued a statement denying that President Borno had asked President Hoover not to appoint a Negro on the official commission, and insisting that the Haitians were desirous of closer contacts with American Negroes, he stated emphatically that the upper classes of Haitians are entirely out of sympathy with the type of industrial and agricultural education in which the membership of the committee is interested.

The Haitians feel, he said, that industrial education if the commission confines its investigation to the middle class group it may do much good. The upper classes provide cultural education for their children often in the best schools of the continent, and would not take kindly suggestions for education from Americans.

Selection of the committee to serve with Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, in making a study of education in Haiti has been announced through the State Department. In response to a request from President Hoover that Tuskegee Institute, in co-operation with other institutions, make a survey of educational conditions in island with a view to construc- recommendations Dr. Moton has designated the following associates: Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, Washington, D. C.; Leo M. Favrot, white, field secretary of the general education board; Benjamin F. Hubert, president of the Georg . State Industrial College, Savannah; Dr. W. T. B. Williams, dean of the college, Tuskegee Institute and field agent of the Jeanes and Slater funds.

In the field of university and professional training, Dr. Johnson, through his work at Howard, had become a recognized leader as has Mr. Hubert in the field of agricultural education and development at the Georgia school.

Mr. Favrot was for many years state supervisor of rural schools for Negroes in Louisiana. As field agent for the general education board he has been active in promoting the board's program of developing all types of education for the people of America.

In 1923, Dr. Williams made a preliminary study of educational conditions in Haiti when a similar request came to Tuskegee Institute from the State Department. As field agent for the Jeanes and Slater funds he has for years been engaged in the development of both public and private schools in the South.

Alphonse Heningburg of the department of romance language, Tuskegee Institute, a graduate instructor in French from the Sorbonne, Paris, will accompany the committee as official interpreter. There will also be an adequate staff of clerical assistants.

W. Cameron Forbes, chairman of the Haitian Commission, invited Dr. Moton to accompany the commission which sailed for Haiti Feb. 25 aboard the U. S. S. Rochester. But in view of the fact that the committee had not time to organize its plans, Dr. Moton declined and will proceed at a later date with the educational committee.

In his report to the State Department Dr. Moton made the following statement:

"This request from the President presents an opportunity to render an important service to the Haitian Republic looking to the fullest development of all the possibilities of all its people.

"As a nation, Haiti needs every type of education necessary to sustain and support its national life. In this Haiti does not differ from any other civilized country; and I assume it is in the President's mind that the technical training to meet its needs, both for trained leadership and productive activity of a sort that will make the country economically independent and enable it to maintain its proper status in the family of western nations.

"With such an object in view, I have invited to co-operate in this study those who are not only representative of such organizations as are already engaged in these undertakings in our own country, but are recognized leaders in their respective fields, and who in the composite represent in themselves and their institutions the complete range of educational activity contemplated in this approach to Haiti's needs."

Rebel Head Becomes Dominican Executive

Constitution Atlanta Ga

SANTO DOMINGO, March 3.—(AP) General Rafael Estrella Urena, chief of the recent insurgent movement against the Vasquez government, and recently appointed secretary of the interior by ex-President Vasquez, today became provisional president of the Dominican republic. 3-4-30

Before the national assembly he took the oath this morning in the presence of the American minister, Charles B. Curtis, and other diplomatic and consular oficials. In a brief speech afterwards, he promised to respect the constitution and the laws of the country, and to adjust his government to the normal political situation he had outlined in his earlier campaigns.

He emphasized his intention of guaranteeing free elections in May, and asked for the co-operation of the assembly and all citizens.

His speech, published in the press this afternoon, made a favorable impression in poltical circles.

Quiet prevailed throughout the country as the people took up again their normal activities.

President Estrella Urena telegraphed Senor Angel Morales, Dominican minister to Washington, requesting him to withdraw his proffered resignation.

HAITIANS ASK RECALL OF GENERAL RUSSELL AS VIRTUAL DICTATOR

Times 3-4-30

New York N.Y.

Two Leaders Before Hoover Board Assert Borno Is the Commissioner's Puppet.

WARN OF A "MASSACRE"

They Declare Bloodshed Will Be Sure to Follow if People Are Denied Presidential Vote.

BENEFIT UNDER US DENIED

Dantes Bellegarde, Economist, Says Americans Have Taken Money Without Aiding Progress.

By The Associated Press.

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, March 3.—Two Haitian leaders, representing groups with a total membership of 500,000, in testifying before President Hoover's investigating commission today urged the immediate recall of Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, American High Commissioner, and accused him of being virtually dictator of the island republic.

They likewise asked for the dismissal of the Council of State and warned the commissioners that if the council should attempt to elect a President on April 14, without permitting popular elections, a "massacre" was unavoidable.

Antoine Rigal, president of a group of several liberal organizations, accused General Russell of being virtually a dictator, and declared that President Borno was holding office illegally, the President's father being French and the Constitution requir-

ing a native-born Haitian for the office.

Borno Called Russell's Puppet.

"All officials from the President down, even judges," M. Rigal said, "are nominated and put in office bythe executive power, which is the High Commissioner. President Borno is only a puppet in the hands of High Commissioner Russell, and the Council of State serves only as clerks for Borno.

"If the Council of State dares to elect a President on April 14, instead of permitting a popular election, United States machine guns will sink all Haitians in blood."

Seymour Pradel, chairman of the National League for Constitutional Action, representing 150,000 Haitians, supported the views of his compatriot, and also warned the commissioners that if the Haitians could not elect their own President they would not hesitate to shed their blood in protest. He declared that the Council of State "sat at the feet of their Lord, obeying his whims, and he in turn obeys General Russell's orders." He said that the members of the council were "valets."

He accused President Borno of having made a secret pact with General Russell, which placed "American bayonets at the disposal of Borno in exchange for dictatorial powers."

A third Haitian leader, Dantes Bellegarde, secretary general of the Chamber of Commerce and leading economist of the republic, told the commisisoners that in his opinion intervention of the United States was not justified by international law despite the humanitarian reasons advanced in its defense. He is president of the Haitian League of Nations Society, an organization recognized by the League.

He made three charges against the American administration of the republic. He asserted that the financial adviser had seized the people's money to become master of the economic resources, that the Americans had taxed the people, but failed to give them representation in the government, and that Haiti had made no progress during the years of occupation. American intervention was approved by both houses of the Assembly, 1915.

W. Cameron Forbes of Pittsburgh, chairman of the Hoover commission, said that the last charge was so grave that figures must be brought to prove it.

Says He Will Give Figures.

M. Bellegarde replied that he had figures and would give them.

Ernest Chauvet, editor of the strongest anti-Borno newspaper, the Nouvelliste, and spokesman for all the opposition press, told the commissioners that for the first time in years the Haitian press today has freedom "because the authorities are afraid to censor the news while the commission is here."

M. Chauvet served four terms in jail for publishing stories which the authorities did not like.

Georges Leger, son of a Haitian patriot, is acting as the people's attorney before the commission, William Allen White, Emporia publisher and a member of the commission, having promised the Haitian League in New York that the people could have a lawyer.

Hannibal Price, former Haitian Minister to Washington and former Secretary of Agriculture, who resigned after the student disorders of last Fall, testified in private tonight, asking to be excused from a public hearing.

White's Act Wins Acclaim.

Mr. White has excited the entire populace of this capital through an act of his last night. While a parade of Haitian women passed before the commissioner, who was standing at the gate of the Hotel Excelsior where the commission is residing, one of the women, an aged negress dressed in black, stepped in front of him and said:

"Please, commissioner, deliver us."

As she spoke she bowed. Mr. White grasped her hand, bowed himself and then kissed her hand. For a moment everyone was quiet. Then there was a roar of wild cheers which were heard all over the city.

Cries of "Long live the commission!" and "Long live President Hoover!" were heard on all sides. Negro leaders cried with happiness and said the Emporia man's act was one of the greatest gestures of friendship the Hoover group could have made toward Haiti.

Previously members of the investigation commission had prevented an interruption by the national guard of a demonstration which the Haitians wished to hold in protest at the American occupation and in expression of the hope for restoration of self government.

More than 15,000 citizens of the republic gathered around the manument to the negro revolutionist, Jean Jacques Dessalines, in the square of Champs de Mars. The demonstration was preceded by a religious service at the Church of the Sacred Heart, a "Save Haiti!" service organized by the women of Port au Prince.

Mr. White, as the representative of the commission, sat among 1,000 women during the ceremony, which brought ears to the eyes of many American visitors. He said afterward he was deeply moved.

5,000 IN HAITI STAGE PROTEST

Wall St. Commission Arrives on Warship

PORT AU PRINCE, March 2.—The largest mass-protest demonstration ever held here, comprising 5,000 people, greeted the arrival of Hoover's Haitian Commission, which arrived here yesterday on the warship Rochester. The Commission is headed by the imperialist banker, Cameron Forbes.

The protesters carried banners demanding the immediate withdrawal of the U. S. marines and against Wall Street domination in Haiti.

Petty-bourgeois leaders headed the demonstration. A boycott was declared against the hearings of the commission, and for some time no body appeared. However, one of the petty-buorgeois nationalists, Pierre Lespinasse, a lawyer, finally broke the boycott and appeared before the imperialist commission. He recited the history of Haiti and denounced the American occupation. He did not, however, put forward the demands of the majority of the Negro masses who are peasants bitterly exploited by the American masters. He demanded a general election.

William Allen White was put on the commission by Hoover to give it a "liberal" flavoring. White can be safely counted on to do Wall Street's and Hoover's will so far as Haiti is concerned. Another maneuver of Hoover's was to appoint the head of the petty-bourgeois Negro Tuskegee institute into a committee to investigate the "educational system in Haiti." Thus an enemy of the Negro masses in the United States is sent to Haiti to help betray the Negro masses there

Haitian Agitation For Intervention By U. S. Reaches New Peak

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI, March 6 —(AP)—Haitian agitation for intervention by President Hoover's investigating commission into the political affairs of the republic reached a new peak today.

Rumors spreading through the city that President Louis Borno intended to make a coup d'etat by naming his own successor through new appointments to the Council of State roused great excitement. Similar rumors a week ago aroused demonstrations. Those usually well informed declared today's rumors were unfounded.

At Jacmel, in the Southern part of the country, Capt. Hal Pratt, Garde officer in command, reported today that 100 young men had rioted last night. The police subdued them with sticks. Two sergeants were struck by stones but were not hurt.

Feeling in the South ran high against Haitian quarters, even among some of the Borno supporters, that it had been requested by the President so that within the safety of his guarded palace he could inform the commissioners of his views

Haiti Commission Pacifies Factions

Wins Support of All Sides By Recommending to Hoover New Chief and Early Election.

PORT-AU-PRINCE, March 8.—(AP)—The Hoover Haitian investigating commission tonight recommended to President Hoover that a one-man provisional government be appointed to take over the reins of government in Haiti on May 15, when the term of President Louis Borno expires.

It was reported on the highest authority that President Borno would acquiesce in this plan and co-operate with his successor, who will be a neutral picked by a group of the people's leaders.

The provisional president would remain in office until it was possible to hold popular legislative elections. The assembly then would meet and elect a president to fill a normal term.

The commission's recommendation is believed to have solved the present political crises in Haiti, and to have averted disorders threatened by the forces opposing continued American occupation of the republic and the "dictatorship" of President Borno.

A survey of the situation tonight shows that virtually every leader of the groups opposed to occupation is backing the commission's plan. President Borno's friends have given written pledges of support.

The Associated Press correspondent learned tonight that the commissioners virtually made their decision last night, and sent a wireless message to President Hoover giving their views of the situation.

Developments then began occurring fast, and they gathered up the various threads this morning.

The commissioners now feel that the political crisis, which would almost certainly have resulted in fighting, if not in massacres, on election day in April, has been solved. However, for fear that some unknown factor may intervene before the present negotiations can actually be completed, all of them refused to be quoted.

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A final public hearing was held this morning, and a private hearing at noon with a group of Borno's supporters. This evening the commissioners paid what was officially described as a "social call" on the president, but it was said in reality to be for the purpose of informing him about their plan and hearing his comments.

As no statement was issued from the presidential palace, it is not yet known whether the president is ready personally to issue a statement supporting tonight's recommendations.

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Brief conferences were held today with Brigadier General John H. Russell, American high commissioner, who has lent valuable aid to the commission all during the week, and with other officials.

A final public hearing was held this morning, and a private hearing at noon with a group of Borno's supporters. This evening the commissioners paid what was officially described as a "social call" on the president, but it was said in reality to be for the purpose of informing him about their plan and hearing his comments.

As no statement was issued from the presidential palace, it is not yet known whether the president is ready personally to issue a statement supporting tonight's recommendations.

Haitian Agitation For Intervention By U. S. Reaches New Peak

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI, March 6 —(AP)—Haitian agitation for intervention by President Hoover's investigating commission into the political affairs of the republic reached a new peak today.

Rumors spreading through the city that President Louis Borno intended to make a coup d'etat by naming his own successor through new appointments to the Council of State aroused great excitement. Similar rumors a week ago provoked demonstrations. Those usually well informed declared today's rumors were unfounded.

At Jacmel, in the Southern part of the country, Capt. Hal Pollock, Garde officer in command, reported today that 100 young men had rioted last night. The police subdued them with sticks. Two sergeants were struck by stones but were not hurt.

Feeling in the South ran high against the American occupation of the Island Republic. Conditions were under control, however, and no serious trouble was expected.

Leaders of the groups opposing occupation conferred privately with the commissioners today, discussing plans for a provisional government.

They agreed to issue a statement urging their followers to refrain from any disturbances that might lead to riots while the commissioners were studying the situation.

Different Haitian groups have put various interpretations upon a call the commissioners paid to the President at the palace today.

W. Cameron Forbes, chairman of the commission, officially announced that the visit was "purely social, and we want that understood fully."

But it was reported in Haitian quarters, that it had been requested by the President so that within the safety of his guarded palace he could inform the commissioners of his views

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STAR

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DE PRIEST SCORES U. S. INTOLERANCE

Colored Legislator Disappointed With Hoover's Haiti Commission.

Present-day political questions and historical reminiscences, spanning the entire rise of colored representation in Congress, were discussed last night at the Washington auditorium, when representative Oscar De Priest of Illinois and two colored former representatives, Col. John R. Lynch of Mississippi and Thomas E. Miller of South Carolina, addressed a mass meeting celebration of Negro History week.

De Priest, in charging disproportionate enforcement of the Constitution particularly the enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments as contrasted with the enforcement of the eighteenth, said, "The question of human rights is more important than the question of whether a man takes a drink or not." He further critized that part of the citizenry which he said champions the law only through intolerance.

A part of De Priest's address was given to immediate questions of colored rights. He expressed disappointment at President Hoover's failure to appoint a Negro on the Haitian commission, which, he said, would have been both diplomatic and exemplary.

Regarding the recent dismissal of the colored cadet from the United States Military Academy, De Priest predicted that the boy would re-enter the academy in March.

The Lynch address was largely reminiscent, the veteran colored legislator contrasting the political importance of the colored voter to the Republican party at the present time and during the reconstruction period after the Civil War. Instead of increasing his hold in the party, the colored man, he said, is now largely reglegated to the mere office of balloting.

Miller devoted his remarks to the early life history of Robert Smalls, former colored Representative from South Carolina, whose heroism during the Civil War, he said, was anticipatory of the rapid progress of the colored race following the war.

Senator Otis F. Glenn, in concluding the program, gave a historical presentation of the colored achievement in the United States from the slave period to the present time.

Another former colored member of Congress, Henry P. Cheatham of North Carolina, who was cheduled to speak, was prevented by injuries sustained in a recent automobile accident.

Dr. John R. Hawkins, president of the National Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, which sponsored the meeting, presided. Sylvester L. McLaurin was master of ceremonies.

HOOVER APPOINTS HAITI COMMISSION; NO NEGRO NAMED

Washington, D. C., Feb. 12.—(By ANP)—Appointment Friday by President Hoover of five members of the commission which is to study conditions in the island republic of Haiti with the probability of the appointment of two more commissioners, the understanding given out that there would be no colored members of the commission, has caused the political dopesters in the capital to catch their breath in an effort to recover from their astonishment and in an effort to understand the kind of politics President Herbert Hoover is playing.

For more than a year Mr. Hoover has been President and the members of the "kitchen cabinet", or the successors to the confidential position once occupied by that rather mythical alliance, have been waiting and hoping for some sort of recognition of the Negro's vote that would be made in the appointment of some Negro to some responsible position in the government service. But the Quaker engineer in the executive office has done nothing, and it is becoming more and more difficult for the brothers to understand.

Many arguments have been used to explain the President's lack of action heretofore, but to the local dopesters it seemed to be a foregone conclusion that in the appointment of the Haitian commission the President would be forced to appoint some Negro or else lay himself open to the charge that he was against Negroes, or did not think that they were capable of assuming responsibilities under the federal authority.

In many a barber shop and parlor in many a poolroom and kitchen, in offices and cafes, the curious and the worried are trying to figure out what is in the President's mind.

"Why did he not appoint a Negro?" is the question.

Of course, there are those who claim to know it was prejudice and there are others who know it was not.

But the most interesting theory heard among the "philosophers" is that the Negroes themselves have got the President afraid to move. These theorists hold that every time there is a likelihood of the President making use of the Negro for some job that pays something, he finds himself the object of so many "influences", good and bad, exerted in behalf of some favorite candidate, that, puzzled and exasperated, he has decided to pass up consideration of any of them for fear of setting the various factions at one another's throats. In other words the President is afraid that whatever he might do for one Negro would have the effect of starting a deadly war among the leaders.

But, of course, that is only a theory. Nobody knows what is realy in the President's mind.

Although, he refrained from the appointment of a Negro as a member of the Haitian commission, he has asked Dr. R. R. Moton of Tuskegee to undertake an exhaustive investigation into the educational system of Haiti with a view to submitting recommendations for the future.

The members of the commission appointed by Mr. Hoover are: William Cameron Forbes, former governor general of the Philippines and Boston banker, chairman; Henry P. Fletcher, Pennsylvania, former ambassador to Italy; Elie Vezina, Rhode Island, James Kerney, New Jersey Democrat, and William Allen White, Kansas publisher.

The superior character and ability of the men appointed by the President is unquestioned and it is even assumed by some persons that in their appointment, with the exclusion of Negroes the President may have wished to avoid placing emphasis on the racial angles of the Haitian situation.

The more cynical commentators on the President's policy and what seems to be the American policy of protecting those little countries that can't protect themselves and are upset by internal dissensions; such as, the killing of presidents, the existence of bandits the breakdowns of educational systems, the poverty of the lower classes and the arrogance of the upper classes profess to be unable to understand why the altruistic spirit of America never reaches out to Mexico with the iron hand of its military forces. It is indicated that the American financial interests may contrive to effect the financial domination of Mexico, they have not induced their government to take over and administer the government of the country at close range, no matter how many Mexican presidents are killed, how poor or illiterate the people are, or whatever friction exists between the classes. America's spirit of kindly imperialism, except in the cases of naval bases, is thus said to be a bit "choosy."

DISAPPOINTMENT OF THE HAITIAN COMMISSION

The country will express some surprise at President Hoover's appointment of the personnel of the Haitian Commission. From all indications it appears that the solution of the problem presented by the situation in Haiti must yet risk the chance of being worked out by unsympathetic agencies. The appointment of an entirely white commission to make the investigation is not an assuring mark of interest in the problem for the sake of the island's inhabitants.

It would seem that, since the Negro republic presents a problem that has both a white side and a black side, and it almost entirely concerns a black people, a mixed commission would serve better to get at the actual truth of the situation.

The commission can only present its findings to be used as a basis for any action to be determined, and the matter of getting to the bottom of the affair and getting at the actual truth would be better served by an all-Negro commission than an all-white, but perhaps best served by a mixed one.

The courteous gesture which the President makes to Dr. R. R. Moton is just as gracious as it is non-functional. There are the fewest who could by any stretch of the imagination envision the results of a study of the affairs of 11,000,000 Negroes by an all-white commission to be as fruitful as the study by an all-Negro commission, to say nothing of a mixed commission of Negroes and whites.

Perhaps the educational survey could have been better made by a white educator.

However well selected the personnel of the commission may be, and it can be counted on that the membership could hardly be better selected, there are views that they cannot get because of the attitude they cannot take. The Birmingham News says: "Here was a case, it might be reasoned, wherein the President might have wisely recognized his black countrymen. Recognition of this country's Negro population might wisely be accorded wherever it will not awaken resentment hurtful to the body social and particularly to the Negro himself. A study of this problem might prudently be made by persons who understand the Negro's psychology."

Jim-Crow Commission

President Hoover announced last week the personnel of an all-white commission to make an exhaustive study of those conditions which are alleged to have made necessary U.S. military occupation of the Negro republic of Haiti under Wilson, Harding, Coolidge and now under his own administration.

Apologizing for not accepting the recommendation of leaders of both races and naming a colored member on the commission, Mr. Hoover said that President Borno of Haiti was opposed to it.

At the same time, however, Mr. Hoover announced that an independent all-Negro commission would be named under Dr. R. R. Moton principal of Tuskegee Institute, to study the educational system of Haiti with a view to recommendations for the future.

Strange logic is this that sees the need of a separate commission to study schools apart from other phases of our administrative activities in Haiti.

Stranger still is the logic which excludes Negroes from one commission to please the Haitian president and includes them on another to displease him.

Mr. Hoover quotes President Borno as "observing a lack of sympathy" on the part of Negro Americans and could not therefore welcome a commission of white and colored persons if one were named and yet he names an all-colored commission to study Haitian schools.

If he intended to disregard the wishes of President Borno at all, it seems to us that he should have had the courage to name a single mixed commission as he had been requested by American leaders. The jim crow educational appendage is a sop to Dixie and a further evidence of the anti-Negro policy of the Hoover administration which has characterized it from the beginning.

Nearly two years in office, Mr. Hoover has not made a single major presidential appointment nor a gesture of friendliness and sympathy towards the million or more Negroes who helped vote him into office. To the contrary, in Florida, in South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana, he has done his best to dethrone Negro politicians and supplant them with lily-whites.

It is true that American Negroes are not sympathetically inclined toward President Borno Public sentiment in the U.S., black and white favors the Haitian people against their present ruler kept in office by American marines, illegally and against their will. No thoughtful American Negro apologizes for that.

We realize that when the U.S. marines leave Haiti, Mr. Borno must leave. His life will not be safe in his own country.

Mr. Borno is a pawn and a "yes" man of the U.S. military forces. He has been from the be-

ginning. His resiliency in the hands of our State Department and military occupation leads us to believe that his alleged objection to Negro membership on the commission is a smoke screen thrown up by the State Department to motivate its own program.

Having falied to consult President Borno as to whether we should occupy Haiti with marines control its customs, seize its sugar and coffee lands, build its roads, man its schools, and dis burse its funds, it appears downright dissembling for even the President of the United States to assert that Haiti has been consulted as to the personnel of an American commission.

AN ALL-WHITE COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE HAITI

(From the Birmingham News)

President Hoover "appoints" five white men as a commission to investigate and report upon conditions in Haiti. He "invites" one Negro to make "an educational survey" of the island. The "invited" Negro is Dr. R. R. Moton, head of Tuskegee Institute. The "appointed" if not anointed, five white men are W. Cameron Forbes, former governor general of the Philippines; Henry Prather Fletcher, former ambassador to Italy; Elie Vezina, of Rhode Island; James Kerney, editor of The Trenton (N. J.) Times, and William Allen White, editor of The Emporia (Kan.) Gazette. Of these five "appointees," two, Mr. Kerney and Mr. Vezina, are adherents of the Roman Catholic faith—the religion of the Haitians. All these five appointees are selected with wise discrimination. Mr. Forbes knows insular affairs. Mr. Fletcher understands Latin American ands by reason of his ambassadorial duties in Chile and Mexico. Mr. Kerney and Mr. Vezina have sympathetic understanding of one phase of Haitian psychology. Dr. White is openminded, if not expert, in his attitude toward Haiti and its people.

Readers of Dr. Moton's "What the Negro Thinks" may be tempted, however, to wonder what is the reason why the president designates five white men to do this work rather than entrust it to as many Negroes. The "invitation" to Dr. Moton is likely to be interpreted to be a sop to this country's 11,000,000 Negroes, and not a quite satisfying sop at that. One wonders also what is to be thought by Haitians of this "white" commission sent from a nation with 11,000,000 blacks to investigate a black republic. What is to be thought of this commission's composition by leaders of the Negro race's 11,000,000 in these continental United States may not be difficult to guess.

One thesis developed by Dr. Moton's arresting volume is that members of his race in this country are continually being affronted by reminders that they are inferior in all respects to the white race's members. Mr. Hoover, when a candidate for election, had more than one word to say about keeping the door of opportunity open for the Negro, if not more than one word to say about political equality and proscription for racial reasons. Here was a case, it might be reasoned, wherein the president might wisely have recognized his black countrymen. Recognition of this country's Negro population might wisely be accorded wherever it will not awaken resentment hurtful to the body social, and, particularly to the Negro population itself. A study of Haiti might prudently be made by persons who understand the Negro's psychology. Readers of Dr. Moton's book are made to understand that that psychology is not understood by members of the white race. It is undeniably true that the Negro understands the white far more acutely than he is understood by the white. Haiti has long been a problem. Whether or not that problem's solution may be found more readily by an all-white commission than by an all-black one awakens lively speculation.

At any rate, Dr. Moton's thesis that the Negro is the victim of unjust discrimination in American life is not refuted by the personnel of this Haitian commission appointed, as it is, by a Republican president, even though all its five members are outstanding men who may be trusted to do their work well.

BROOKLYN CITIZEN

DEC 2 1930

WHY ARE WE THERE?

Why American marines are in Haiti, why the United States was justified in interfering in the affairs of that friendly nation, and just how far and how long we should cotinue the role of Big Brother, against the wishes of the natives, are some of the questions which may be solved by the commisison of seven, authorized by Congress to be appointed by President Hoover to study the situation in Haiti and make recommendations concerning American policies here. It might be a good idea to have a similar commisison sent to Nicaragua to investigate our relations with that republic.

The resolution, which was passed by the House of Representatives by an overwhelming vote, started an interesting discussion on the floor. Representative Fish, of New York, interjected the race question when he suggested that two of the seven members of the commisison be Negroes. This gave Representative De Priest, Negro Republican from Illinois, the cue for his first speech in the House, and he made good.

Mr. De Priest declared that he was "very pleased" at the recommendation of Mr. Fish that "one or two members of the commisison should be from the racial group with which I am identified. And I am not surprised to hear other gentlemen object to it," he added. "The Haitian people consist of about 2,500,000 black people and about 125,000 or 130,000 belong to the educated class. And what the people of America wish is that the opinion of the great mass of common people be ascertained, so that the President can more correctly carry out the program of America in wishing to help those people to become capable of self-government."

Then, in courteous words but with thinly veiled sarcasm, he went on to say: "I appreciate also the great work that has been accomplished since we have occupied the country, since the year 1915 along general improvements in every respect, and I am very glad to see the gentlemen on the minority side of the House so very solicitous about the condition of the black people of Haiti. I wish to God they were equally solicitous about the black people of America. We in America would like, in some of the States to have the same right of self-determination also."

Declaring that the black people of America were denied the right of self-determination in almost every State south of the Mason and Dixon line, he added, "I congratulate the gentlemen for starting in right in Haiti and conceding the common people the right of self determination and hope that it will spread to every State in America and that we will enjoy the same rights and privileges."

Representative Huddlestone, of Alabama, leading the opposition to the resolution, assailed the administration's insular policy and attempted also to answer the remarks of Representative De Priest.

"It is a very unfortunate thing to inject the race question into this mater," he said. "I have lived among Negroes all my life. I know them, I respect them, yes, I love them. The race question in the South is that people who know nothing about the situation seek to make political capital of it. But the whites and the Negroes of the South understand each other, they trust each other, they love each other, demogogues to the contrary notwithstanding."

The remarks of Representative Huddlestone to the contrary not withstanding, it is true that the Negroes of the South are deserting the South, where they are so dearly loved, as rapidly as possible and coming to the North for a home and employment.

The honors of the debate went to Mr. De Priest, the Negro representative from Illinois.

A PLAN FOR HAITI.

Of the smaller nations in the northern half of the Western Hemisphere it has often been said that we ask only neighborly relations. What this country can do to help them establish order is its chief concern. Protectorates and annexation we do not want. These principles of American statecraft have been followed by the Commission which arrived in Haiti a few days ago. The plan which it has evolved permits the Haitians to help themselves. It looks to the withdrawal of an American military envoy and his replacement by a civilian diplomat. It would set up a provisional non-partisan government of the island while arrangements for a fair and regular election are being made. It contemplates eventually the end of military occupation of Haiti by American marines. It lays the foundation for a treaty which will recognize Haiti as a responsible sovereignty.

During the first year of his Administration the President has appointed many commissions, and his critics have found fault both with his method and its results. Of the Haiti Commission no such complaint can be made. The situation was delicate; an adjustment seems to have been found requiring only the honest cooperation of those whom it seeks to serve. Mr. HOOVER'S idea of intrusting to men of high character, ripe experience and good business ability an errand which in other days would have been turned over to soldiers and diplomats has proved a good one. The most fiery of the Haitian partisans, now convinced of our good faith, are asking support of the Commission's plan and urging the islanders to be patient until the end of the occupation.

Too precipitate withdrawal, as they admit, would be dangerous. When a constitutional President takes office, duly elected by a legally chosen Legislature, it will be time to give the Haitians another opportunity to govern themselves. Doubtless we shall continue to take a deep and active interest in their affairs. Our Minister must necessarily be an important figure on the island. But when the irritating spectacle of military intervention is removed, America can move more easily in that part of the Antilles.

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MOTON COMMISSION MAKES DRASTIC NECESSARY RECOMMENDATION IN HAITIAN REPORT

Reporter 12-13-30 Birmingham, Ala.

By P. L. Prattis

Chicago, Dec. 10—(ANP—Drastic and arresting are the published excerpts of recommendations contained in the report of the United States Commission on Education in Haiti, which have just been released by the United States State Department.

The report was submittted by Dr. Robert R. Moton, the chairman of the commission, Dr. Mordecai Johnson, a member, and Dr. G. Lake Imes, the secretary. It is signed by all the members, the others being, Dr. Leo Favrot, southern field agent for the General Education Board; Benjamin F. Hubert, president of Georgia State Industrial College, and W. T. B. Williams, dean of the college at Tuskegee Institute.

To this correspondent, who accompanied the Moton commission to Haiti, the recommendations seem to bear boldly upon complaints made in the testimony and reports of prominent Haitians to the commission.

The outstanding recommendation is that the Service Technique, the system of industrial and farm schools, organized and administered by Americans in Haiti, be worked into the national school system of Haiti, and that financial and administrative aid be given by the United States in developing an adequate system of education.

This recommendation strikes at the problem of three separate school systems in Haiti, the American, the national, and the Roman Catholic. The American system of schools had been organized and justified under a loose-ly-interpreted treaty provision, and has been operated at great expense to the Haitian people. The cost of maintenance for the American schools has grown to be greater than that of the national school system, and, with the Haitian government's finances controlled by an American financial advisor, subject to pressure from the National City Bank of New York, the American schools progressively received more and more money, the Haitian schools, less and less.

Haiti needs financial and administrative aid. The United States ought to give it. When the United States was fighting against England for their independence, a regiment of Haitian soldiers fought on the American side at Savannah. Less than one million dollars is spent in an entire year for education in Haiti. The American school system has cost the Haitian government nearly a half million dollars. A half million-dollar gift from the American treasury to aid in Haitian education would be a small enough gesture of gratitude from our rich nation in payment for the blood which Haitians spilled in our behalf in time of need.

Administrative aid is necessary because the character of the Haitian Republic presents peculiar problems: accessibility, kind of education, politics, etc., which seriously retard educational progress. There is always great danger in a country such as Haiti that the schools may be victimized by the politicians. The United States has scarcely escaped from that class. Administrative aid, sympathetically given, would be a strengthening influence in Haiti.

The Moton committee has also urged for the appointment of a permanent joint commission, composed of Negro Americans and Haitians to formulate plans for the articulation of the American and Haitian school systems and to advise how the two governments may cooperate in carrying out other recommendations of the commission. Such a commission could not only render a service to the Haitians, but would also prove helpful by bringing Haitians and American Negroes closer together.

Reads the report further:

"Your commission is distinctly of the opinion that a change of attitude on the part of officials of the American occupation, and especially those representing the service technique, from one of independent self-sufficiency to one of interested and sympathetic cooperation will meet with such a response from leaders of education and government officials in Haiti as will yet make that department a welcome addition to the forces of enlightenment and culture in the country, rather than an object of suspicion and a reminder of unwilling subjection."

Haiti.

ON THE HAITIAN COMMISSION

From The Washington Tribune

As an efficiency engineer, President Hoover has played peanut politics in the selection of his Haitian committee. This committee has been selected ostensibly to study the conditions on the island with a view recommending a graceful withdrawal of the United States Marines. These soldiers of a foreign nation have unnecessarily been retained there since 1915 mostly at the behest of the National City Bank of New York City. Of course there is not a Negro on the commission.

Three of the members are rank politicians with absolutely no knowledge of Haitian problems, who evidently were chosen because of their readiness to hear their master's voice and thereby bring in the kind of report the National City Bank desires.

With such a commission, it is needless to expect anything short of an evasive meaningless report that could be written without even expense of the trip to the island republic. The voice of the National City Bank will be heard and not that of the Haitian people themselves. Of course the marines will not be withdrawn soon. However there may be a gradual withdrawal timed to probably have most of them out by 1936 when the present treaty between the United States and Haiti expires.

The naming of Robert R. Moton, of Tuskegee Institute to make a study of the educational needs of the island is a joke. Dr. Moton is utterly unprepared to do this. The culture of Haiti is French. Its language and customs are largely copied from that country. This has been true since the establishing of a Negro government there. The Haitians should promptly resent their educational institutions being Motonized. Furthermore, if the educational needs of the island are inadequate, and need re-organizing from outside sources, why could not this person have been placed on the commission proper? Is Dr. Moton the jim-crow end of the commission?

3-1-30

From the New York News

Neither the colored masses of America nor of Haiti will approve the failure of President Hoover to appoint a single colored member of the Haitian Inquiry Commission. Certain it is that this all white commission, eminent and expert though it is, cannot approach the problems of the Black Republic with unbiased minds, the character and ability of the members of the commission appointed by the President, it remains to be seen whether they can put aside the differences of race and nationality and get at the root of trouble in dealing with Haiti. There are essential differences of all sorts to be reconciled before the Haitians can conceive of American intervention as any other than the high-handed conquest of a weaker nation by a stronger power. The attitude of the mooders, mostly prejudiced Southerners, has only added insult to injury.

Neither can these Caucasians appreciate the political racial traditions of these sons of Toussaint L'Ouverture and Emperor Christophe. They cannot feel nor respond to the spirit of this proud and poverty stricken black people. The appointment of the principal of The Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute to ascertain Haiti's educational needs, will of course prevent the possibility of any social equality issue either among the commissioners or in Haiti being raised but it does not suffice to satisfy the deep desire of black America to see black Haiti given a progressive square deal. President Hoover has erred we believe in trying to compromise the vital issues involved. He should have appointed some colored members on the commission.

From the Newport News Star

Were the present occupant of the White House a man of the calibre of Grover Cleveland or Theodore Roosevelt, the Haitian Commission just announced by Mr. Hoover would have on it at least two Negroes of recognized fitness for a place on that important body. The naming of an all-white commission is very much like leaving Hamlet out of the tragedy which bears the cognomen of the Mad Prince.

The President's request to Major R. R. Moton to study the educational system of Haiti is a transparent political gesture to the Negroes in those states where their votes count and a kind of sop to the Negroes of the South who find in the name Republican something more than sancrosanct.

It is next to impossible for white men however noble in motive to study the Haitian problem with such sympathetic interest as would influence the Negro in his approach to the subject.

To avoid the charge that a report on condition in Haiti from a commission composed entirely of colored men might be influenced by the natural feeling of concern that such commission would have for its own people, it seems to us that two broad-minded white men should have been added to the commission. No one can doubt that we have in the United States colored men in every way prepared to act on such a commission not only by education and statesmanship but also from the fact of their citizenship in the United States where a bi-racial problem is ever undergoing study and change.

From the New York Age

While no exception can be taken to

From the Chicago Defender

Not a single dark American has been given the authority to study this black republic under the auspices of the United States government, to determine what policy this government shall pursue in regard to it. It is presumed, we suppose, that white men can do the job better—more sympathetically and more honorable than can a mixed group. As an afterthought, however, Mr. Hoover asked Dr. R. R. Moton of Tuskegee, if he will make an independent study of the educational system of Haiti with a view to reorganizing that system. Dr. Moton is no part of the commission and has no connection with it.

Frankly, we are disappointed. We had hoped the president would depart from the procedure set by his predecessors in regard to Haiti. We had hoped that he would look about him and appoint a commission on which there would at least be a representative of the race to which the Haitians claim kinship and of which there are so many representatives in this country. Other presidents have failed to do this, and their reports have reeked with the propaganda which flows so easily from the pens of people who already know themselves to be the mightiest things on earth.

From the Pittsburgh Courier

If the Haitians need anything, it is education of the kind which will enable them to appreciate the civilization with which they must deal, if they are to develop into anything akin to a modern people. Fundamentals and more fundamentals will serve them in excellent stead while they seek to find themselves as a people. They seem to us—and we are far away—as though they began at the top. This is all wrong. History proves this kind of thing to be wrong. Ignorance of things fundamental is the most expensive ignorance.

In selecting Dr. Moton to study the educational system of the Haitians

President Hoover has started in the right direction. The Haitian can never appreciate the raw material of this country, its natural resources, and its agricultural possibilities until he gets a thorough education in fundamentals. He can never appreciate how much he is being robbed by invading nations until he knows the value of the things taken from him. He must get down to values, and he cannot do this without a foundation well laid in the fundamentals of what we call a thorough education. Dr. Moton can and will give to the Haitians the best lessons in first principles. He is our leading educator in that line. He is the logical man to study the situation and his work will do the Haitians more good than will the visit of the official commission.

From the Afro-American

Strange logic is this that sees the need of a separate commission to study schools apart from other phases of our administrative activities in Haiti.

Stranger still is the logic which excludes Negroes from one commssion to please the Haitian president and includes them on another to displease him.

Mr. Hoover quotes President Borno as "observing a lack of sympathy" on the part of Negro Americans and could not therefore welcome a commission of white and colored persons if one were named and yet he names an all-colored commission to study Haitian schools.

If he intended to disregard the wishes of President Borno at all, it seems to us that he should have had the courage to name a single mixed commission as he had been requested by American leaders. The jim crow educational appendage is a sop to Dixie and a further evidence of the anti-Negro policy of the Hoover administration which has characterized it from the beginning.

It is true that American Negroes are not sympathetically inclined toward President Borno. Public sentiment in the U. S., black and white, favors the Haitian people against their present ruler kept in office by American marines, illegally and against their will. No thoughtful American Negro apologizes for that.

MOTON COMMITTEE REPORT

The outcome of the special commission headed by Dr. R. R. Moton of Tuskegee Institute, which was sent to Haiti to conduct an educational survey of the needs of that Island, was contained in the report made public last week by Secretary Stimson. The outstanding recommendation of the report was that the service technique, which has been the cause of much dissatisfaction because of the highhanded policy of the Americans in charge, be combined with the national school system of Haiti. That financial and administrative aid be given in developing an adequate system of public education.

It was also urged that a permanent joint commission be established, composed of Negro Americans and Haitians, to formulate plans for the combination of the two educational systems and to advise how the two governments may cooperate in carrying out other recommendations of the commission. It was recommended that a grant be made from the United States Treasury to aid Haiti in the development of an adequate educationl system, or the arranging of a loan at low interest from private sources in this country for that purpose. It also suggested that President Hoover use his good offices to encourage private philanthropy to aid education in Haiti.

It was declared that from a financial point of view education in Haiti had been worse off under the American occupation than under exclusive Haitian control, the portion of annual appropriations for the national school system declining progressively. The setting up of a separate system of primary schools was declared a mistake and the fears of the Haitians that the service technique intended to supplant the national school system appeared to be justified. This latter service was, judged by Haitian standards, extravagant and beyond the capacity of the national treasury to support. It was planned on too elaborate a scale, with too many Americans at high salaries. It also failed to cooperate with or acknowledge the authority of the Haitian government.

The commission found, however, that there was a pressing need for the type of service inaugurated under the service technique, and that real progress had been made in laying the foundation for agricultural and industrial development. The motives of the leaders of this work were considered beyond question, although it had been difficult for them to obtain the cooperation of the Haitian people because of the evil effect of the occupation. The Haitian leaders were declared open to criticism because of their neglect in affording educational opportunities to the rural population and for over emphasis on the cultural branches of education and apparent lack of concern for the welfare of the masses.

A change of attitude was called for on the part of officials of the American occupation, especially those representing the service technique, from one of independent self-sufficiency to one of interested and sympathetic cooperation. Such an attitude, it was felt, would meet with such a response from the Haitian leaders in education and government, as would stimulate the work of that department and make it a force for enlightenment instead of an object for suspicion.

The members of the Moton Commission appear to have done some close observation and clear thinking in their survey of the educational needs of Haiti.

Race Problem - 1930

West Indies.

Haiti.

HAITI TO HOLD CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS OCT. 4

The United States Marines Will Not Interfere

The United States Government will not interfere in any way in the congressional elections to be held in Haiti on October 14. This policy was announced to the press in Port au Prince recently by Gen. John H. Russell, American high commissioner, and released by the State Department last Thursday. Gen. Russell's statement follows:

"The various political factions in Haiti having urged the holding of congressional elections, President Eugene Roy, who was chosen by these factions as a neutral president for this purpose, has decided to hold congressional elections on October 14 next. These elections will be held to elect 15 senators and 36 deputies.

"The United States Government's activities in Haiti are covered by the treaty of 1915 and subsequent protocols or agreements. None of these provide for the United States lending assistance at any election. Consequently, the United States will exercise no supervision over the elections and will not instruct its officials in Haiti to assume responsibility in any way in the holding of said elections. The matter is entirely a Haitian affair and the is entirely a Haitian affair and the the United States officials in Haiti have been instructed to maintain a strictly neutral attitude and not to indicate by word or deed a preference for any individual.

"The Garde of Haiti, Haitian police force commanded in part by American officers, will not participate in the elections in any way unless called upon by the election officials to preserve order in the vicinity of the voting booths.

"On election day all members of the United States forces on duty in Haiti (Cape Haitien and Port au Prince) will be maintained in barracks. Any disorders will be handled in the usual manner by the Garde of Haiti as a Haitian police

U.S. HAD ELECTION IN HAITI HOGTIED

Pratt Ridicules Statement that Marines were Neutral on Tuesday.

VOTING A FARCE

Only "Yes" Men will Get on with U.S.

By P. L. PRATTIS for the A.N.P.

CHICAGO—Tuesday the citizens of the Republic of Haiti went to the polls to elect the senators and representatives of the national congress. Later, the president of the republic is to be chosen from among the senators.

Tuesday's election is described as the first "free election" which has occurred since the United States interfered in Haiti's affairs in July, 1915.

Short articles have been appearing in the daily press containing the message that the United States marines were going to stay in their barracks and permit the Haitians to vote as they desired, although there was no certainty that the Haitians might not become violent themselves in the heat of the election. In that case, the marines might get busy.

The inference is that the United States is taking a noble stand and permitting the Haitians to attend to their own business, no matter how much it hurts them.

That is all rot. The United States has Haiti tied up in such a knot that the black republic cannot be itself. Haiti's present government was forced on her. In 1917, the marines, at the point of the pistol, chased the elected representatives of Haiti out of the legislative chamber, because these representatives refused to endorse the course the United States was taking, and since that time the country has been governed by a council of state, appointed by the president, chosen through the force of the United States.

Tuesday's election was intended to create the outside appearance of fairness. But there can be no fairness of freedom in Haiti as long as the United States controls all of Haiti's government money, including the President's salary.

The plain, simple attitude of the Haitian people is that of wanting each and every hated white American face to get out of Haiti quickly. The Haitians want to run their own country. They want men in office whose hatred of Americans can be depended upon and who will act speedily to rid the country of United States influence.

U. S. Wants "Yes" Men

The spirit of Haiti and the will of the United States collide upon that point. The United States must have Haitian leaders at the helm who will be "reasonable" and "go along." Haiti wants a leader who will give Uncle Sam a good kick in the pants and send him back home.

The pickings are tough, anyway you take them. The Haitians may contrive to elect a belligerent patriot, but as soon as he is in office, he will learn that he must either do as the United States bids or the genial American financial advisor will cut his board and lodging.

Why Cabinet Quit

Recently, the Haitian cabinet, selected by Eugene Roy, the president of Haiti, selected after the visit of the Forbes Commission, resigned in protest against the appointment of a particular American (Colvin) as director of the school system organized by the Americans in Haiti. Did resigning do them much good? Not the least. Roy fussed and fumed for a few days, protesting to the Americans that if they insisted on the appointment all his friends would leave him and that he would be high and dry with no place to go. But the Americans did not give in. They stuck out for what they wanted and a new Haitian cabinet was found.



President Roy

Popular Elections

Under the circumstances, Haiti's elections are much more "popular" than those in the United States. There is no area in Haiti where large numbers of the citizens are deliberately deprived of the vote as in the southern part of the United States. One-tenth of the population of the United States is "legally" disfranchised. Whoever does not vote in Haiti fails to do so either because he does not want to or does not know how.

Haiti is a land of many mountains and inaccessible regions. Great ignorance prevails in these mountainous districts, similar to that so proudly possessed by the white hill billies of Kentucky, North Carolina, and other sections of our own south. Dense ignorance always misses the ballot box in its grab for the bread box.

It will take time to enlighten the hill billies of Haiti just as it has taken time to get to the white hill billies of the United States. President Hoover started a school for some of them in Virginia last winter. There are Haitians who don't know that there is such a country as the United States. There are Americans who think Lindbergh is a cheese.

Nobody need fear violence in a Haitian election. If a single average citizen in Haiti today has a firearm, the best vegetables will grow in the worst limestone.

In the last Caco uprising in Haiti, the cacas dug up old rusty shooting pieces out of the ground to fight with. The American marines have seized all these by now. Haitians are completely disarmed. Even if they were not, Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, or any vigorous southern city, could give the Haitians advanced lessons in election violence.

Haitians Vote, And Minus Fireworks

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI, Oct. 14.—(AP)—While American Marines remained in their barracks, the people of Haiti today held without disorder their first parliamentary election since American intervention in the island republic's affairs in 1915.

Early returns indicated that three of the presidential candidates, Constantin Mayard, Charles Zamor and Seymour Pradel, had been elected to the Senate.

Orderly crowds assembled in front of the newspaper offices to get the latest returns in the balloting for 15 senators and 36 deputies, who will meet in November as a national assembly to choose Haiti's next president from among their number.

The new chief executive will succeed Eugene Roy, provisional president since May 15, when President Louis Borno completed his eight-year tenure of office.

Fifteen men were arrested on charges of trying to repeat votes at the polls. About 30 were arrested for intoxication. Although the saloons closed while the election booths were open there were frequent "toasts" to the political success of various candidates, rum having been distributed among the voters during the parliamentary campaign.

The Garde d'Haiti, trained by the American Marines, was on the alert for any trouble. A Garde unit in the capital was called out several times to calm a crowd that included supporters of J. Jolibois Fils, a newspaper man running for Parliament as a labor leader.

HAITIANS TO ELECT LEGISLATORS TODAY

200,000 Men Are Registered for Poll for First Parliament of Republic in 15 Years.

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, Oct. 13 (AP).—The first Parliament since the dissolution of Haiti's legislative bodies fifteen years ago will be elected tomorrow.

About 200,000 voters have registered for the election, representing a fairly large proportion of the potential electors, since only the men among Haiti's 3,000,000 inhabitants have the right to vote.

The new Parliament of fifteen senators and thirty-six deputies will meet as a National Assembly to choose Haiti's next President.

Constantin Mayard and Seymour Pradel, the leading candidates for President, expect to be elected Senators tomorrow.

The 800 American Marines stationed in Haiti have been ordered to remain in their barracks tomorrow. The Garde d'Haiti, a native military force that has been organized and trained by American officers, will be on the alert for any possible disorders. For the last two months the Garde has been receiving special instructions for handling possible disorders.

While Haitian men today debated how to use again the right of franchise, after failing to exercise it since the constitution was amended in 1918 to permit foreigners to own land, the women went to the churches to pray for a peaceful election day.

The new President will succeed Eugene Roy, who became Provisional Chief Executive May 15, when Louis Borno's second term expired. The Forbes Commission, which investigated the American occupation in Haiti, obtained a promise from M. Borno that he would not be a candidate for a third term.

M. Roy, like M. Borno, was elected by the Council of State, a body of twenty-one members appointed by the President to carry on the functions of the Legislature.

While M. Borno's two terms lasted eight years, the new President will be restricted by the constitution to one term of six years.

During the 108 years preceding the American intervention of 1915 Haiti had twenty-four chief executives, including one "emperor," and only two were allowed to go peacefully from office. Seventeen of the twenty-four were deposed by revolution and five died in office, three of the latter meeting violent deaths.

The assassination of President Guillaume Sam was the immediate occasion for the landing of American marines.

VINCENT ELECTED HAITIAN PRESIDENT

Constitutionalist

New Government Head Is Opponent of American Occupation.

11-19-30

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Atlanta, Ga.

Vincent, editor of the Anti-American Haiti Journal, is 56 years old and a member of the extreme opposition. He is a lawyer, serving as president of the Bar Association of Port-au-Prince. Formerly he was in the diplomatic service in Paris and Berlin, at one time was president of the senate and again was minister of the interior.

He is the first regularly elected president of Haiti since American intervention in 1916. During that period the presidents, including Louis Borno and his successor, Eugene Roy, were chosen by a council of state of 21 members, appointed by the president holding office at the time of the election. Thus Borno was given a second term by his own council. The council performed the functions of parliament during American occupation.

HAITI'S NEW PRESIDENT.

As a national Legislature, radical and anti-American, was elected in Haiti on Oct. 14, it was to be expected that the President chosen by it would share its sentiments. While the successful candidate, STENIO VINCENT, has always been opposed to American occupation, he is not so extreme as the President of the House of Deputies, JOSEPH JOLIBOIS, who is head of the National Confederation of Workers and Peasants. The latter has been called the "firebrand of Haitian politics." Candidates for the Legislature who showed partiality for the government of occupation, however sincere their belief that it had been for the best interests of Haiti, fared badly in the election. CONSTANTIN MAYARD, a candidate for the Senate and regarded as well qualified for the Presidency, was defeated because his attitude toward the United States was not satisfactory. He was accused of having sold out. After his defeat in the legislative election he ceased to be considered as a candidate for President. This shows what is expected of President VINCENT.

The United States is now represented in Haiti by Dr. G. DANA MUNRO, who retired from the Division of Latin Affairs in the State Department to take the position. He is a man of exceptional ability, and has a thorough knowledge of Haitian politics. There will still be an American occupation for six years, in accordance with the treaty we have with Haiti, and a force of marines is to remain, but it will not be a government of occupation. Cooperation of the President with the American Minister and American officials who stay in the country under the terms of the treaty will require good sense and tact. The national Legislature is almost wholly anti-American. But President VINCENT, as a lawyer, diplomat and journalist, has had experience in public life. He must realize that the government of occupation has been in many respects a blessing to Haiti. It has left him in the Garde d'Haiti an efficient peace force. The Haitians recently held an orderly election, and have now chosen a President. The future is in their hands.

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Editor Is Defender Elected 11-22-30 Haitian Leader

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, Nov. 21.—For the first time in 14 years Haiti has a president who meets with the approval of the electorate of the island. Stenio Vincent, newspaper editor and one of the outstanding lawyers of Haiti, was named chief executive on the fourth ballot taken by the national assembly Tuesday.

The election of Vincent inaugurates a new era in the national life of Haiti, according to beliefs of the great majority of the islanders. He is a violent agitator for removal of United States marines and the releasing of American control over the affairs of his country. During the past 10 years, Mr. Vincent has been in trouble upon several occasions because of the attacks he has made in his newspaper, the Haiti Journal, which has remained one of the outspoken organs against American influence even when most of the other papers in Haiti had been silenced.

The new president is 56 years old, and besides being a lawyer and editor, holds a high rating in diplomatic circles, having represented his country in Paris and Berlin. He is also president of the Bar association of Haiti. His election came as a surprise to most of those outside the assembly, who were of the opinion that Constantin Maynard and Seymour Pradel, both influential lawyers, were more popular than the editor.

When the United States marines, acting on orders from the late President Woodrow Wilson, entered Haiti in 1915, after revolutionists had beheaded Guilliam Sam, then president of the island republic, they immediately assumed full control of the government by shooting down those who opposed them. In 1916 a new treaty was forced upon the islanders and an American high commissioner was sent there to take charge of the customs and of all internal affairs. It was under this condition that Louis Bordo, then secretary of state, was elevated to the presidency as an emergency measure. He served for four years; then, when time came for the next election, he appointed a council of state of 21 members, who in turn re-elected him.

Early this year, when the marines shot down more Haitians in putting down a student uprising, President Hoover was forced to send a commission to the island to study conditions and make recommendations. This commission, headed by W. Cameron Forbes, suggested that the high commissioner, Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, be removed and that regular diplomatic relations be resumed with the country of Haiti.

As a first step in carrying out this program the United States asked Borno not to be a candidate for reelection, and Eugene Roy was made provisional president pending the election which has just been completed. Roy resigned last week to make way for the new executive.

General Russell, in accordance with the plans entered into by the United States, sailed from Haiti last week, and Dr. Dana G. Munro, former chief of the state department's Latin division, arrived Sunday as the first regular minister America has sent to Haiti since 1916. Much interest is now being shown in what Mr. Vincent plans to do regarding the treaty with the United States, which still has six years to run. Under this treaty Haiti has has been deprived of many of its rights, natives declare.

Voe of Our Occupation Is Haitian President; Vincent Elected by the National Assembly

By The Associated Press.

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He is the first regularly elected President of Haiti since American intervention in 1916. During that period the Presidents, including Louis Borno and his successor, M. Roy, were chosen by a Council of State appointed by the President holding office at the time of the election. Thus M. Borno was given a second term by his own council. The council, consisting of twenty-one members, has performed the functions of Parliament during the American occupation, being distinct from the President's Cabinet of Ministers.

When M. Borno was overthrown by the Union Patriotique which testified before the United States Senate in 1922. The National Assembly, which now serving as President was elected Louis Borno and his successor, M. Roy, were chosen by a Council of State appointed by the President holding office at the time of the election. Thus M. Borno was named for a second term by his own council.

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When the election was over today Vincent was escorted to the National Palace by a detachment of soldiers and a military band, thousands lining the streets and cheering as he passed. The inaugural ceremonies took place immediately after the exchange of oaths.

Roy departed he received a great ovation from an enormous crowd.

Race Problem—1930

West Indies

Text of Haiti Commission's Statement

Amsterdam News

3/12/30

The text of the Haiti Commission's statement follows:

"The President's commission has suggested that the various elements composing the opposition to the present Haitian government should organize a group of delegates satisfactory to themselves and designate some neutral and non-political candidate, satisfactory also to President Borno, who should then receive their votes and also be elected regularly.

"The President thus chosen will call a popular election at the earliest possible date and present his resignation to the new legislature, so that it will elect the President for the regular term.

"This plan has the approval of President Hoover, and has been accepted, in principle, by both Haitian sides. Details have to be worked out. The commission has no candidate to present."

EXPECT REGULAR REGIME BY SUMMER.

Officials are hopeful that a popular election can be completed and a regular President installed within three months after expiration of Borno's term. It is expected that the new treaty between Haiti and the United States will then be negotiated on the basis of the commission's report. The report thus far relates only to the immediate political crisis. Findings regarding the method of ending the American occupation have not yet been formulated.

Before arriving at Hinche the commission saw a parade of Haitian gardes at Las Cahobas, a garde district, commanded entirely by natives.

The Forbes commission motored eighty miles across the mountains to this city on the central plain of Haiti, one-time center of the so-called Caco Revolution in 1918 and 1919. It now is a peaceful, orderly agricultural region raising cotton, corn and livestock.

At every town along the way the people demonstrated in orderly manner in honor of the commission. The demonstrators carried flags and placards pleading for liberty, justice and the end of the American occupation. They also called attention to local grievances, particularly taxes on alcohol and tobacco.

The commissioners greeted the people in a most cordial fashion. Mr. Forbes informally in brief addresses at various towns along the way expressed the commission's sympathetic desire to learn the people's difficulties. He conveyed President Hoover's good wishes.

The audience in every case cheered lustily, some crying out "Vive Liberte!"

The members of the commission stopped overnight at the gendarmerie headquarters here, where the visitors were quickly recognized by an American officer, F. E. Wirkus. Mr. Wirkus, incidentally, is famous as the "King of Gonnaives" in the book "Magis Island."

THE HAITIAN COMMISSION ACTS PROMPTLY

President Hoover is to be felicitated and congratulated upon his selection of the men who compose his Haitian Commission. Further he is entitled to the plaudits of every thoughtful American for conveying to the members of the commission so thoroughly, that it was impossible for them to err, the mission with which they were charged.

Herald-Commonwealth

In ten days of investigation the Forbes Commission has learned enough of conditions in Haiti to become convinced that the American occupation in Haiti should be brought to an end as speedily as possible and that self-government should be restored to the people.

3/15/30

When the creation of the Commission was under consideration and when it was authorized by Congress the proposal was widely criticized; it was declared that there was no necessity for a Commission that all the facts needed were in possession of this government and that the sending of this Commission was merely another white-washing expedition.

Baltimore, Md.

The work of the Commission, its decisive action, its humanity and its sympathetic attitude towards the Haitian people from the very beginning of their investigations reflect credit on the men who compose the Commission and honor on the government which they represent.

The government of Haiti was wrested from the people of that country in 1915 under President Wilson's Administration; American control through the American Marines and its commander as High Commissioner with a President, in name only, a creation of the American occupation, was continued through President Harding and President Coolidge's Adminstrations, without any effort to ascertain the truth as to conditions in Haiti in order to give justice to the people of the Island by allowing them to resume control of their own government.

President Hoover immediately upon the assemblying of his first Congress in regular session declared it his belief that American domination in Haiti supported by an armed force should be terminated.

It was remembered that Presdent Harding had denounced American occupaation and control of the Haitian government and promised, if elected, to restore to the Haitians their government wrested from them by the Wilson Administration.

Considering Harding's promise, the continuance of American occupation through three Administrations and the alleged influence of the City National Bank of New York in continuing the present regime in Haiti the public had little faith in the move to create an investigating Commission and less faith in the findings and recommendations, so far as they might benefit Haiti, of the Commission itself.

It has shown that criticism of the President in itself was unjust, it has proved itself faithful in the discharge of the duties entrusted [redacted] loyal to its government and just to an oppressed na[redacted]d have a right to feel an exultant pride along with Americans in their signal achievements thus far.

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"This plan has the approval of President Hoover, and has been accepted, in principle, by both Haitian sides. Details have to be worked out. The commission has no candidate to present."

EXPECT REGULAR REGIME BY SUMMER.

Officials are hopeful that a popular election can be completed and a regular President installed within three months after expiration of Borno's term. It is expected that the new treaty between Haiti and the United States will then be negotiated on the basis of the commission's report. The report thus far relates only to the immediate political crisis. Findings regarding the method of ending the American occupation have not yet been formulated.

Before arriving at Hinche the commission saw a parade of Haitian gardes at Las Cahobas, a garde district, commanded entirely by natives.

The Forbes commission motored eighty miles across the mountains to this city on the central plain of Haiti, one-time center of the so-called Caco Revolution in 1918 and 1919. It now is a peaceful, orderly agricultural region raising cotton, corn and livestock.

At every town along the way the people demonstrated in orderly manner in honor of the commission. The demonstrators carried flags and placards pleading for liberty, justice and the end of the American occupation. They also called attention to local grievances, particularly taxes on alcohol and tobacco.

The commissioners greeted the people in a most cordial fashion. Mr. Forbes informally in brief addresses at various towns along the way expressed the commission's sympathetic desire to learn the people's difficulties. He conveyed President Hoover's good wishes.

The audience in every case cheered lustily, some crying out "Vive Liberte!"

The members of the commission stopped overnight at the gendarmerie headquarters here, where the visitors were quickly recognized by an American officer, F. E. Wirkus. Mr. Wirkus, incidentally, is famous as the "King of Gonnaives" in the book "Magis Island."

THE HAITIAN COMMISSION ACTS PROMPTLY

President Hoover is to be felicitated and congratulated upon his selection of the men who compose his Haitian Commission. Further he is entitled to the plaudits of every thoughtful American for conveying to the members of the commission so thoroughly, that it was impossible for them to err, the mission with which they were charged. Herald-Commonwealth

In ten days of investigation the Forbes Commission has learned enough of conditions in Haiti to become convinced that the American occupation in Haiti should be brought to an end as speedily as possible and that self-government should be restored to the people. 3/15/30

When the creation of the Commission was under consideration and when it was authorized by Congress the proposal was widely criticized; it was declared that there was no necessity for a Commission that all the facts needed were in possession of this government and that the sending of this Commission was merely another white-washing expedition. Baltimore, Md.

The work of the Commission, its decisive action, its humanity and its sympathetic attitude towards the Haitian people from the very beginning of their investigations reflect credit on the men who compose the Commission and honor on the government which they represent.

The government of Haiti was wrested from the people of that country in 1915 under President Wilson's Administration; American control through the American Marines and its commander as High Commissioner with a President, in name only a creation of the American occupation, was continued through President Harding and President Coolidge's Adminstrations, without any effort to ascertain the truth as to conditions in Haiti in order to give justice to the people of the Island by allowing them to resume control of their own government.

President Hoover immediately upon the assemblying of his first Congress in regular session declared it his belief that American domination in Haiti supported by an armed force should be terminated.

It was remembered that Presdent Harding had denounced American occupaation and control of the Haitian government and promised, if elected, to restore to the Haitians their government wrested from them by the Wilson Administration.

Considering Harding's promise, the continuance of American occupation through three Administrations and the alleged influence of the City National Bank of New York in continuing the present regime in Haiti the public had little faith in the move to create an investigating Commission and less faith in the findings and recommendations, so far as they might benefit Haiti, of the Commission itself.

It has shown that criticism of the President in itself was unjust, it has proved itself faithful in the discharge of the duties entrusted [redacted] loyal to its government and just to an oppressed na[redacted]d have a right to feel an exultant pride along with [redacted] Americans in their signal achievements thus far.

Haiti

Moton's Subtle Rebuke to President Hoover

The Moton commission, named by President Hoover to investigate educational conditions in Haiti, still lingers in Washington, waiting for the political storms engendered by the Forbes commission, to abate before it ventures forth.

The commissioners know and the State Department knows that unless and until President Borno is relieved of his office and a new election places at the head of the government the choice of the people, Haiti has no welcome on the door mat for more U.S. probers.

While the Moton commission lingers, opportunity is given to recall that this is the first time that the president of Howard University and the principal of Tuskegee Institute have served on any such presidential group together.

Not only has peace been declared between the advocates of industrial and higher education, but the great philanthropic agencies like the Rosenwald Fund and the Rockefeller Board—long patrons of Hampton and Tuskegee—are now also supporting Howard with large gifts.

Dr. R. R. Moton, speaking at the Charter Day dinner at Howard University last week, recalled that the founder of Howard also helped to establish Hampton.

Those who care to prophesy, may see in all of this an indication of a working agreement in which Howard, Hampton, Tuskegee and Fisk will join to provide a high degree of specialization and avoid duplication of effort and plant.

Appointment of Mr. Leo M. Favrot, white, on the Moton commission has tickled the country as nothing else in recent months. Colored America gasped as President Hoover, after naming an all-white Forbes commission, observed all the formalities and rules of color prejudice by asking Dr. Moton to take a group of colored educators to look over the Haitian schools.

But the gasp turned to a grin when Dr. Moton selected three colored men and one white man as his aides, and all accepted.

True Mr. Favrot is field secretary of the General Education Board, an expert upon whose recommendation that board makes appropriations. His presence on the Moton body guarantees the interest of the largest U.S. educational foundations in the Haitian school problem.

But what the country saw was the picture of the President of the United States setting up a color line and the principal of Tuskegee cutting across it.

Those who recognized Mr. Hoover's implied insult, stopped ere they could make a protest.

The laugh is on Mr. Hoover

NEW DANGER IN HAITI AS BORNO QUITS PLAN

Hoover Board Warns Him He Will Not Be Backed by Marines if Violence Occurs.

PORT AU PRINCE EXCITED

Several Commissioners Will Return From Interior to Calm Populace in the Capital.

NATION BACKS BOARD PLAN

Opposition Groups Show General Approval of Scheme for Return to Representative Government.

By HAROLD N. DENNY,

Staff Correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES.
Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CAPE HAITIEN, March 10.—The Haitian crisis, which yesterday appeared to have been solved with President Borno's acceptance of the plan presented by the Hoover investigating commission for an early return to representative government, was revived in a dangerous form today.

President Borno, after pledging to cooperate in immediate steps looking toward popular legislative elections in the next few months, has reversed himself.

As a result, the opposition factions, which only a few days ago were threatening to resist the Borno Government even at the cost of facing American machine guns, feel that they have been betrayed, and their leaders, in cooperation with American officials, are making strenuous efforts to reassure them and allay excitement, which still holds the possibility of serious results in the capital.

Several members of the Hoover commission, which is now on a tour of the island, will cut short the trip and start back to the capital on Wednesday. The commission was kept informed of developments throughout the day by telephone from Port au Prince. It sent to President Borno an unequivocal demand to repair the damage he had done, together with a thinly veiled threat that if his attitude provoked opposition and violence he need not look to the marines for protection, but that their functions would be limited to protecting American lives and property.

SEES NEED OF STRICT POLICE RULE IN HAITI

Gen. Russell Issues Report on Island Riots.

WASHINGTON, March 12.—(AP)—The official report on revolutionary disorders which occurred late last year in Haiti, included in Brigadier General Russell's annual report as American high commissioner at Port au Prince, was made public today at the state department.

Coming just as indications from Haiti and the White House are that the high commissioner may be supplanted before long by a diplomatic representative, with the former in a status representative Haitian government, unusual interest has been attached here to General Russell's views.

The report covers events up to the end of 1929 and so made no mention of the American commission now engaged in straightening the political tangle in Haiti.

Strike Unimportant.

The November student strike was said by General Russell not to possess intrinsically the importance ascribed to it in the American press. After outlining the causes of the revolutionary activities, which he said included "liquor, hatred of the town (Aux Cayes) and the expectation of loot," General Russell said that only the inexperience and numerical weakness of the Garde D'Haiti made action by the marines necessary.

"Had previous Haitian history permitted the establishment of an adequate police force of long experience and tradition, or had the Haitian government been able completely to reorganize the courts so that offenders against public order would have had prompt justice instead of acquittal meted out to them, martial law and the support of the American marines would not have been necessary in this case," the general reported.

"However, until the mentality of the people becomes accustomed to stable government, as long as ignorance and poverty of the people furnishes a revolutionary field for irresponsible politicians, as long as a large irresponsible mob element of the population exists, as long as cheap alcohol can be obtained for this 'hoodlum fringe,' any police force in Haiti must be ready to act promptly and decisively, and, until the courts are reorganized, to do their share in preserving public order, extraordinary measures must occasionally be taken."

General Russell praised the wisdom of President Morno, and attributed to his efforts much of the progress achieved in the past eight years.

BORNO IS ADAMANT AS BOARD ARRIVES

But Haitian Opposition Group Continues to Back Plan for Restoring Free Rule.

ELECTION TIME IS PROBLEM

Gonaives Man, Speaking English Lauds Americans—People, Misunderstanding, Stone Him.

By HAROLD N. DENNY.

Staff Correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES.
Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PORT AU PRINCE, March 12.—The Hoover investigating commission arrived here tonight from its visit to the northern part of Haiti to find the Borno partisans in flat opposition to the commission's plan for settling the present Haitian political crisit. The anti-Borno faction, meanwhile, in the words of one of its leaders, is "standing pat" on the agreement it has made with the Americans for the restoration of representative government and is looking to the comission some way to bring that to pass.

The crux of the situation is the date on which the legislative elections will be held. The commission had supposed that it had President Borno's pledge of cooperation in the program to hold them in the next few months. M. Borno, however, is still standing firm in his declaration to his party leaders that a new Legislature would not be elected until 1932, asserting that it would be unconstitutional to hold them at the time planned by the commission and the opposition.

Today the Matin, the government organ, which is considered the mouthpiece of M. Borno, contained an uncompromising attack on the plan. After quoting the commission's announcement of the plan, issued Saturday, it said:

"This, then, is the revolution in the perspective in which the commission has absolutely aligned itself. The President's commission did not need to take much trouble to find such a solution because, outside of armed outbursts, it is only what we ourselves have often done before with more brilliancy."

M. Borno has still failed to send out a message to the Prefects clarifying the situation as requested by the commission. He announced today, however, through the official newspaper that he was in no sense a candidate for re-election and was not backing any candidate at present.

The commission visited the important city of Gonaives this morning on the way here aboard the cruiser Rochester from Cape Haitien. W. Cameron Forbes took occasion there to make clear that the agreement made with the commission called for early elections.

The commission was entertained with great courtesy there at the City Hall and at the principal club, where champagne was offered. One patriotic gentleman discoursed in English detailing all the good things he could think of about Americans from thetime of Benjamin Franklin to the present. He ended, however, with the declaration that American occupation was ruining Haiti and that liberty should be restored.

Haitians apparently did not understand the last part. All was serene, however, until the commission returned to the cruiser Rochester. Then the crowd chased the speaker home amid a shower of rocks and denounced him as a traitor and threatened to burn his house down. They finally compromised by tearing down the Haitian flag from his porch.

the people of Gonaives for their reception, issued this statement:

"Although the peoplpe of Haiti are bound to have different opinions regarding the best steps for the future, and it is impossible to please all, the commission is trying to satisfy the greatest number, in which it appears successful.

"We want to explain that our plan has been approved by leaders of the peoples groups in the Cabinet.

"It has been suggested that we not give the name 'provisional' to the temporary President who will hold office until a regular President is elected, so the commission has decided to call him 'Temporary President'."

The statement pleased the members of the City Council and other leaders.

Race Problem - 1930

West Indies

Haiti

HAITIAN OFFICIAL'S REMOVAL IS ASKED

Leaders Of Opposition Groups Term Man As 'Diplomatic Bungler'

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI, March 24.—(AP)—Asserting that Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, American high commissioner in Haiti, was a "diplomatic bungler," leaders of the Haitian opposition groups today made a new plea to the Hoover Haitian Commission that the high commissionership be abolished as soon as possible.

The plea grew out of a minor controversy that has broken out between President Louis Borno and Gen. Russell on one hand, and the opposition groups on the other. It concerns the wording of the official announcement of Eugene Roy's election to be temporary president until Borno retires on May 15.

The controversy reached its culmination today after the receipt of a letter from Gen. Russell by M. Vilaire, chairman of the assembly of peoples delegates which approved Roy's choice last week.

Vilaire had sent a formal announcement of the assembly's approval of the commission's plan and the choice of Roy to Gen. Russell, stating Roy had been elected "as the nation's candidate for temporary president."

Gen. Russell's reply, as given out by M. Vilaire, carried an implication that the "patriotic groups" might attempt to usurp the functions of government, and warned them against "acts or decrees of any group of persons presuming to act officially for the Haitian people."

HAITIAN GROUP CALLS RUSSELL 'NO DIPLOMAT'

Opposition Group Assails Our High Commissioner for Warning of Usurpation Tendency.

PORT AU PRINCE, March 24 (AP).—Asserting that Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, the American High Commissioner in Haiti, was a "diplomatic bungler," leaders of the Haitian Opposition groups today made a new plea to the Hoover Haitian Commission that the high commissionership be abolished as soon as possible.

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M. Vilaire had sent a formal announcement of the Assembly's approval of the commission's plan and the choice of M. Roy to General Russell, stating that M. Roy had been elected "as the nation's candidate for temporary President."

General Russell's reply, as given out by M. Vilaire, carried an implication that the "patriotic groups" might attempt to usurp the functions of government, and warned them against "acts or decrees of any group of persons presuming to act officially for the Haitian people."

The leaders of the Assembly asserted that this was a "blunder" on the high commissioner's part, because the selection of M. Roy had been approved by the Hoover Commission and the Assembly had merely approved the commission's plan. They regard the letter as an affront to their efforts to cooperate in the work of applying the plan.

The controversy is regarded in some quarters as a final "sniping" between the Borno forces and the Opposition before the President leaves office. It is expected to have no effect on the successful working out of the plan.

Although bound by diplomatic regulations forbidding him to give statements, General Russell has indicated that all was in readiness for the election of M. Roy by the Council of State on April 14 and the departure of President Borno on May 15.

POLICY OF HOOVER ON HAITI SETTLED

President Accepts Forbes Commission Findings as Administration Policy.

WASHINGTON, March 29.—(AP)—President Hoover believes he can best fulfill American obligations in Haiti by carrying out the recommendations of the Forbes commission that marine forces be gradually withdrawn from the island republic and diplomatic relations instituted.

Accordingly, he has accepted the commission's report as the basic policy of his administration in dealing with Haitian affairs. This became known late yesterday simultaneously with the publication of the report.

Under its terms the United States will recognize Eugene Roy as president and his provisional government which will succeed that of President Borno on May 15. When deputies and senators have been elected as a subsequent step, and they in turn have named a president, that official and his government also will be recognized.

The commission advised against immediate withdrawal of the marines. Withdrawal, it said, should be gradual and in accordance with arrangements to be made by the two governments, with the advice of the commandant of the Haitian garde.

The new minister to Haiti to succeed Major-General John H. Russell, American high commissioner, under the recommendations is to be made responsible for "an increasingly rapid Haitianization" of the island government for the purpose of having experienced Haitians in every department ready to take full charge at the expiration of the existing treaty in 1936.

The military commission is to be replaced by diplomatic relations at expiration of Russell's tour of duty—limited by the pleasure of the president or at the expiration of the treaty.

The negotiation of agreements providing for "less intervention in Haitian domestic affairs" also would be one of the responsibilities of the new minister.

The commission recommended that "an effort be made to secure Americans who will agree to continue employment" in Haitian government services "so that upon the expiration of the treaty a force of American doctors, engineers and police officers will be available for continued assistance to the Haitian government, should it then desire it."

The commission said that it was "under no delusions as to what may happen in Haiti after the convocation of the elected legislative assembly, and, to a greater extent, after the complete withdrawal" of the United States forces.

"The commission is not convinced," the report added, "that the foundations for democratic and representative government are now broad enough in Haiti. The educated public opinion and literary minority are so small that any government formed in these circumstances is liable to become an oligarchy. The literate few too often look to public office as a means of livelihood. Until the basis of political structure is broadened by education—a matter of years—the government must necessarily be more or less unstable and in constant danger from political upheavals."

HAITIAN LEADERS PLEASED BY REPORT.

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, March 29.—(AP)—Haitian leaders in general expressed satisfaction today at the report of the Hoover commission and with the fact that the American president has accepted the report as the basis for a new policy in dealing with Haiti.

All sides responded with new enthusiasm to the work of taking over the government by the Haitian people in accordance with the commission's plans.

Despite various rumors of the last week, indications on both the government and opposition sides were that the election of Eugene Roy as temporary president will take place according to plans and that a peaceful political campaign will follow in the summer.

A number of American civilian employees in various departments, believing that evacuation of the island will follow shortly, are preparing to leave.

There was some dissatisfaction among Haitian leaders over failure to withdraw the marines immediately but the belief was generally expressed that the new Haitian policy of the United States, based on the report, would mean much for the future welfare, happiness and prosperity of the republic. Hope was expressed that the withdrawal of the marines would be as soon as possible.

George N. Leger, legal adviser to the federated patriotic groups comprising what is known as the opposition, praised the report highly in general but criticized the failure to take the marines away now.

"I am certain the political situation will be such as to warrant an end to American supervision in a very short while," he said. "I am very glad to see the commission follow the indication given previously to have the military high commission replaced by a civilian. I was also well pleased to have the fact mentioned again officially that Eugene Roy will be recognized by President Hoover as temporary president following his election April 14 and his assumption of office on May 15 in accordance with the plan evolved by the commission and approved by President Hoover.

"I am certain the elections next fall will be peaceful and that no fraud or force will be used."

President Borno was unavailable later to comment on the report. In a talk earlier in the day before a newsreel camera, he greeted the sister republics of both Americas and expressed hope for "the triumph of Christian fraternity among all the nations of the world."

The section of the Hoover report dealing with the replacement of Brigadier-General John H. Russell, American high commissioner, by a civilian, caused some mystification because he is not serving any regular length of term but can be removed any time that President Hoover desires.

(The recommendation of the commission regarding the office of high commissioner suggested that the office be abolished at the close of the "tour of duty" of General Russell. The general's term of office is at the discretion of the president or until the expiration of the treaty in 1936. Some state department officials indicated that abandonment of the office of high commissioner would likely be in October or November after a duly elected president to succeed temporary President Roy has been inaugurated.

Haitian Council Elects President

Unanimous Action Elevates Roy Until Popular Elections Are Held

The United Press stated that the Council of State unanimously elected Eugene T. Roy, 63 year old Port au Prince banker, provisional President of Haiti Monday at a twenty-five-minute session. Roy will take office upon the expiration of President Louis Borno's term next month to serve until a regular constitutional election can be held.

The Council room was crowded with government officials, members of the diplomatic corps and many Americans, including Brigadier General John H. Russell, American High Commissioner, as the body convened at 10 a. m. Several thousand Haitians were gathered in the street outside.

When it became apparent that the Council was solidly for Roy the balconies gave prolonged applause. Cries of "Vive Roy!" almost drowned out the voices of the Council members as they announced their vote. As soon as the vote was completed two commissions were despatched, one to inform Roy of his election and the other to notify President Borno.

Roy was elected in accordance with an agreement reached between President Hoover's investigating commission, headed by W. Cameron Forbes, which last month made a survey of conditions on the island, and leaders of the opposition party and President Borno.

The election had been planned orginally for last Monday, but reports that a number of the Council members planned to vote for another candidate than Roy caused President Borno to postpone the voting.

Meanwhile he dismissed twelve members of the Council, replacing them by men he was sure would follow out the agreement to elect Roy

Roy will serve until a Legislature to replace the Council of State can be elected. The Legislature then will elect a President of Haiti to serve a regular four-year term.

Hoover Adopts Policy Of Gradual Withdrawal Of Marines From Haiti

WASHINGTON, March 28.—(AP)—President Hoover today adopted as his administrative policy the gradual withdrawal of the United States Marines from Haiti and the substitution of diplomatic relations for the present military commission. advertiser

The recommendations of the Forbes Commission to this effect, which further suggested recognition of a provisional government, were accepted by the Chief Executive two months after the appointment of the group to study United States policy in the island republic.

With immediate withdrawal of the marines found inadvisable, the commission recommended gradual withdrawal in accordance with arrangements to be made between the two governments and with the advice of the commandant of the Haitian garde. 3-29-30

A minister would be assigned to Haiti to succeed Maj. Gen. John H. Russell, American high commissioner at the expiration of his tour of duty. Russell's term is limited by the pleasure of the President, or by the treaty authorizing marine occupation which lapses in 1936.

Also, under the recommendations, the minister would be charged with negotiating agreements "providing for less intervention in Haitian domestic affairs." Montgomery Ala

The commission recommended that the detail of naval and marine officers for all Haitian services be made for a minimum of four years. Further, it recommended that "an effort be made to secure Americans who will agree to continue employment in these services, so that upon the expiration of the treaty a force of American doctors, engineers and police officers will be available for continued assistance to the Haitian government, should it then desire it."

Regarding the economic situation, the commission recommended the Haitian government be urged to appropriate for maintenance of existing roads before constructing new ones; and that only roads most urgently needed to develop settled regions under cultivation be undertaken until the present economic depression has passed.

Furthermore, the report urged that the American government interpose no objection to a moderate reduction of the customs duties, internal revenue taxes, especially those imposed upon alcohol and tobacco, or to a reduction or elimination of the export tax on coffee if the treasury condition warrants.

Employment by the Haitian government of one American adviser in each administrative department, with the American government maintaining them as an act of grace, was also recommended.

EUGENE ROY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF HAITI

Constitution 4-22-36

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, April 21.—(AP)—The council of state chose Eugene Roy as temporary president of the republic of Haiti, thereby following the recommendations of the Hoover commission.

He will take office next month at the expiration of the term of Louis Borno, and will serve until regular elections are held in the fall.

Roy received all 21 votes of the council of state on the first ballot, although the names of Joseph Justin, Manuel Thezan and Andre Chevallier also were before the body.

The proceedings were witnessed by Brigadier-General John H. Russell, American high commissioner; members of the Haitian cabinet, and foreign diplomatic and consular officials. A crowd of about 1,500 persons assembled in orderly manner outside the building, and the streets were thronged because a holiday had been declared by presidential proclamation.

Selection of Roy by the Hoover commission met wide approval, for he has never held office before and is known as a non-partisan. President Borno agreed that Roy should succeed him.

BORNO BACKED BY US IN DELAYING COUNCIL

Postponement of the Election of Roy as Temporary President Seen as Necessary.

Times

BUT PLAN IS UNCHANGED

4-15-30

Cotton Admits Haitian Situation Is Troubled—Martial Law Report Is Unconfirmed.

New York, N.Y.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 14.—President Louis Borno of Haiti, in adjourning the Council of State at Port au Prince and deferring the election of a Temporary President from today until next Monday, has the full support of the United States.

It was made clear today that the American Government was determined to have the recommendations of President Hoover's Haitian commission carried out, starting with the selection of Eugene Roy as Temporary President. Should it be necessary to this end for President Borno to dismiss the present Council of State and select a new one which would vote for Mr. Roy, that would have the approval of the United States.

If more than moral support of President Borno should be necessary, there was every indication that the United States would exert it in order to assure the adoption of the plan of the Haitian commission.

Joseph P. Cotton, Acting Secretary of State, admitted today that the situation was somewhat troubled, with a majority of the twenty-one members of the Council of State reported opposed to Mr. Roy and favorable to the selection of General Emmanuel Thezan as temporary President. He was hopeful, however, that before May 15, when President Borno is due to go out of office, that Mr. Roy will be installed as temporary President.

Mr. Roy's designation for the office was favored by the commission and approved by all parties during the recent investigation, with the view of having him serve until Fall when a President selected through popular elections is to be inaugurated.

In announcing that President Borno had the support of the American Government, Mr. Cotton emphasized that this support would continue only so long as the President acted in accord with the recommendations of President Hoover's commission. The United States, he asserted, is interested only in having the plans of the commission for more popular and representative government in Haiti carried out.

The views of the United States in this respect are being given to President Borno and the Council of State by Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, American High Commissioner at Port au Prince.

An unofficial report that martial law had been declared in Port au Prince on Saturday to prevent loitering on the streets lacked confirmation here. Mr. Cotton said he had not been notified of the issuance of such an order and was not aware of it.

POST
WASHINGTON, D. C.

APR 1 8 1936

NEGROES SPECULATE ON NEW HAITIAN POST

Colored Politicians See an Opportunity to Develop Envoy for Race.

SEVERAL HELD PLACE

Events calculated to take place at Port au Prince, Haiti, tomorrow, in accordance with the recommendation of the Haitian Commission, which recently visited the island, have assumed considerable significance for colored politicians here, who see an opportunity for a ministership by developing an atmosphere in which an American Negro would be persona grata to the Haitian government. The government under Dartiguenave and Borno, supervised by High Commissioner John H. Russell, has not favored an American Negro diplomat on the island.

Naming of Eugene Roy as a provisional President, expected tomorrow, and his formal accession to the executive branch of the government May 15, has caused various inquiries to be made to discover if the Haitian, left to himself, would object to a Negro Minister. It has appeared that the opposition to Borno and Brig. Gen. Russell has had active relationship with prominent American Negroes over a period of years.

It has come to light that as late as 1922, after six years of marine occupation of Haiti, the tender of the position of financial adviser to the Haitian Republic was made to Robert R. Church, a colored politician of Memphis, by Charles E. Hughes, then Secretary of State, at the instance of the Haitian government.

The first colored American Minister to Port au Prince was Ebenezer D. Bassett, whose son, born there, is now a teacher in the Dunbar High School. He was an appointee of President Grant. John Mercer Langston, of Virginia, followed him, accredited from the District of Columbia, in 1877, as was Frederick Douglass, in 1889, when he succeeded John E. W. Thompson, of New York, whose appointment came about because President Cleveland sent a white man named Davis, from Virginia, to Port au Prince to succeed Langston, and he was not acceptable to the government.

It has been considered likely that the Mole St. Nicholas would have been amicably annexed to the United States as a naval station while Douglas was minister if his method of negotiation had not been interfered with causing his resignation after two years. John S. Durham, of Pennsylvania, succeeded him in 1891 when the Haitian government did not look with favor on the treatment of Douglass, and was followed by Henry L. Smythe, of Virginia, in 1893, the last of this group of colored ministers resident and consuls general.

Whether or not the new government of Haiti, when established, will follow the lead of the Borno government and find an American Negro objectionable is expected to be definitely cleared up during the visit of Dr. Robert R. Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, and Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, to the island, together with other colored representatives of the Jeannes and Phelps-Stokes funds and kindred philanthropic interests.

APR 8 - 19

WAUSAU, WIS.
RECORD HERALD

There appears to be but little criticism in the quarter over the manner in which the president's Haitian commission has paved the way for American evacuation of the Negro republic. America wanted to get out, but it is not so certain that Haiti wanted it to. The presence of American marines and an American overlordship in the island was a convenient thing for Haitian politicians. It helped the outs to get in through declaiming on the evils of American occupancy, or it helped the ins to stay in by parading the protection afforded through the Americans. But it seems that the American commission's plan will enable the Americans to get out without leaving anarchy behind them, and that is a decided achievement in statesmanship, where Haiti is concerned.

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Regarding the economic situation, the commission recommended the Haitian government be urged to appropriate for maintenance of existing roads before constructing new ones; and that only roads most urgently needed to develop settled regions under cultivation be undertaken until the present economic depression has passed.

Furthermore, the report urged that the American government interpose no objection to a moderate reduction of the customs duties, internal revenue taxes, especially those imposed upon alcohol and tobacco, or to a reduction or elimination of the export tax on coffee if the treasury condition warrants.

Employment by the Haitian government of one American adviser in each administrative department, with the American government maintaining them as an act of grace, was also recommended.

EUGENE ROY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF HAITI

Constitution 4-22-30

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, April 21.—(AP)—The council of state chose Eugene Roy as temporary president of the republic of Haiti, thereby following the recommendations of the Hoover commission.

He will take office next month at the expiration of the term of Louis Borno, and will serve until regular elections are held in the fall.

Roy received all 21 votes of the council of state on the first ballot, although the names of Joseph Justin, Manuel Thezan and Andre Chevallier also were before the body.

The proceedings were witnessed by Brigadier-General John H. Russell, American high commissioner; members of the Haitian cabinet, and foreign diplomatic and consular officials. A crowd of about 1,500 persons assembled in orderly manner outside the building, and the streets were thronged because a holiday had been declared by presidential proclamation.

Selection of Roy by the Hoover commission met wide approval, for he has never held office before and is known as a non-partisan. President Borno agreed that Roy should succeed him.

BORNO BACKED BY US IN DELAYING COUNCIL

Postponement of the Election of Roy as Temporary President Seen as Necessary.

Times

BUT PLAN IS UNCHANGED

4-15-30

Cotton Admits Haitian Situation Is Troubled—Martial Law Report Is Unconfirmed.

New York, N.Y.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 14.—President Louis Borno of Haiti, in adjourning the Council of State at Port au Prince and deferring the election of a Temporary President from today until next Monday, has the full support of the United States.

It was made clear today that the American Government was determined to have the recommendations of President Hoover's Haitian commission carried out, starting with the selection of Eugene Roy as Temporary President. Should it be necessary to this end for President Borno to dismiss the present Council of State and select a new one which would vote for Mr. Roy, that would have the approval of the United States.

If more than moral support of President Borno should be necessary, there was every indication that the United States would exert it in order to assure the adoption of the plan of the Haitian commission.

Joseph P. Cotton, Acting Secretary of State, admitted today that the situation was somewhat troubled, with a majority of the twenty-one members of the Council of State reported opposed to Mr. Roy and favorable to the selection of General Emmanuel Thezan as temporary President. He was hopeful, however, that before May 15, when President Borno is due to go out of office, that Mr. Roy will be installed as temporary President.

Mr. Roy's designation for the office was favored by the commission and approved by all parties during the recent investigation, with the view of having him serve until Fall when a President selected through popular elections is to be inaugurated.

In announcing that President Borno had the support of the American Government, Mr. Cotton emphasized that this support would continue only so long as the President acted in accord with the recommendations of President Hoover's commission. The United States, he asserted, is interested only in having the plans of the commission for more popular and representative government in Haiti carried out.

The views of the United States in this respect are being given to President Borno and the Council of State by Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, American High Commissioner at Port au Prince.

An unofficial report that martial law had been declared in Port au Prince on Saturday to prevent loitering on the streets lacked confirmation here. Mr. Cotton said he had not been notified of the issuance of such an order and was not aware of it.

POST
WASHINGTON, D. C.

APR 1 9 1936

NEGROES SPECULATE ON NEW HAITIAN POST

Colored Politicians See an Opportunity to Develop Envoy for Race.

SEVERAL HELD PLACE

Events calculated to take place at Port au Prince, Haiti, tomorrow, in accordance with the recommendation of the Haitian Commission, which recently visited the island, have assumed considerable significance for colored politicians here, who see an opportunity for a ministership by developing an atmosphere in which an American Negro would be persona grata to the Haitian government. The government under Dartiguenave and Borno, supervised by High Commissioner John H. Russell, has not favored an American Negro diplomat on the island.

Naming of Eugene Roy as a provisional President, expected tomorrow, and his formal accession to the executive branch of the government May 15, has caused various inquiries to be made to discover if the Haitian, left to himself, would object to a Negro Minister. It has appeared that the opposition to Borno and Brig. Gen. Russell has had active relationship with prominent American Negroes over a period of years.

It has come to light that as late as 1922, after six years of marine occupation of Haiti, the tender of the position of financial adviser to the Haitian Republic was made to Robert R. Church, a colored politician of Memphis, by Charles E. Hughes, then Secretary of State, at the instance of the Haitian government.

The first colored American Minister to Port au Prince was Ebenezer D. Bassett, whose son, born there, is now a teacher in the Dunbar High School. He was an appointee of President Grant. John Mercer Langston, of Virginia, followed him, accredited from the District of Columbia, in 1877, as was Frederick Douglass, in 1889, when he succeeded John E. W. Thompson, of New York, whose appointment came about because President Cleveland sent a white man named Davis, from Virginia, to Port au Prince to succeed Langston, and he was not acceptable to the government.

It has been considered likely that the Mole St. Nicholas would have been amicably annexed to the United States as a naval station while Douglas was minister if his method of negotiation had not been interfered with causing his resignation after two years. John S. Durham, of Pennsylvania, succeeded him in 1891 when the Haitian government did not look with favor on the treatment of Douglass, and was followed by Henry M. Smythe, of Virginia, in 1893, the last of this group of colored ministers resident and consuls general.

Whether or not the new government of Haiti, when established, will follow the lead of the Borno government and find an American Negro objectionable is expected to be definitely cleared up during the visit of Dr. Robert R. Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, and Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, to the island, together with other colored representatives of the Jeannes and Phelps-Stokes funds and kindred philanthropic interests.

APR 8 - 19
WAUSAU, WIS.
RECORD HERALD

There appears to be but little criticism in the quarter over the manner in which the president's Haitian commission has paved the way for American evacuation of the Negro republic. America wanted to get out, but it is not so certain that Haiti wanted it to. The presence of American marines and an American overlordship in the island was a convenient thing for Haitian politicians. It helped the outs to get in through declaiming on the evils of American occupancy, or it helped the ins to stay in by parading the protection afforded through the Americans. But it seems that the American commission's plan will enable the Americans to get out without leaving anarchy behind them, and that is a decided achievement in statesmanship, where Haiti is concerned.

Race Problem - 1930

West Indies.

Haiti

-:- The Haitian Commission -:-

Amsterdam News 2/19/30 N.Y.

By KELLY MILLER

THE long-awaited Haitian Commission has been appointed. The universal desires and expectations of the Negro race have been disappointed. The President has departed from the general policy of the government in dealing with Negro governments.

Frederick Douglass, Emmett J. Scott and Charles S. Johnson have served on similar commissions. From one point of view, the Negro race was more highly honored by the appointment of Johnson than it would have been by racial recognition on the Haitian Commission. The Liberian Commission is an international body on which a Negro, for the first time in American history, is the sole representative of the United States as a negotiant with representatives from other nations.

Although it is difficult to remain calm and composed in the face of disappointment and chagrin, let us see if we can view the case as it lay in the President's mind.

I. Mr. Hoover is not politically minded. His highest aim is to bring efficiency to the public service. With ths end in view, he ignores politics, section and sex and seeks to procure the very best man available for the position. His high standard is beyond the comprehension of the practical politician. The Haitian Commission, in its personnel, ranks with the Naval Commission now sitting at the Court of St. James. Forbes and Stimson, respective chairmen, have practically the same preliminary diplomatic experience as governors of the Philippine Islands.

Ambassador Fletcher more than balances Ambassador Morrow. Both have been Ambassadors to Mexico; but Mr. Fletcher has had the more extensive diplomatic career. William Allen White is unsurpassed in grasp of public questions by any other American publicist.

The other two members seem to be technical experts in Caribbean politics and the Latin policy. No Negro could be found of like eminence, with the same degree of international experience and expertness. President Hoover showed his appreciation of the importance of the issue involved by appointing a commission of such high caliber and quality.

II. The issues involved in the Haitian situation are purely international and diplomatic. The Haitian people sustain no political, economic or social relations with the American Negro. The Haitians do, and of right ought to, demand the same treatment as would be accorded any other unfortunate nation in like predicament. That the presence of a colored man on the commission would assuage their sensibilities is only a fragment of the American Negro's mind. The appointment of a Negro would keep the race question to the fore, which Mr. Hoover, as well as the Haitian people, wants to relegate to the background.

Let it be carefully noted that no Southern man of known and pronounced attitude was chosen. It seemed to be the policy of previous administrations to appoint Southern men to high station in Haiti on the score that the Southerners knew best how to deal with the Negro. This conceit has lamentably broken down and, in fact, lies at the basis of much of the mischief which must now be corrected.

III. The Haitians have imbibed the French rather than the Anglo-Saxon culture, and do not feel any inferiority complex on account of race. The Americans have stamped the Afro-American as a socially inferior class. The Haitians regard them at the appraisement which their fellow countrymen impose upon them. They deem it an insult to send in a diplomatic capacity a representative of a socially discredited class. The acceptance of such a representative tends to degrade them to the social level to which the Afro-American has been assigned. While the Afro-American may feel the sting of such affront by a nation of his own race and color, he must, on close reflection, understand the underlying reason. According to the strict logicality of the Gallic mind, no man who is deemed unfit to function in his own government at home is fit to represent it abroad.

IV. By reason of the strained social relations between the races in this country, it is extremely doubtful if the President could find a highly competent body of white men who would have been willing to serve with a colored man in all of the social intimacies that efficient functioning of this commission would require. The slightest semblance of social differentiation among the membership of the commission would be disastrous to the success of its mission.

V. As a salve to soothe the wounds of Afro-America, the President designated Dr. Moton of Tuskegee to make an educational survey of the Island with a view to encouraging the advancement of the country along practical constructive lines. By this happy stroke, he at once pays a compliment to the race to which the Haitians belong, and at the same time avoids wounding their sensibilities by divorcing such racial recognition from diplomatic circles. The Tuskegee idea which Dr. Moton imbibes and embodies represents the highest expression of educational adaptation to the needs of unfortunate and retarded peoples. His findings will carry great weight with the political and philanthropic circles in America who are in a position to render the needed aid. This designation also indicates Mr. Hoover's sure policy in dealing with Afro-America. He gives little or no heed to their political claims and demands, but stands ready and willing to help the race in a very practical way when a constructive program is presented.

VI. This incident ought to serve to bring the American Negro to his political sense. Our statesmen pay no heed to his wild assertions and loud demands. He counts as a negligible factor in the political equation. Mr. Hoover is deaf to what the Negro wants, but accords him what he thinks he needs. He knows fully well that there will be no political reprisal at the polls. The Negro looks alike to both political parties when it comes to a recognition of his boasted claim for equal political consideration.

The Negro must tarry at Jericho till his political beard grows. In the meantime he had better devote his chief energies to constructive advancement along social, industrial and cultural lines.



— Kelly Miller —

BROOKLYN EAGLE

Santo Domingo's New President.

There must be relief in our State Department over the latest developments in Santo Domingo, rendering Washington intervention absolutely needless. In a bloodless revolution the people have put Horacio Vasquez out, but they have followed strictly constitutional forms in substituting for him Estrella Urena, former Minister to France. Vasquez, consenting to abdicate, named Urena Secretary of State for the Interior before quitting. Under the organic law the Secretary of State for the Interior succeeds the President. Disorder has been trivial. No interests of Americans or nationals of European Powers have suffered. Reasonably honest elections in May are in prospect.

Thirty-one years ago Ulisses Heaureaux, Negro President, was assassinated. Santo Domingo has had her share of civil wars. She has apparently learned a lesson from them. The process of getting rid of Vasquez was in close analogy to the way white citizens got rid of Reconstruction governments in Louisiana and South Carolina.

It is a fair subject of speculation whether it would have been better for the natives if the Babcock Treaty of 1869, backed by President Grant, had gone through the Senate, annexing Santo Domingo to the United States. We did get the lease of Samana Bay as a naval station. But it is pleasant to know that this little Republic can preserve its liberties against aggression without any of the unfortunate by-products of Latin-American revolutions.

SAN DOMINGO NORMAL AS VASQUEZ RESIGNS

SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic, March 2.—(AP)—President Horacio Vasquez, for 30 years a dominant figure in the Dominican Republic, resigned office with his cabinet today. General Rafael Estrella Urena, leader of the insurgent movement against him tomorrow will take the oath of office as provisional president and form a new cabinet.

Ex-President Vasquez is in a hospital today politically and physically a broken man.

The acceptance of his resignation as president by the national assembly today is believed to have ended his political career.

As Vasquez is more than 70 years old, his physical recovery is as greatly jeopardized as his political career. He must resign himself to fate and to the accession of General Estrella Urena, one of his lieutenants 16 years ago.

The resignation of Vasquez and of Vice President Jose Alfonseca were accepted by the assembly "with much pleasure." Estrella Urena, appointed minister of the interior by Vasquez two days ago, immediately became constitutional head of the Dominican government with full presidential powers.

Only a week ago tonight, he was leading an insurgent band in the north of the country, and within the week captured the important town of Santiago and marched on the capital to overthrow the Vasquez government.

Virtually all the revolutionists, numbering perhaps 2,600, had returned home today or were on their way. Many of them wearing machetes, the traditional emblem of tropical revolutions, went home by truck or by limousine.

They accomplished swiftly and bloodlessly a change of government believed to be almost without precedent in any Caribbean country, where revolution and election are frequently synonymous.

Estrella Urena has promised reforms to insure fair elections in May, and this has restored public confidence. Conditions became almost normal in the capital yesterday.

WOULD RECALL MARINE RULE

Editor's Note:

President Hoovers' commission has landed in Haiti, and if the reports coming from that republic, as we get them through our American press, are reliable even in the slightest degree, President Hoover should immediately withdraw the marines and apologize to the Haitians for the insults already heaped upon them. At first the Haitians refused even to go to the hearings held by the commission, but after a few overtures were made, it appears that they finally decided to go before the commission and pour out their souls. We have it from the reports published even in American newspapers that the Haitian leaders are tired of Russell and they are tired of Borno. They say that Borno is of French descent, and that it is against the Haitian constitution for anybody but a Haitian-born native to be president. They have told the commission that Haiti will be sunk in blood by American marines unless the people are allowed to elect their own president.

If President Hoover desires the continued confidence of the darker races of the world, as well as the confidence of upstanding American citizens, he certainly must remove the marines from Haiti. If we are to interpret the word of these Haitian leaders to mean anything, it means that they do not care for further meddling on the part of the United States. Dr. Moton ought to wire the president his resignation and decline to go into Haiti at this time when the people are openly opposed to any further American dictation. Those Haitian people mean business and if they have not convinced President Hoover of their sincerity then our president is practically closing his eyes to the actual facts as they exist in Haiti. The report we get from Haiti is as follows:

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Mar. 6. —Two prominent Haitian leaders, representing groups with a total membership of 500,000, in testifying before President Hoover's investigation commission today, urged the immediate recall of Brigadier General John H. Russell, American high commissioner, and accused him of being virtually dictator of the island republic. Courier

They likewise asked for the dismissal of the council of state, and warned the commissioners that if the council should attempt to elect a president on April 14, without permitting popular elections, a "massacre" was unavoidable. 3-8-30

Antoine Rigal, president of a group of several Liberal organizations, accused General Russell of being virtually a dictator, and declared that President Borno was holding office illegally, the president's father being French and the constitution requiring a native-born Haitian for the office. He demanded the recall of the American general.

Most Serious Charge

"We refuse to obey this dictator, who is not of our people any longer," he said. "If the council of state dares to elect a president on April 14, instead of permitting a popular election, United States machine guns will sink all Haitians in blood."

Seymour Pradel, chairman of the National League for Constitutional Action, representing 150,000 Haitians, supported the claims of his compatriot. Pittsburgh, Pa.

A third Haitian leader, Dantes Bellegarde, secretary general of the Chamber of Commerce and leading economist of the republic, made three charges against the American administration of the republic. He asserted that the financial adviser had seized the people's money to become master of the economic resources, that the Americans had taxed the people, but failed to give them representative government, and that Haiti had made no progress during the years of occupation.

W. Cameron Forbes, chairman of the Hoover commission, said the last charge was so grave that figures must be brought to prove it.

Bellegrade replied that he had figures and would give them. Meanwhile, he said that the export of coffee and of other products had not increased, that the economic situation was bad, the people were in want, and rumblings of discontent were audible everywhere.

Ernest Chauvet, editor of the strongest anti-Borno newspaper, 'The Nouvelliste,' told the commissioners that for the first time in years the Haitian press today had freedom "because the authorities are afraid to censor the news while the commission was here.

MORTON ASSEMBLES OF HAITI COMMISSION "JIM CROW" UNIT

Whup

WASHINGTON, D. C., Mar. 5.—Official announcement was made from the offices of the Secretary of State last week that the "special" branch of Pres. Hoover's commission to Haiti, composed of five colored men, and headed by Maj. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, had been completed, and would shortly assemble in this city to receive their instructions. The members of the commission, chosen by Moton and O. K.'d by Pres. Hoover are: Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, Prof. Leo M. Favrot, field agent for the General Education Board, Prof. B. F. Hubert, president of the Georgia State College for Negroes, and Dr. W. T. B. Williams, dean of Tuskegee. 3-8-30 Chicago Ill.

The committee which Maj. Moton heads is connected in no way with the other committee, which is already in Haiti, headed by W. Cameron Forbes, and is understood to be studying Haitian conditions in order to aid the administration in formulating a policy for restoring full sovereignty to the black republic. When the commission was first contemplated, a universal demand was made for at least one Negro member on the commission, but this was later denied by Pres. Hoover.

Political wiseacres believe that Dr. Moton was called upon to form this 'jim crow' commission as a 'sop' to colored Republicans who were incensed at Pres. Hoover's act of ignoring their requests. It is indicated that the Moton commission will have no real duty to perform, and that their findings, if any, will be entirely ignored in the formulation of the new Haitian policy.

Denies Borno Insult to Negro Race

Detroit 2-28-30

Raoul Lizaire, secretary of the Haitian legation and charge d' affairs ad interim, issued a statement last week denying that President Borno had asked President Hoover not to appoint a Negro on the Haitian commission. Washington, D. C.

Mr. Lazaire denied that any suggestion of this kind had been made. He stated that the Haitian was very desirous of encouraging a closer contact with the American Negro and that Haiti was very appreciative of the services rendered that country by Negro ministers sent by various Presidents of the United States.

In speaking of the educational commission, he stated if the commission confines its investigation to the middle class group, they will accomplish much good. He said that the upper class Haitian will never embrace industrial education. This group he stated send their children to France for their training and that their culture is basically Latin and French.

WILLIAM WHITE KISSES HAITIAN NEGRESS' HAND

Gesture by Commission Member Wins Approval of Islanders.

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, March 3.—(AP)—William Allen White, newspaper publisher, of Emporia, Kan., and member of President Hoover's investigation commission here, has excited the entire populace of this capital with an act of his last night.

While a parade of Haitian women passed before White, who was standing at the gate of the Hotel Excelsior, where the commission is residing, one of the women, an aged negress dressed in black stepped in front of him and said: "Please, commissioner, deliver us." 3-5-30 Omaha Neb.

As she spoke she bowed. White grasped her hand, lowered himself and then kissed her hand. For a moment everyone was quiet. Then there was a roar of wild cheers.

Cries of "Long live the commission" and "Long live President Hoover" were heard on all sides. Women leaders cried with happiness and said the Emporia man's act was one of the greatest gestures of friendship the Hoover group could have made toward Haiti.

Previously members of the investigation commission had prevented an interruption by the national gardes of a demonstration which the Haitians wished to stage in protest at the American occupation and in expression of the hope for restoration of self-government.

More than 15,000 citizens of the republic gathered around the monument to the negro revolutionist, Jean Jacques Dessalines, in the square of Champs De Mars. The demonstration was preceded by a religious service at the church of the Sacred Heart, a "Save Haiti" service, organized by the women of Port-au-Prince.

Mr. White, as the representative of the commission, sat among a thousand women during the ceremony, which brought tears to the eyes of many American visitors. He said afterward he was deeply moved.

LEADERS DEMAND FREE ELECTIONS.

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Mar. 3 (AP)—Two prominent Haitian leaders representing groups with a total membership of 500,000, in testifying before President Hoover's investigation commission today, urged the immediate recall of Brigadier General John H. Russell, American high commissioner, and accused him of being virtually dictator of the island republic.

They likewise asked for the dismissal of the council of state, and warned the commissioners that if the council should attempt to elect a president on April 14, without permitting popular elections, a "massacre" was unavoidable.

Antoine Rigal, president of a group of seven liberal organizations, accused General Russell of being virtually a dictator. He declared President Borno was holding office illegally, inasmuch as the president's father is French and the constitution requires a native-born Haitian for the office.

He denounced Borno as a mere puppet in the hands of High Commissioner Russell," and demanded the recall of the American high commissioner.

Catholic Church In Haiti Seeking Independent Rule

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI, March 7 —(AP)—The Catholic Church in Haiti representing more than half the population today joined the federated opposition groups in their movement for independent legislative elections and the end of American occupation.

This unprecedented decision was announced to President Hoover's investigating commission by Archbishop Conan, and Bishop Legouaze when the commissioners paid a visit to the head of the Haitian church. It was made despite the fact that according to law priests are paid by the Government and are, in a sense, its employes. Advertiser

The Archbishop told the commissioners that the bishops of all the Haitian dioceses, after polling the priests in their jurisdiction, had decided they could not help but participate in the effort of the people to obtain their freedom from dictatorship and to reestablish popular Government. 3-5-30 Montgomery Ala.

Making clear that he had no personal feeling against President Louis Borno, he declared "the clergy will rejoice with all its heart when the present situation is ended and will joyfully chant a te deum of solemn thanksgiving."

He said that the church had "learned with joy of the appointment of the commission and since then has been discussing the matter."

Pointing out that the Haitian clergy were almost entirely foreign-born, and probably would be for years to come, he said this fact created a delicate situation for the church, which ought to abstain from participation in politics. But the church "nevertheless takes a profound interest in the well-being of the people," he added.

Race Problem - 1930

West Indies.

Haiti

"BECAUSE WE ARE NEGROES OUR LOT IS HARD": HAITIANS

Islanders Lay Difficulties With U. S. to Discrimination Because of Their Color

Argus

LINCOLN CALLED FRIEND

St. Louis Mo.

Think All Trouble Would be Ended With Removal of American Occupation Forces

2-28-30

In this article Mr. Glassman presents the case of the Haitians against the American Occupation. He went to Haiti to make a first-hand study of conditions there. These are his conclusions before the arrival of President Hoover's commission.

By DON GLASSMAN

During the first 60 years of Haitian independence we were not recognized by the United States. Negroes were slaves, never citizens. Abraham Lincoln was the first American to understand our misfortune. He fought prejudice and secured our recognition,

The one American institution that has contributed toward our national welfare is the Rockefeller institution which has studied malaria and yellow fever and given free scholarships to Haitians for study in foreign countries. And we revere only Lincoln, Sumner, Senator King, Senator Shipstead, James Blaine and John Brown. By word and act they helped Haiti.

The United States intervened only to protect her own selfish interests, to exploit this country for American capital, to protect the stake in the Panama Canal, to make us obligated by threats and coercion. Why, we ask, does not the United States interfere with Mexico's internal affairs? Or Portugal's internal affairs?

Again, we Haitians say, it is because we are Negroes, and former slaves. If you should withdraw the occupation, you would be peaceful forever more. The mere thought of your return would terrorize us into self-submission.

Saw Better Future

Haiti's head turns from east to north, from the French coast to the North Caribbean shore. An American commission comes to investigate affairs of the storm-tossed Republic.

This nation echoed a paean when President Hoover assured her national independence and spoke hopefully of withdrawing the Occupation before the legal expiration, May, 1936.

President Hoover released some confidences in his message; that is, to Haiti they are confidences. For rarely does the Chief Executive of the United States make direct explanations to unhappy Haiti, and still more seldom does he acquaint Haitians with his convictions.

Factions in Haiti are now assured that Hoover holds these beliefs:

That the "great benefits" of the Occupation must be credited to the American High Commissioner, General John H. Russell.

That America entered Haiti to arrest chaos by ending civil war.

That the Occupation has established peace and order, developed the country's natural resources, improved the financial condition and assured autonomous government.

President Hoover's message was published by Haitian newspapers whose contents and policies have denied the truth of these utterances for 15 years.

The accusations preferred against the Occupation are countless. They range from truth to fiction, and sense to nonsense. They spring from personal experience, from hearsay, from the interpretation of official actions and reports.

Want Elections Restored

The salient accusations against America and the Occupation are made by the elite class, fortified mass opinion and action. Here follows their frankly partisan argument, presented on its merits and without comment:

The Haitian situation is very bad and is due particularly to the military regime. It could be relieved by the suppression of the militarist and immediate restoration of national independence.

The first act of justice would be the restoration of legislative elections. The next would be withdrawal of the Occupation forces. Under military rule the Haitian Government does not exist, although our agreement with the United States guarantees our independence. Americans came to assist and advise, but by the letter and spirit of their conduct they dictate. Orders come from a military high commissioner whose power is illimitable. He creates legislation, judges and condemns.

NEW YORK SUN

MAR 1 1930

The Forbes Report.

The Forbes Commission found in Haiti that a bureaucracy is never so much a bureaucracy as when it serves as an agency of one nation in managing the affairs of another. Both the faults and the merits—and the merits have been infinitely greater than the faults—of American occupation of the Negro republic are inherent in the very nature of the political device employed in making that occupation effective. Uncle Sam may fairly rejoice that the commission has been able to acquit the occupationary system of most of the accusations brought against it by critics both at home and abroad.

That Americans in charge of the administration should have evinced an unfortunate superiority complex is not surprising. All bureaucrats suffer from that failing, American bureaucrats in particular, when dealing with peoples of alien race and language. That is because Americans are so firmly convinced of the superiority of American democracy over all other theories of government that they are not willing to admit it may sometimes prove unworkable in other lands.

A people must grow up to democracy; democracy cannot be whittled down to fit a people not yet prepared for it. Democratic government depends for its virility and stability upon informed public opinion. It never has worked well in any land where there is not a large, vigorous, educated and ambitious middle class.

Haiti has no middle class—it has only aristocrats and proletarians. On the one side is an educated minority consisting of not more than 5 per cent. of the whole population; on the other is a vast, inchoate, illiterate mass, not only incapable of enlightened self-government but incapable of any passion for enlightened self-government.

Left to its own devices a nation so formed will invariably be ruled by an oligarchy. The glories and rewards of rulership will fall to any military clique that can seize them and defend them against the cupidity of rival cliques. So long as it is left reasonably alone and is not too bitterly enslaved the inert mass of population will neither know nor care what camorra may be in power at any given moment.

Haiti has long been governed in just that way. It is all very well for American theorists to proclaim it a bad way, to point to it as the way to anarchy and bankruptcy, to extol the superior benefits, practical and material, of democratic self-government. But the only alternative to self-government through force of public opinion is autocratic government through force of arms. Before Haiti can enjoy democracy it must be made ready for democracy. Its only real public opinion at the present time is represented by the élite 5 per cent. of its people—a ruling class proud of its superiority, instinctively hostile to any proposal for the creation of an educated bourgeoisie.

It is clear, therefore, that the most the United States can do to prepare Haiti for complete resumption of self-government is to train Haitians of the ruling class in the indispensable arts of self-government. Popular education of the masses must wait its normal turn; not much can be accomplished in that direction in the six years remaining of the treaty term of occupation. About all that can be done in that time is to improve the machinery of administration and to man it with qualified Haitians as rapidly as possible.

Already an efficient constabulary has been created. An excellent system of financial administration has been put into operation. Competent services have been built up for managing highways, providing for sanitation and protecting the public health. But it is not sufficient that Americans organize these services and set them to functioning; they must train Haitians to do the work and put these on the job as soon as they are reasonably qualified to run it. That is precisely the point, however, at which a bureaucracy usually breaks down. Bureaucrats do not like to turn jobs over to other people; they like to keep them in the family.

The Forbes Commission in its report to President HOOVER placed special emphasis on the importance of turning over the functions now exercised by the High Commissioner to a civilian agency. This does not imply that military supervision has not been competent and fair; it merely means that if civilians ever are to resume control of civil government in the republic, Haitian civil administrators, with civilian advice and assistance from the United States, must be qualified promptly and put on the job.

The commission's plan envisages gradual withdrawal of the Marines, rapid institution of constitutional parliamentary government, the Haitianization of public services, negotiation for modification of the terms of American occupation. It goes on the sound theory that although democracy cannot be planted with drill and harrow, it will grow and develop of itself wherever it has a fair chance and the proper encouragement is given to it.

ST. JOSEPH, MO
NEWS-PRESS

FEB 6 - 1930

THE COLOR OF HAITI.

In connection with the appointment by President Hoover of a Haitian commission, which is expected some time this week, arises the question of whether the commission's personnel should include one or more Negroes. When the matter was before the house in December Representative Fish of New York suggested the propriety of such inclusion, a proposal which started some of Southern congressmen ranting on the "color question."

Yet the "color question" is one of the vital points of the whole Haitian mess. Second only to their anger at the upsetting of their "civic rights" by American marines, the natives of Haiti resent the color line which they say the Americans have introduced in those parts.

Prior to the American occupation the Jim Crow idea was unknown in Haiti. The Americans brought it with them, and made it peculiarly offensive, it is charged.

Haiti is almost 100 per cent colored. Its civic, political and commercial leaders are Negroes and have been ever since the French rulers were overthrown a century and a quarter ago. Their culture is Latin, and with it they have inherited the French idea of racial toleration.

The congressional commission—which will try to find a way whereby we can withdraw from participation in the island's affairs—cannot avoid the color question. It is reasonable, then, that there be intelligent Negro representation on the commission.

Hope for Haiti

THE report of the President's commission to study conditions in Haiti is probably as good as could be expected, and if its recommendations are carried out promptly in good faith Haiti will be a happier land than it has been for two decades. We could wish that the commissioners had been franker in expressing the criticism of the American Occupation which their program implies; we could wish, too, that they had demanded the immediate replacement of our High Commissioner, General Russell, by a civilian minister, for we regard his continuing control, even though it be temporary, as more than likely to obstruct the changes that the commission recommends.

Yet the commission dared to do, despite considerable pressure by his imperial-minded subordinates, what President Hoover asked it to do. "The primary question which is to be investigated," he told the commission, "is when and how we are to withdraw from Haiti." We wish it had done only that. The President did not ask the commission to study the responsibilities of the past; and we think it would have done an honester and decenter job if it had omitted its painful effort to whitewash General Russell's character and record at the moment that it was asking he be removed. Perhaps he was "whole-hearted, single-minded . . . patient and painstaking," but his single mind was working on the wrong track and he is responsible for a shameful blot on the American scutcheon.

However, the positive program of the commission is definitely pointed right. Having caused the removal of the dictator whom General Russell had installed and supported, and promoted an agreement to name a new President pledged to honest and early elections, it recommends that General Russell be replaced—unfortunately not until autumn—by a civilian Minister, and that the new Minister devote himself to the rapid Haitianization of the Haitian government services.

There is a certain irony in the commission's praise of an American administration which had dissolved parliament and forced Haitians out of control of one department after another of their government. There is a certain absurdity in the commission's legalistic ideal of returning to the limited basis of Haitian-American relationship outlined in the treaty, for that treaty was forced down Haiti's throat as ruthlessly as any of the subsequent extensions of it. But the treaty expires in 1936, and the commission definitely posited that date as the time when the present regime should end. That is progress in fact, for to quote the report, which puts the truth very mildly indeed, "the acts and attitude of the treaty officials gave your commission the impression that they had been based upon the assumption that the Occupation would continue indefinitely." The important thing now is that the recommendations of the commission actually be put into effect.

The most significant phrase in the outline of "sequent steps" proposed is that in which the commission urges that "whether or not a certain loss of efficiency is entailed the new Minister to Haiti be charged with the duty of carrying out the early Haitianization of the services." Any neutral observer would dispute the "efficiency" of some of the departments mismanaged by Yankees, but the mild phrase of the commission has a deep meaning.

Some significant suggestions are buried modestly in the commission's report. Especially important is its recommendation that Haiti be permitted to return to its century-old prohibition of foreign ownership of land. And Haitians will welcome the suggestion that they be relieved of the various internal taxes unnecessarily imposed so as to speed payment of the foreign debt. So, too, the commission's recognition of the part played by race prejudice in the American failure in Haiti is encouraging, though it might, since it felt called upon to criticize the Haitian elite, have been franker in recording the incredible blindness of certain Southern officials who imported their color consciousness into the Negro republic.

Yet it is almost impossible to induce an official commission to criticize government officials, and this commission, compared with its various predecessors, has done well, though we could wish it had done much better. Its recommendations for the future are, after all, what counts most, and by implication they indorse the long and often solitary campaign of *The Nation* to set the American record in Haiti straight. Everything now depends upon the spirit in which those recommendations are carried out. There will, of course, be more of the sort of efforts to sabotage the work of the commission which some American officials indulged in during its stay in Haiti, and powerful forces are operating in opposition to its recommendations. The Hoover Administration must devote itself earnestly and energetically to execution of the "sequent steps" recommended in the report if actual results are to be accomplished. All Latin America is wondering whether the recommendations will really be carried out.

Race Problem - 1930

West Indies.

Haiti.

HAITI POLICY SCORED IN ARGENTINE PAPER

La Prensa Says Forbes Board Took View That Island Republic Was Vassal State.

HOLDS HOOVER IS SINCERE

Editorial Admits Inquiry Brought Some Good Results, but Urges Immediate Marine Withdrawal.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BUENOS AIRES, March 30.—The newspaper La Prensa, in the editorial campaign which that paper has been conducting for the last two weeks against the United States policy in Haiti, says today that the Forbes Commission's report to President Hoover removes any hope that American military forces will be removed from Haiti in the near future.

"The report shows that, while the commission has studied the internal problems in a practical manner, it has studied them exclusively from a United States point of view," the editorial says. "Its study was based on a conviction that the United States exercises tutelage over this continent.

"Paying no heed to the fact that Haiti demands its sovereignty and ignoring the fact that the United States cannot defend before law or justice its enslavement of a small republic, the commission obstinately insists that the military occupation must continue at least another six years, during which time an independent nation is to be governed by new administrative measures dictated by the American Government. In other words, Haiti is a minor and the United States is its tutor.

"The withdrawal of her military forces is a problem which does not seriously occupy the United States, which is nevertheless interested in quieting the serious unrest in a country which it believes can be free of disturbances only so long as it is under the yoke of American military occupation. A new policy is to be introduced under the pretense that it will tend to re-establish the republic's sovereignty but which actually does nothing more or less than demonstrate the clear determination of the United States not to restore to Haitians the use of those rights which they won with their independence.

"The fact that the Forbes report suggests that native Haitians be admitted to employment in public offices shows that the island, instead of being a republic, is merely a dependency of the White House, which is the supreme authority in all of its internal questions.

"President Hoover has accepted as his those conclusions set forth in the commission's report. With those conclusions he propose to preside over the new policy which has been announced for the administration of Haiti. Our conviction that President Hoover is sincere in his declarations regarding Haiti leads us to hope that in the face of the situation created by United States' attacks against American liberty he will be abel to find means to moderate the effects of the military occupation and direct his policy toward an effective re-establishment of right.

"Sooner or later the United States must correct its errors, and, although the Forbes report does not expedite the return of sovereignty to the Haitians, it must be admitted that the report contains some items of advice which should be useful toward arriving at that end."

Haitian Leader Warned By State Department

Constitution

WASHINGTON, April 15.—(AP)—The state department has warned President Borno, of Haiti that it will recognize Eugene Roy and no one else as provisional president of the island republic. Roy was selected as a compromise candidate by the Hoover commission which formulated the administration's new Haitian policy.

The warning followed the indefinite adjournment of the Haitian council of state by Borno and the publication of a proclamation from him urging the election as temporary president of "the honorable citizen designated by the chief of state from a list of opposition groups." He did not mention Roy in this connection.

Dispatches from Port-au-Prince said Borno's political opponents have grown suspicious of the president and are watching his movements closely.

To the council of state falls the duty of electing the provisional president, in accordance with the agreement reached by the Hoover commission. Its members are selected by Borno and in the past have generally followed his dictates.

Our Troops and Civilians Want to Quit Haiti; Occupation Thus Far Has Cost Us $23,000,000

By The Associated Press.

PORT AU PRINCE, April 2.—American officials here estimate that the occupation in Haiti has cost at least $23,000,000 since the United States intervened in 1915. The same statistics show that the figure easily could be placed at $25,000,000 if all factors concerned were taken into account, and these two general figures were given to the Hoover commission when it was here. A minimum estimate given was $21,000,000 "or more."

Salaries alone today are costing the United States $95,000 a month in Haiti. At one time salaries and marine pay were much higher because a large military force was stationed here. The number of marines has dropped from several thousand to between 600 and 700, with the latter the usual maximum at all times.

Few of the Americans here, both military and civilian, appear to want to stay, and it is chiefly a matter to them of how soon they will leave. Almost to a man the marine officers on duty here have expressed their desire to get out of Haiti as fast as possible. Their families agree, and those who have not already left are making plans to do so, expressing the hope that husbands and fathers will be relieved of duty here soon.

Many civilian treaty officials and employes are seeking positions "in the States." The majority of American experts of the service technique, the agricultural-vocational school system, expect to be relieved soon, and many others have the same outlook. Dr. George Freeman, director of service technique, who was attacked personally and professionally before the commission, has been recalled and expects to leave here on April 10.

Because of the uncertainty of the dat. of withdrawal of the occupation, few of the Americans have been able to make definite departure plans. Many of them feel that the outcome of the elections this coming Autumn will settle the matter.

A group of Nationalists, led by J. Jolibois, has sent a request to President Hoover to replace Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, American High Commissioner, with a civilian and to end the occupation immediately instead of in accordance with the Hoover commission's report.

The Jolibois group, which has attacked the commission's report, describing it as unsatisfactory, also has been unsympathetic with the federated patriotic groups which have been favorable to the report.

The request sent to the President also asked him to order General Russell to forbid the Council of State to pass any laws or approve any contracts between April 14 and May 15, which is the interim between the election of Eugene Roy as temporary President and his assumption of office.

ELMIRA, N. Y.

Advertiser

APR 5 1930

NOT ANXIOUS TO STAY

The Associated Press reports that Americans in Haiti, whether military or civic, are anxious to leave that island as soon as possible, and they are looking in pleasant anticipation to the time when they may pack their effects and sail homewards.

Although not stated in so many words, it is assumed that they have little faith in the smooth or peaceable conduct of affairs when the Haitians eventually take the government into their own hands. Those who have spent any time in Haiti, or who recollect conditions in the past have no great confidence in the ability of Haitian Negroes to govern themselves.

While it is never profitable to borrow trouble, as it comes soon enough anyway, it is natural to wonder what is to be done if Haiti, when left to itself, falls again into one of its murderous, public stealing, grab-for-authority messes?

The cost to this country to control, and in a manner subdue its razor-wielding instincts and clean the place up to some degre has been $23,000,000, and salaries alone at the present time amount to $95,000 a month, to say nothing of the cost of maintaining on the island some 600 or 700 marines. That the service has not been effective may be indicated by the criticism which some of the South American republics, particularly Argentina, are passing upon this country for our treatment of Haiti.

Why not ask Argentina to take up the job?

Eugene Roy, Hoover Commission's Choice, Becomes Haitian President

Advertiser

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI, May 15. (AP)—Eugene Roy, choice of President Hoover's Commission, elected by the Haitian Council of State, April 21, today was inaugurated president of the island republic. A demonstration against retiring President Borno alone provided a note of discord to the event.

The inauguration ceremony, which took place in the Chamber of Deputies was without any other of the unpleasantnesses which recently have marked the progress of political life in Haiti. The new president, 69 years old and an Independent, takes the office vacated by President Luis Borno, whose term lasted eight years.

President Roy brought to the office almost unanimous support of Haiti's several political groups. He will develop plans for a popular election by vote of the people. His selection was made by President Borno's Council of State.

This afternoon a great public reception was held at the Palace. Port-Au-Prince was in gala dress and the streets were filled with cheering crowds.

Immediately after the Chamber of Deputies had been emptied of its crowd, fire was discovered in a rear room but quickly extinguished.

While the President and his entourage were proceeding from the cathedral to the palace, the large crowds got out of hand, breaking through the police lines and closing in about the procession with shouts. The procession moved into the palace and the gates of the high, iron fence swung closed upon the crowd.

As retiring President Borno emerged from the palace, the demonstration turned to a scene of disorder for an instant, the throngs calling after him and yelling invectives as he drove away. Borno arrived at his home in Petionville without further incident. A small detachment of the local guard was placed at his home to see that he would not be disturbed.

QUITTING OF HAITI URGED BY STUDENTS

Princeton Group Also Assails Hoover Commission Report After Intensive Study.

INTERNATIONAL BODY ASKED

United States Would Be Only a Rarticipant in Work of Inter-American Advisers.

Special to The New York Times.

PRINCETON, N. J., May 24.—A new Caribbean policy for the United States is advocated by a group of Princeton students as the result of a three months' intensive study of the history and conditions in Haiti made under the supervision of Professor H. Alexander Smith of the politics department.

This policy, incorporated in a report of the students acting as a committee and made public today, calls for the immediate evacuation of the American forces in Haiti and the abandonment by the United States of its position as sole arbiter in the Caribbean region.

The committee is composed of Herbert L. Brinsmade of New York, Shelby C. Davis, Peoria, Ill.; Jonathan Edwards, Plainfield, N. J., and John B. Robertson, Twin Falls, Idaho. Haiti was chosen for the study because the students believed conditions there were typical of those in many Latin American countries.

The report criticises the report of President Hoover's Commission on Haiti on the grounds that it contemplates at least a limited continuation of the American occupation and that it suggests that provisions for future interventions be worked out by a special treaty between the United States and aHiti.

"The main object to be achieved," says the students' report, "is for the United States to withdraw, provided some method is evolved of guaranteeing: First, the maintenance of peace and order which will afford protection both to local and foreign interests: second, the development of the masses to a point where they may individually reap the benefits of civilization; and third, the continued material development of the country."

During the present emergency the committee would have Haiti assisted by a group of advisors and would have the marines withdrawn if requested by the President of Haiti and approved by the advisors.

For the future handling of Caribbean problems the students recommended that, at the next Pan-American conference in 1932, "the President of the United States recommend the concluding of a convention providing for the appointment of a permanent international commission, whose function shall be the maintenance of the peace, stability and general welfare of the countries of the Caribbean area." This commission would be empowered to recommend the appointment of such technical advisers as might be necessary, and in the event of serious trouble it would recommend to the members of the Pan-American Union "such action as it deems necessary."

The students say they do not advocate the abandonment of the right of the United States to intervene when it is urgently needed to protect life, and that their plan is not prejudicial to the Monroe Doctrine proper. They also conceded that the Inter-American Commission may not function as hoped for and that the United States may be compelled in the future to act independently, though they would consider such a development unlikely.

Immediate Abrogation OF Haiti Asked By Anti-Imperialists

NEW YORK, June 19—Condemning the arrangement made by President Hoover's commission for the study and review of conditions in the republic of Haiti under which Haiti will be occupied indefinitely by American Marines, and standing for the "immediate abrogation of the treaty forced upon Haiti by the United States, for the recall of Gen. Russell and the Marines, and for the complete and unconditional independence," the Anti-Imperialistic League of the United States today issued a statement in support of "that movement of Haitians fighting against Marine invasion in disregard of the "treaty" dictated by military force."

The statement unanimously adopted by the executive committee of the league received full support and indorsement by Lucas Premice, a native Haitian who is a political refugee of Borno's regime. Richard B. Moore, president of the Harlem Tenants' League, who attended the Brussels Congress of the League against Imperialism.

The statement also urges all anti-imperialists, especially workers and American Negroes, to join in opposition to "the alleged settlement of the Haitian problems made by President Hoover's Commission.

The statement in full follows:

"The Anti-Imperialist League of the United States stands for the immediate and complete liberation of Haiti from American rule. We are opposed to the maintenance of a single Marine in Haiti, to the power of the American High Commissioner and to the arrangement made by President Hoover's recent commission, under which Haiti will be occupied indefinitely by American Marines.

"We stand for the immediate abrogation of the treaty forced upon Haiti by the United States, for the recall of Gen. Russell and the Marines, and for the complete and unconditional independence. We further demand the repeal of the laws imposed by the American Occupation, particularly that alienating the peasants' land, and for the cancellation of all concession obtained by Americans or foreigners which were obtained by force, fraud, or under the occupation.

Taking this position, we are opposed to the recommendations of the President's Commission as a compromise under which Haiti still remains a nation subject to the United States. We condemn the action of the so-called Haitian opposition parties in subscribing to these compromise arrangements under which their country remains a vassal. No true fighter for Haitian liberation nor American anti-imperialist can accept them. They merely continue, in less open but more shameful form, the long record of coercion and bad faith on the part of the United States government.

The Anti-Imperialist League expresses its support of that mass movement of Haitians fighting against marine invasion in disregard of the 'treaty' dictated by military force.

"We call upon all anti-imperialists, especially the workers and American Negroes who have long been suffering under the oppression of the American ruling class along with their brothers in Haiti—to join with us in opposition to the alleged settlement of the Haitian problems made by President Hoover's Commission. We express our olidarity with those forces in Latin America who recognize that this scheme is merely a means of perpetuating American rule less openly and who with us oppose the economic and political subjection of Latin American republics to American imperialist rule."

EVERY FRIEND OF HAITI will rejoice in the peaceful transfer of the Presidency on May 15 from Louis Borno, the puppet of the American Occupation, to Eugene Roy, the non-partisan candidate agreed on by all factions in March during the visit of the Forbes Commission. One important step toward American withdrawal is thus taken. That withdrawal should be hastened, for the Haitians know too well the meaning of American occupation. We pass over the threatened renewal of the Rodenberg concession in the Artibonite Valley—a dangerous exception to the Haitian law against alien landownership—to remind our readers of an incident here. A month ago the Navy Department awarded the Navy Cross to Lieutenant John B. Blanchard for "commendable courage and forbearance" in shooting down the group of Haitians at Aux Cayes whose slaughter led to the appointment of the Forbes Commission. Chief Marine Gunner Calvin H. Lloyd received a special letter of commendation "for courage and good judgment in assisting in the dispersal of the mob"—perhaps for shooting straight. In face of such a revelation of the temper and judgment of our naval authorities, it is small wonder that the Haitians would like to hasten the departure of General Russell.

Moton Commission Expected to Land in New York Monday

Provisional President Roy Sends Greetings to "American Brothers."

(By Cablegram to the AFRO)

PORT au PRINCE, Haiti.—The Moton Educational Commission, sent here by the U.S. Government to make a study and make a report and recommendations for future development of schools and colleges in the republic, completed its labors and sailed on the Steamship Christobal, Wednesday.

The commission spent three weeks in Haiti, having arrived here Sunday, June 15.

President Roy Sends Greeting

In a message to colored Americans handed to the Associated Negro Press and newspapermen with the commission, Provisional President Eugene Roy said:

"Greetings to all colored Americans, our brothers. We Haitians expect great things from the report of the Hoover Educational Commission headed by Dr. Moton and composed of distinguished American citizens."

Whirlwind Finish

Although every hour of the commission's time has been spent in intensive study of the educational problems of Haiti, the last few days before their departure were crowded with official and semi-official activities.

On Sunday Dr. Moton preached at the Episcopal Church and was the guest of Provisional President Roy at a soccer game in the afternoon. Later he and members of the commission were at the palace for refreshments.

Students of the Agricultural College sang the "Nationale" for the commission and in return, members of the commission sang several spirituals.

AFRO Editor Talks to President

Carl J. Murphy, editor of the AFRO-AMERICAN, one of the newspapermen with the commission, had an audience with Provisional President Roy, Monday.

When the commission reaches New York it will split up, and the various members will be met by members of their families and other friends. Several organizations in Harlem are making plans to greet the commission, it is said.

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TRIP DELAYED

(Washington Bureau of the AFRO)

WASHINGTON. — Inquiries here Monday as to whether a ship had been designated to bring back the Haitian Educational Commission, due to sail on July 7, brought forth the answer that difficulty in making sailing arrangements would delay the start until Wednesday, July 10.

In the State Department it was declared that only two steamship lines offered proper accommodations, and that the department had designated the Christobal of the Panama Steamship Line, as the vessel which would bring the party back.

Mr. Scott, of the bureau of Latin American affairs, told the AFRO-AMERICAN that every facility had been placed at the disposal of the commission during its stay in Haiti, and that it would be allowed ample time to complete its report on educational affairs.

Haiti

Race Problem - 1930
West Indies.

Moton Commissioners Visit Pineapple Factory Owned by California Company

Amsterdam News
1-9-30

Remunerative Employment Found to Be Haitian Peasants' Greatest Need—Work Scarce for Trained Students

New York N.Y.

By P. L. PRATTIS
(Associated Negro Press Correspondent.)

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, June 29.—A rather bedraggled set of commissioners is back in this city today after a week spent surveying educational conditions in the interior of Haiti's northern peninsula.

Cities visited and studied include St. Marc, Gonaives, Plaisance, Port de Paix and Cape Haitien. Throughout the trip the members of the commission left their cars to enter the rural schools conducted under the national school system, the Catholic Church and the Service Technique.

Frequently, so small and inconspicuous are these schools, they would have been overlooked had it not been for the efficient guides who were brought along from Port au Prince. Further inspection was made of the work being done by the demonstration agents of the extension service of the Service Technique.

These men meet the farmers, or peasants as they are called here, and teach them how to increase their output and to improve the quality of what they grow.

Visit Commercial Enterprises.

In addition to the investigation of the schools, the members of the commission visited two large commercial enterprises, both sustained by American capital. The first was the pineapple factory and plantation maintained here by the California Packing Company. The second was a large sisal plantation operated by a group of New York stock brokers.

The commission partly split up during its two-day stay at Cape Haitien. On the first day half of the party visited the Citadel, five miles from Miult which is three-quarters of an hour automobile drive from Cape Haitien. On the next day the other members made the arduous and hazardous trip to the summit of Mount Bonnet-a-l'Eveque.

Teachers Paid $6 Per Month.

We had not been out of Port au Prince an hour when our attention was called to a mud-thatched hut, somewhat larger than others surrounding it, and one of the men who accompanied us informed us that it was one of the rural schools of the national school system. It contained two rooms, about 7 ft. by 9 ft. There were three benches, short and narrow, in one room, two in the other. The walls were used for blackboards.

No pupils were at the school, nor was there a teacher. A few came about as we alighted and informed us that the teacher had not come that day. The explanation of that was that the teachers in Haiti's national system are paid from six dollars to ten dollars per month and, as a consequence, they teach six dollars' worth and use their time to add to their income in other ways.

Of course, that does not apply to all of the schools. Nor was this school as good or as active as some others we saw. However, it was not a great reflection upon the rural schools maintained by the Haitian government.

Further on, we stopped at a rural farm school set up by the Service Technique, the American system of schools mentioned in my dispatch last week. The Haitians in some quarters have complained bitterly against these schools, yet it is impossible not to notice the improvement they are upon what the Haitian children in the country have provided for them ordinarily.

In the first place, they are well-built, clean, and orderly buildings. The teachers are alert, seem interested in their work and, in most cases, show the results of good training. The equipment in the schools, while not what you would find in a school of the same kind in America, is 95 per cent better than that which the children have been accustomed to.

Teach Children Trades.

That these schools are attracting the children of the country seemed to be proved at the school at St. Marc. At this school classes were going full steam ahead and the shop was a marvel to behold. To one who has attended and visited the industrial schools in America, the age of the Haitian pupils in these Service Technique schools seemed astonishing. It appeared that many youngsters between the ages of seven and twelve were busy learning carpentry, tailoring, auto mechanics, tinsmithing and sundry trades.

One of the services which one is attracted to while traveling through Haiti is that of the Service d'Hygiene. Everybody agrees that while everything else the Americans have tried to do in this country has been the subject of attack, the work of this medical service has been so superior and helpful that Haitians and outsiders alike unite in giving credit to it.

It is said that about 70 per cent of the people here suffer from some form of illness. Before the establishment of the clinics, the country districts, where most of the illness prevails, was almost totally lacking in medical attention. The doctors naturally stuck close to the cities. Now, however, Haitian doctors are employed to visit these clinics at regular intervals. This work is not only an aid to the national health of Haiti, but it is furnishing her young physicians with gainful employment.

Unification Needed.

But the first impression gained on the journey was that of the utter improvidence of an educational arrangement which has made necessary three sets of schools. On one corner one found the American school, on another the Haitian national school, and on another the Catholic school, all covering much of the same ground Haitian leaders are aware that this triplication of educational activity is a bane to the country. Unification of these systems of education is one of the primary needs of the country. The Haitian peasant has to support all three. He is too poor to do so properly.

In fact, poverty and unemployment in the cities were two of the chief conditions noted. We found hundreds, perhaps thousands, of students enrolled in the city schools, but invariably the teachers were at a loss to tell what these pupils would do when they finished their high school courses. There is absolutely nothing now for them to do in the city.

Yet, the nature of their various ambitions is interesting. Questions put to the pupils by the commissioners indicate that although there is still too large a percentage which wishes to enter the overstocked professional classes, the number which wishes to go on the farm is as large as that for any other class. The professional classes named usually are those of the physician, lawyer, and dentist. Some of the boys claim a desire to become mechanics. Yet, whatever their ambition, there is little chance for them except on the farm.

Eager for Jobs.

That is one reason that criticism is not easily directed at foreign investments in the country. One hundred and fifty jobs offered by the recently-opened pineapple factory in Cape Haitien were gobbled up swiftly by the best people of the town and three hundred applicants were left waiting.

Fifteen hundred peasants are employed by the Haitian-American Development Corporation on its sisal plantation. Haitian leaders complain that the wages paid are too small. But it is significant that the Haitian peasant walks miles to obtain the small wage and that if he did not accept it he would probably not make as much.

These growing concerns, as more of them enter the country, would seem to offer economic salvation in so far as employment is concerned and the building of modern rural communities.

Already there are the nuclei of small towns on the properties of the sisal plantation owners. These factories and plantations offer employment to skilled and unskilled, and to office workers, men and women.

Criticism of the American schools we found to be less virulent in the interior than at Port au Prince. It was felt by most Haitians in these other cities that an effort was being made to do a necessary job, although there was ready regret that the administration of the schools had not always been sympathetic or competent.

While our party was in the interior, word reached us that the Haitian minister of education had ordered the American schools closed as of July 1. The director of the chief American school at Damien, where the strike occurred, was a member of our party. He hastened back to Port au Prince when the word came. After our return to the city, we learned that the order was probably issued as a political move.

President Roy, when questioned about the matter by the American charge d'affaires, disavowed any knowledge of the order and promised that it would be countermanded.

Look to Hoover.

It appears that President Hoover might be the next president of Haiti if he wanted to be. There are signs all around that the Haitians are looking to him for surcease from the evils that have been inflicted upon them. There was great rejoicing the other day throughout the Republic when the news was circulated that General Russell, the American high commissioner, had been replaced by a civilian representative, the new American minister, Mr. Munro, former head of the Latin-American bureau of the Department of State.

Heard and Seen in Haiti

afro american

By CARL MURPHY

7-12-30

W. B. Seabrook, white, who has written a celebrated volume on Haiti entitled "The Magic Island," is said to have gotten most of his information concerning alleged voodoo practices from an aged priestess. Haitians declare that Seabrook made himself one of the cult, and agreed to marry one of the daughters and remain with her until she bore him a son, before he was permitted to witness the alleged voodoo rites which he describes. Incidentally Seabrook "wonders" in his book whether the mixed bloods are not a superior race to either white or black.

Baltimore Md

La Nouvelliste, a capital evening newspaper, last week speaking of the Haitian Minister of education who cannot speak English, and Dr. R. R. Moton, who cannot speak French, said of their interview that they sat looking at each other during a recent interview like "two china bulldogs." The criticism was directed at the official Haitian interpreter, who as sai to have made himself scarce when the commission arrived. The commission's interpreter, Alphonse Henningburg, acted in his stead.

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Paul Prattis, ANP representative with the commission, is the only man to report sick during the stay here. He was sent to bed for a day with a slight attack of dysentery.

* * *

Every American who comes to Haiti goes home with a wholesome respect for U.S. plumbers and determination not to listen to any more jokes at their expense. In the Excelsior Hotel (French owned) the annex which housed both the Moton and Forbes Commissions, there are two bath rooms containing tubs, showers, toilets and wash basins, but the water pressure is often too weak to reach the bath on the second floor.

* * *

All Haitian bathtubs are kept constantly full of cold water. There is no hot water faucet. At the hotel at Gonaives where the commission stopped overnight, the lavatory and toilet were in the rear like the privies in the rural U.S.A. Only one of the two was sanitary.

Outside toilets in the capital's largest school announce their presence without your seeing them. At St. Marc where the commission stopped for dinner at the best hotel (Haitian owned) toilet paper consisted of an ancient issue of the Popular Magazine.

* * *

Colonel Fegan, white, from Dallas, Texas, is now commander of American marines at Cap Haitien. He is well liked by the populace. He invited the commission to review the gendarmes and afterwards was host to the commission, his officers, white

and native, and the Haitian mayor and several important citizens, where mint juleps, cigars and cigarettes were passed. He pointed with pride to the drum major and the gendarme band, all of the members of which are over six feet.

* * *

Colonel Fegan's predecessor at Cap Haitien was one Colonel Hendley, also white, of the Marine Corps. The commission's chauffeur (Jamaican by birth) tells a story of how Hendley put him in jail for one day because he was ten minutes late in bringing his taxi around to take a party of American visitors out for a ride. According to the chauffeur, he got out after two hours by threatening to appeal to the British consul.

* * *

There are taxes on articles of consumption but no land taxes in Haiti. In the past victorious generals who became president through revolution rewarded their soldiers and officers by huge grants of land. As a result their heirs at the capital claim thousands of acres upon which poor peasants live and have tilled for generations without paying any rent. Peasants who have purchased land, have failed to have the title recorded, have lost their deeds, or had them destroyed by weather or insects.

* * *

There is the reported case of M. Dejoie, three generations removed from a French admiral, and his Haitian wife. M. Dejoie has title to 300 acres of land left by his great grandfather. His lands have long been occupied and claimed by peasants. He collected no rent before he established his title and has been able to collect none since. There will be the making of a small revolution if he attempts to oust the peasants or collect rent.

* * *

Florentine Maurasse is the biggest planter at Port de Paix, and exports 20,000 bags of coffee and sugar a year. He also has a tobacco plantation and is the American consular representative. He has four boys, but none of them are in business with him at present. One son at Tuskegee, was sent there for punishment, the father said because he had wasted four years in Paris in a gay life, when his dad thought he was in school.

M. Maurasse said he was so peeved that he had not written his son for three years. He relented and agreed to write, however, and agreed to communicate with his son when Dean W. T. B. Williams, of Tuskegee, a member of the commission, informed him that his boy was a senior there now and getting along well in his studies.

He did not appreciate Paris, M. Maurasse said, "I wanted him to get a chance to wash W. C.'s."

* * *

American experts at the agricultural school are termed M.D.'s by the Haitians, which means doctors of manure.

NEW MINISTER OF HAITI PRESENTS HIS CREDENTIALS

Tribune
7-18-30
Washington D.C.

Ulrich Duvivier presented his credentials to President Hoover last Monday as Minister of Haiti to the United States saying that he would devote his efforts "to maintaining and drawing still closer the excellent relations now existing between the Government of the United States and that of Haiti.

In reply President Hoover said: "I take pleasure in receiving from your hands the letters whereby you are again accredited before the Government of the United States as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Haiti. Your former service in Washington will, I am sure, enable you the more readily to interpret to your Government the feelings of friendship which the Government and people of the United States hold for Haiti. I trust that your new sojourn in this capital may be pleasant.

"You may rest assured, Mr. Minister, that you may count at all times upon the cordial cooperation of the officials of this Govrenment in your efforts to maintain and improve the excellent relations now existing between the Government of the United States and that of Haiti.

"In extending to you a cordial welcome to Washington, I desire to request that you will convey to President Roy the assurances of my gratification at the patriotic manner in which he has given his co-operation in carrying out the recommendations made by the Commission which recently completed a study of Haitian affairs, and assure him of my good wishes for his personal welfare and that of the people of Haiti."

DR. MOTON MAKES FIRST REPORT TO PRESIDENT

Afro-American
8-2-30
Baltimore, Md.

Haiti Commissioners Received by Hoover Thursday Morning.

NO FINAL REPORT

Conference Lasts for Fifteen Minutes.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Dr. R. R. Moton, of Tuskegee, Alabama, president of Tuskegee Institute and chairman of the commission named last winter by President Hoover to make a study of Haitian educational problems, spent fifteen minutes at the White House, July 24, making an informal report to President Hoover on the results of the commission's study of Haiti.

The conference lasted from 10:30 a.m. to 10:45.

Dr. Moton came up to Washington from his summer home in Cappahosic, Va., where he spent the past two weeks.

Members of the commission accompanied him, and afterward left immediately for Petersburg, Va., to attend the session of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools.

Final Report Soon

While there, the commission drafted its final formal reports to the President, which Dr. Moton said he hoped to have ready for presentation within the next two weeks.

Dr. Moton declined to discuss with newspaper men the nature of the commission's recommendations, which he said had not been finally formulated. He was of the opinion, however, that education should be divorced as far as possible from government.

Situation Tense

The political situation in Haiti, Dr Moton said, is tense because of the failure of American authority to approve reductions of taxes on rum and tobacco as recommended in the Forbes commission report.

Immediate action to remedy this situation was recommended.

Members of the commission in addition to Dr. Moton are Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University; Leo M. Favrot, white field secretary of the General Education Board; Benjamin F. Hubert president of Georgia State Industria College; Dr. W. T. B. Williams, dean of Tuskegee Institute.

HAITIAN MINISTER PRESENTS CREDENTIALS TO PRESIDENT

Defender
7-19-30

[Chicago Defender Foreign News Service]

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 18.—Ulrich Duvivier presented his credentials to President Hoover last Monday as minister of Haiti to the the United States, saying he would devote his efforts "to maintaining and drawing still closer the excellent relations now existing between the government of the United States and that of Haiti."

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Haiti.

Race Problem - 1930

West Indies.

Joli Bois, Jailed Six Times, is Haiti's Monroe Trotter

Afro American
6-28-30
Baltimore, Md.

Fiery Editor Remarks Straightness of American Commission in Haiti. America Should be Ashamed of Its Crimes in Haiti, He Declares, Urging Uncle Sam to Take His Hat and Go Home. Presses Destroyed, 28 Employees Jailed. New Presses Announced as Gift of Santo Domingo.

By CARL MURPHY

PORT au PRINCE, Haiti.—Joli Bois, radical editor, and head of the federated patriotic organizations of Haiti, has been imprisoned six times by the Americans. He has just returned from a trip which carried him to South America for two years.

He wore this week a pin striped suit of thin material as if to remind his countrymen constantly that he had so frequently worn the prison cans, and everything Uncle Sam does is viewed with suspicious concern on this island.

In fifteen years the American ocstripes in the battle for liberty.

He is the Monroe Trotter of Haiti. Like the famous Boston editor and the abolitionists of the past century, he does not compromise, he does not yield, he does not retreat a single inch, and he will be heard.

Discoursing on ordinary subjects, M. Joli Bois is an ordinary man, but on the subject of patriotism, the independence of Haiti, the wrongs inflicted by the Americans and the necessity of Uncle Sam taking his hat and going home immediately, he combines in himself the determination of Trotter and the crusading earnestness of the late Neval H. Thomas. You cannot listen to him and be comfortable.

M. Bois, like many Haitians, number among his friends Captain Napoleon B. Marshall, James Weldor Johnson and the late Booker T. Washington. Aside from these friends he has nothing but hatred for America, which uninvited, has come into its neighbor's house to set it in order.

Helped U.S. Gain Independence

"We helped the United States to win its independence in the Revolutionary War, fighting under Lafayette," says M. Bois. "These soldiers on returning decided to fight for their own independence. Our great President Petion aided General Bolivar fighting for independence in South America with the understanding that if he won he would set all the slaves free.

"While slavery yet flourished in the United States, Haiti offered by law the sum of $50 for each Negro who could be enticed here from North America and emancipated. Many Negro families found asylum here under the late Bishop Holly."

Asked if he thought the United States should pay back to Haiti the ten millions or more dollars which Haitians claim have been spent contrary to their wishes in the so-called Service Technique (farm and industrial school manned by U.S. educators), the great patriot said:

"We are willing to close our eyes to what has gone before. We are opposed to anything which can be interpreted as acceptance of continued occupation by marines. All we ask is the restoration of our independence.

"If every American knew of the misery inflicted upon Haiti by the United States marines he would be filled with shame.

"They have fired the grass to destroy entire native villages; have killed our women with gas and snatched the babe from her breast to toss it up and catch it on the point of the bayonet.

"The Haitian is equal to the European, Asiatic, and American. Man is equal to man. We do not admit inferiority to any man."

M. Bois said Haiti had invited five European commissions to study Haitian education, the first one coming in 1806 and the last in 1882. These commissions had been paid by the government and worked under its auspices.

The patriot remarked the strange sight of a commission from the United States coming to Haiti to investigate Haitian education.

New Presses Donated

During his absence from the country, M. Bois said his machinery and printing plant had been broken up and destroyed by the Americans. Twenty-eight of his employees had gone to jail with him he said. Recently the president of the Dominican Republic had given him a new set of presses to continue his work.

Pomp and Color Feature Routine of Moton Group

Afro American
6-28-30
Baltimore, Md.

Commission Gets Downs to Serious Study of Educational and Social Affairs of Republic.

(By Cable from CARL MURPHY)

PORT AU PRINCE.—Continuing its work of studying Haitian educational conditions, the Moton Commission motored 180 miles over dirt roads and over a 3,000-foot mountain in a rain to Cape Haitian, Monday (June 23).

Dr. Moton regarded the trip as too strenuous and did not accompany the commission. Leo M. Favrot, white, who is using crutches, did however, make the trip.

40 Cents Damages

Despite the drive on muddy mountain roads, the only accident occurred with the car carrying Dr. Mordecai Johnson and Mr. Favrot, which struck a donkey carrying a native father and his son. Followng a conference between the members of the commission and the Haitian, the matter was settled out of court by a payment of forty cents damages.

On Tuesday members of the commission took a three-hour horseback ride up mountain passes to the ruins of Christophe's citadel.

Served Cake and Wine

Catholic sisters served cake and wine following a reception Sunday at which time the commission was the guest of President Roy at the Cathedral. Following this, the party witnessed its second soccer game.

First Cock Fight

Newspaper men with the commission saw their first cock-fight also Sunday. Cock-fighting is the Haitian national sport.

On Saturday Haitian editors entertained the newspaper men.

Moton was again the object of admiration on the part of the boy scouts when they presented him with a stamp album, a dozen hand-made jugs, and match boxes.

May Fly Back

The commission may fly back, it was learned this week. They will end their northern tour June 29 and start south July 2. They plan to leave by airship or sail for the states July 7.

COMMISSIONER TO HAITI ORDERED WITHDRAWN

General Russell Will Leave His Post After Inauguration of New President in Fall.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, July 3.—In harmony with recommendations by the Forbes Commission, which investigated conditions in Haiti for President Hoover and favored civilian representation at Port au Prince, Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, who has been American High Commissioner to Haiti since 1922, will be withdrawn immediately after the inauguration of a new President to succeed Eugene Roy in the Fall. He will be succeeded by Dana Munro, present chief of the Latin-American Division of the State Department, as Minister.

General Russell has been granted a leave of absence, effective immediately, but will return to Haiti in September to remain until the inauguration. The new President is to be selected by the Congress which is to be elected by popular vote this Summer.

The State Department also announced today that President Hoover had selected Carl Colvin, State Supervisor of Vocational Education in Illinois, to succeed Dr. George F. Freeman as head of the Service Technique of Haiti. Dr. Freeman's resignation took effect yesterday. The service he headed was criticized in the Forbes investigation on various grounds of policy.

Some of the charges leveled against the service were that through qualifications it set up for scholarships in the schools unrest among students was encouraged, leading to the revolt last December.

Mr. Colvin was graduated from the University of Illinois in 1912 and has since been identified with agricultural and vocational education in that State.

LOUISVILLE [illegible] POST
Monday, June 30, 1930

The Hoover commission that will make a survey of education in Haiti, composed of R. R. Moton, W. T. B. Williams of Tuskegee; Carl Murphy, Baltimore; W. A. Shields, Alphonsa Hennings, also of Tuskegee Institute, and P. L. Prattis of Chicago, recently sailed for the tiny Negro republic. It is believed by many that the Booker T. Washington system of education, which consists of training in industrial educational fields, will be suggested as a policy of the Haitian education.

Haitian Commission To Reach Home This Week

Age
7-12-30
New York, N.Y.

Dr. Robert R. Moton writes Editor Fred R. Moore from Port-au-Prince, Haiti, that the Educational Commission, of which he is the chairman, has been busy almost too busy, since reaching Haiti, but that the party is in good shape notwithstanding.

He states that the people of Haiti, high and low, have been most cordial and hospitable, and that they hope to leave for America some time this week.

Dr. Moton expresses hearty appreciation for a copy of The New York Age sent him, which was the first Negro newspaper seen since they left America. He declared that every member of the party was anxious to read it.

HAITI SAYS HELLO!

Courier
7-12-30
Pa

(Special to Pittsburgh Courier)

PORTA PRINCE, Haiti, July 10—In a message to colored Americans and handed to the Associated Negro Press correspondent Monday to be cabled to the United States, Provisional President M. Eugene Roy of Haiti said: "Greetings to all colored Americans, our brothers. We Haitians expect great things from the report of the Hoover Educational Commission headed by Dr. Moton and composed of distinguished American citizens."

Moton Commission left Porta Prince Wednesday, the ninth, on steamship Christobal; will arrive in New York Monday.

Afro-American Editor and A. N. P. Man Entertained by Haitian Scribes

Amsterdam News
7-2-30

Carl Murphy and P. L. Prattis, Guests at Dinner, Praise Fearlessness of Members of Republic's "Fourth Estate"

New York N.Y.

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, June 22 (By P. L. Prattis, Special Staff Correspondent for the A. N. P.).—Carl Murphy, diffident but quizzical president of the Baltimore Afro-American, and your humble correspondent, both now detailed to catch the crumbs of news that may inadvertently be thrown from the deliberations of the Moton Educational Commission here, found last night that even as lowly newspapermen we are perhaps not without honor in our own country or abroad.

As proof, the information is sent you that we were the guests at dinner last evening of the members of the newspaper fraternity of Port au Prince. If you don't think that just being their guests makes a grand and inspiring occasion, it is the duty of this correspondent to recall to you that during the last fifteen years, the period of the American occupation, each of the men who sat as hosts to us has been willing to offer himself up as a martyr for the liberation of his country.

The Haitian press has been the bee in the bonnet of the American occupation. In season and out of season, within reason and without reason, these men have contended for what they believed to be for the good of their country, and against such measures of the occupation as have disrupted the former political organization of the Republic.

All of these men had served their terms in jail for putting their opinions into print. All of them had suffered for what they considered their ideals. Carl and I were proud to be among them, to listen to the inspiring stories of their experiences, and to feel that such tried laborers for a noble cause, the noblest cause, should welcome us and honor us as being of the same stuff that they are.

Those whose guests we were are: George Chauvet, editor of Le Nouvelliste; M. J. Joli Bois, fils, editor of Le Courrier Haitien; Placide David, editor of La Presse; Edmond Mangones, co-proprietor of La Presse; Edouard McGloire, editor of Le Matin; Charles Moravia, editor of Le Tomps; Felix Viaud of the Haiti Journal, and Sylvio Cator, correspondent for the United Press.

The banquet was held in the recently opened Hotel Splendid, said to be the finest in all Haiti. It was formerly the home of the Frankels, one of the wealthiest of Haitian families, but, due to a drop in the family fortune, has now been turned into a commercial establishment.

The dinner consisted of articles with which Carl and I were fairly unacquainted. Carl was most confused by a Manhattan cocktail, a glass of white wine, a glass of red wine, and a glass of champagne, which were filled for him at different stages of the meal. Like a good Baptist and a good American, Carl took water, despite this correspondent's insistence that he see what the stuff was like anyhow. However, we both did full justice to the following: cream of tomato soup, a delicious salmon entree, chicken marengo, filet printemps, an endive salad, cocoanut pie, and strong Haitian coffee.

After the dinner, customary greetings were exchanged between M. Moravio, Carl, and myself. Of course, we both thanked our distinguished hosts for thus honoring us and left with them the hope that our united efforts might serve to bring the people of Haiti and the colored people of the United States closer together.

ODDS AND ENDS IN HAITIAN LIFE ARE INTERESTING

Washington Tribune
1-11-30
Washington D.C.

Little Silver Money; Very Little Ice; No Voodooism, Beer Cheap

By P. L. Prattis

(Staff Correspondent of the Associated Negro Press)

Two bottles of medium-cold beer at a Haitian wayside inn cost a thirsty traveler sixty cents.

The Union Club, the rendezvous for the elite at Cape Haiten, is more than one hundred years old. It does not take its name from the American clubs, having been established before them, but because it originally brought under one roof several smaller clubs.

Little Silver Money

There is very little silver money in Haiti. The last was made during the administration of Solomon andn dates from the eighties. Haiti has never made gold money.

There are six Haitian priests in the Republic. There have been, I understand, two Haitian bishops. However, the grand majority of the representatives of the church of Rome are French and their swag, according to some Haitians, is quite considerable.

Three airplanes were made available to the commission Saturday morning for members of the commission party who had not visited the citadel. Dr. G. Lake Imes, Mr. Leo Favrot and Mr. W. A. Shields, were the passengers. Dr. Imes and Mr. Shields made the 360-mile trip in the morning without mishap. Mr. Favrot's machine was forced down and he had to return without seeing the great mountain fortress. His misfortune has probably killed the proposal that the commission party return to the United States by airplane. He was not seriously injured.

Church and Theatre

They think nothing of smoking in Haitian theaters. In Cape Haitian, the motion picture theater and the church are built together. Last night Emil Jannings in "The Way of all Flesh," was shown at the cinema in Port au Prince .

Strangely enough, southern white Americans have been among those who have been most pleasant with us during our stay in Haiti.

There are lots of Haitians who want to be something else. I have one young friend, son of a German father and a Haitian mother, who protests that he is a German. Another, a girl, with a French father. Haitian mother, and Egyptian brown skin, declares that she is a French girl, and she wants, like everything, to go to Hollywood.

No Voodooism

Nobody down here, in the country or out of it, seems to know anything about voodoo. I have seen a few tom-toms, but I never hear them at night. Some Haitians say that voodoo practices may exist, but they haven't ever seen them and they are constrained to believe that travelers who have thonght they were seeing such rites have been duped by the Haitian peasants who would put on any kind of little show in order to make money.

An Ice Problem

Can you imagine that nobody in this hot country seems to know or to care anything about iced tea, or much about ice, for that matter? How would you like to travel for hours at a time without a drink of something cold? I think Haiti has an ice problem.

If you take a nice Haitian young lady out, for an automobile ride, to the theater, or the cafe, you have got to take her mama, and no maybe. These mothers never allow their daughters out of their sight with young men until the are sure the young men mean business. They don't trust Americans any more than they do Haitians.

As close as Haitian society is, I have been told that there is a short cut into it for whites if they have marriage on their minds.

Almost every Haitian has a past. You will not have known one long before you are informed that either he or his parents or relatives of some nature were once high officials of the government. One advantage of the shifting Haitian administration was to add to the ranks of the elite class.

Race Problem - 1930

West Indies.

Haiti

HAITI COMMISSION WILL SAIL FEB. 25

Times

Main Group Will Go on Rochester From Key West—Others to Leave Here Tuesday.

2-16-30 New York Sun

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15.—The principal members of President Hoover's commission for the study of conditions in Haiti will sail from Key West, Fla., on the cruiser Rochester on Feb. 25, and several assistants and stenographers will leave New York on the steamer Ancon next Tuesday.

Those sailing on the Ancon will be Rees H. Barkalow, a former foreign service officer, who will be secretary and disbursing officer of the commission; Fernand L. J. Dumont, a veteran translator for international commissions and conferences, and four State Department stenographers, Vera G. Nierling, Marguerite R. Roddy, Merlene Everett, Grace N. Carlisle and Germain Tougas.

Those sailing on the Rochester will be W. Cameron Forbes, chairman; Henry P. Fletcher, Elie Vezenia, James Kerney and William Allen White.

With them will be James Clement Dunn of the State Department, counselor of the commission; Dr. Victor G. Heiser of the Rockefeller Foundation, who will be medical adviser to the delegation; Charles H. Marshall of the firm of Butler, Herrick & Marshall in New York, who has a thorough knowledge of French; Warren H. Kelchner of the State Department, who will be assistant secretary to the commission; Robert C. Redmayne, stenographer-secretary with the commission, and Richard T. Strong, another stenographer-secretary.

HAITIAN COMMISSION IS ANTI-NEGRO GROUP

Chairman Forbes Opposed Independence for the Philippine Islands.

WHITE, ANTI-CATHOLIC

Opposed Al. Smith Because of His Religion.

By L. F. COLES

NEW YORK. — The editorial in the AFRO-AMERICAN for last week on President Hoover's Commission was the best editorial that I have read on the question and I have read up to now over fifty weekly papers and equally as many editorials from the metropolitan dailies. It took unusually high grounds. It struck from the shoulder.

Anyone, unless he is an asinine fool, knows that Mr. Hoover showed that he is prejudiced against Negroes' being on commissions where white men are to investigate intricate questions and that he is catering to the whims of the South and to Colonel Russell of Louisiana, who is at the bottom of all the trouble in Haiti.

Mr. Hoover must think that he is dealing with a lot of little children in fact most Negroes act as though they are. Now he said that President Borno of Haiti objects to Negroes from America being on commissions or rather the commission.

This seems somewhat inconsistent as Mr. Hoover appointed Dr. Major R. R. Moton on what he termed an "Educational Committee." This is puerile and inane. In fact, it is pusillanimous. It would be laughable if it were not so pathetic.

Dr. Moton

If Dr. Moton were not the conservative that he is, he would refuse to serve on a separate committe, but it would take more independence than he has manifested in the 25 years that I have known him to do this.

As a matter of fact, the trouble in Haiti hasn't anything to do with the educational system as it obtains in Haiti, as bad as it may be. The trouble is ancient history. The bankers of New York City have the marines in Haiti under Colonel Russell while they exploit the Haitian people of what rightfully belongs to them.

If Mr. Hoover doesn't know this, he is not fit for the presidency of the United States. If he knows it, then he is a hypocrite. One stroke of his pen would remove Russell and the marines out of Haiti, which would obliterate all of the trouble.

Anti-Negro

The New Republic has this to say: "After all this, it was something of an anti-climax when the personnel of the President's Haitian commission was announced. Its chairman is W. Cameron Forbes, Boston banker, who was governor-general of the Philippines before the World War. He was a member of the Wood-Forbes commission in 1921 which reported not only against Philippine independence but also in favor of strengthening the powers of the American governor-general in the islands.

"A second member of the commission is Mr. Henry P. Fletcher, an ex-soldier and diplomat whose views on Latin America have been regarded as decidedly conservative. The other members of the commission are journalists: Ellie Vezina, of Rhode Island, a French Canadian; James Kearney, of Trenton, a friend of Woodrow Wilson, and William Allen White of Emporia, Kansas.

"With the possible exception of Mr White, the commission contains no members of known sympathies toward Haiti or toward the Negro race generally. Neither is there any Negro member."

White Hates Catholics

Everybody knows that William Allen White was Al Smith's greatest enemy. He was opposed to Smith on religion. I am wondering whether he will like a black Haitian Catholic any better than he liked a white Catholic.

Defending Hoover

Defending President Hoover for his failure to appoint a Negro on the Haitian commission, Dr. Kelly Miller wired the AFRO last week—"Failure to find Negroes of requisite international experience and expertness," accounts for President Hoover's all-white commission.

Admitting this for the sake of argument, we ask then, when is the Negro to become expert and experienced internationally unless he is appointed on such commissions.

W. Cameron Forbes, white chairman, has been governor of the Philippines, and Henry P. Fletcher, also white, an ambassador to Italy, and when they received initial appointments they were inexpert and without international experience, but they were given a chance because they are white.

Those who read the ten telegrams from leading colored Americans perhaps noted that Dr. Miller alone defended the President's action. The nine others, Republicans as well as Democrats, felt that the President had made a mistake, at the very least.

In fact, Bishop John Hurst hit the nail on the head when he pointed out that the U.S. occupation of Haiti is "financial exploitation" and that the commission's head, Mr. Forbes, is a Yankee banker, who has already done good work for the National City Bank of New York which has forced a loan on Haiti against its will.

We agree also with Ferdinand Q. Morton of New York, that President Hoover has "affronted" the entire race, and, disagreeing again with Dr. Miller, the AFRO-AMERICAN believes that a half dozen qualified colored men could easily have been found had President Hoover been so minded.

All White Haitian Commission

By KELLY MILLER

The long awaited Haitian Commission has been appointed. The universal desire and expectation of the Negro race have been disappointed. The President has departed from the general policy of the government in dealing with Negro governments. Frederick Douglass, Emmett J. Scott and Charles S. Johnson have served on similar commissions. From one point of view the Negro race was more highly honored by the appointment of Johnson than it would have been by racial recognition on the Haitian Commission. The Liberian Commission is an international body on which a Negro for the first time in American history is the sole representative of the United States as a negotiant with representatives from other nations.

Call 2-21-30

Although it is difficult to remain calm and composed in the face of disappointment and chagrin, let us see, if we can view the case as it lay in the President's mind.

Kansas City, Mo.

1. Mr. Hoover is not politically minded. His highest aim is to bring efficiency to the public service. With this end in view, he ignores politics, section and sex, and seeks to procure the very best man available for the position. His high standard is beyond the comprehension of the practical politician. The Haitian Commission, in its personnel, ranks with the Naval Commission now sitting at the Court of St. James. Forbes and Stimson, respective chairmen, have practically the same preliminary diplomatic experience as governors of the Philippine Islands. Ambassador Fletcher more than balances Ambassador Morrow. Both have been Ambassadors to Mexico; but Mr. Fletcher has had the more extensive diplomatic experience. William Allen White is unsurpassed in grasp of public questions by any other American publicist. The other two members seem to be technical experts in Caribbean politics and the Latin polity. No Negro could be found of like prominence, with the same degree of international experience and expertness. President Hoover showed his appreciation of the importance of the issues involved by appointing a commission of such high caliber and quality.

2. The issues involved in the Haitian situation are purely international and diplomatic. The Haitian peoples sustain no political, economic or social relations with the American Negro. The Haitians do, and of right ought to, demand the same treatment as would be accorded any other unfortunate nation in like predicament. That the presence of a Colored man on the Commission would assuage their sensibilities is only a fragment of the American Negro's mind. The appointment of a Negro would keep the race question to the fore which Mr. Hoover as well as the Haitian people want to relegate to the background. Let it be carefully noted that no Southern man of known and pronounced racial attitude was chosen. It seemed to be the policy of previous administrations to appoint Southern men to hig station in Haiti on the score that the Southerner knew best how to deal with the Negro. This conceit has lamentably broken down and in fact, lies at the basis of much of the mischief which must now be corrected.

3. The Haitians have imbibed the French rather than the Anglo-Saxon culture, and do not feel any inferiority complex on account of race. The Americans have stamped the Afro-American as a socially inferior class. The Haitians regard them at the appraisement which their fellow countrymen impose upon them. They deem it an insult to send in a diplomatic capacity a representative of a socially discredited class. The acceptance of such a representative tends to degrade them to the social level to which the Afro-American has been assigned. For this reason Santo Domingo long since repudiated the Afro American as an acceptable diplomatic representative. While the Afro-American may feel the sting of such affront by a nation of his own race and color, he must, on close reflection, understand the underlying reason. According to the strict logicality of the Gallic mind, no man who is deemed unfit to function in his own government at home is fit to represent it abroad.

4. By reason of the strained social relations between the races in this country, it is extremely doubtful if the President could find a highly competent body of white men who would have been willing to serve with a colored man with all of the social intimacies that the efficient functioning of this commission would require. The slightest semblance of social differentiation among the membership of the ings will carry great weight wi commission would be disastrous to the success and philanthropic circles in Am of its mission.

5. As a salve to soothe the wounds of the Afro- designation also indicates Mr. America, the President designated Dr. Moton policy in dealing with Afro-Ameri of Tuskegee, to make an educational survey of little or no heed to their politic the Island with a view to encouraging the ad- demands; but stands ready and vancement of the country along practical con- the race in a very practical way structive lines. By this happy stroke he at structive program is presented. once pays a compliment to the race to which 6. This incident ought to serv the Haitians belong and at the same time American Negro to his politica avoids wounding their sensibilities by divorcing statesmen pay no heed to his such racial recognition from diplomatic cir- and loud demands. He counts cles. The Tuskegee which Dr. Moton im- factor in the political equation. bibes and embodies represents the highest ex- is deaf to what the Negro want pression of educational adaptation to the needs him what he thinks he needs of unfortunate and retarded peoples. His find-

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Haiti

HAITI COMMISSION WILL SAIL FEB. 25

Time

Main Group Will Go on Rochester From Key West—Others to Leave Here Tuesday.

2-16-30 New York Sun.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15.—The principal members of President Hoover's commission for the study of conditions in Haiti will sail from Key West, Fla., on the cruiser Rochester on Feb. 25, and several assistants and stenographers will leave New York on the steamer Ancon next Tuesday.

Those sailing on the Ancon will be Rees H. Barkalow, a former foreign service officer, who will be secretary and disbursing officer of the commission; Fernand L. J. Dumont, a veteran translator for international commissions and conferences, and four State Department stenographers, Vera G. Nierling, Marguerite R. Roddy, Merlene Everett, Grace N. Carlisle and Germain Tougas.

Those sailing on the Rochester will be W. Cameron Forbes, chairman; Henry P. Fletcher, Elie Vezenia, James Kerney and William Allen White.

With them will be James Clement Dunn of the State Department, counselor of the commission; Dr. Victor G. Heiser of the Rockefeller Foundation, who will be medical adviser to the delegation; Charles H. Marshall of the firm of Butler, Herrick & Marshall in New York, who has a thorough knowledge of French; Warren H. Kelchner of the State Department, who will be assistant secretary to the commission; Robert C. Redmayne, stenographer-secretary with the commission, and Richard T. Strong, another stenographer-secretary.

HAITIAN COMMISSION IS ANTI-NEGRO GROUP

Chairman Forbes Opposed Independence for the Philippine Islands.

WHITE, ANTI-CATHOLIC

Opposed Al. Smith Because of His Religion.

By L. F. COLES

NEW YORK. — The editorial in the AFRO-AMERICAN for last week on President Hoover's Commission was the best editorial that I have read on that question and I have read up to now over fifty weekly papers and equally as many editorials from the metropolitan dailies. It took unusually high grounds. It struck from the shoulder.

Anyone, unless he is an asinine fool, knows that Mr. Hoover showed that he is prejudiced against Negroes' being on commissions where white men are to investigate intricate questions and that he is catering to the whims of the South and to Colonel Russell of Louisiana, who is at the bottom of all the trouble in Haiti.

Mr. Hoover must think that he is dealing with a lot of little children in fact most Negroes act as though they are. He said that President Borno of Haiti objects to Negroes from America being on commissions or rather the commission.

This seems somewhat inconsistent as Mr. Hoover appointed Dr. Major R. R. Moton on what he termed an "Educational Committee." This is puerile and inane. In fact, it is pusillanimous. It would be laughable if it were not so pathetic.

Dr. Moton

If Dr. Moton were not the conservative that he is, he would refuse to serve on a separate committe. but it would take more independence than he has manifested in the 25 years that I have known him to do this.

As a matter of fact, the trouble in Haiti hasn't anything to do with the educational system as it obtains in Haiti, as bad as it may be. The trouble is ancient history. The bankers of New York City have the marines in Haiti under Colonel Russell while they exploit the Haitian people of what rightfully belongs to them.

If Mr. Hoover doesn't know this, he is not fit for the presidency of the United States. If he knows it, then he is a hypocrite. One stroke of his pen would remove Russell and the marines out of Haiti, which would obliterate all of the trouble.

Anti-Negro

The New Republic has this to say: "After all this, it was something of an anti-climax when the personnel of the President's Haitian commission was announced. Its chairman is W. Cameron Forbes, Boston banker, who was governor-general of the Philippines before the World War. He was a member of the Wood-Forbes commission in 192 which reported not only against Philippine independence but also in favor of strengthening the power of the American governor-general in the islands.

"A second member of the commission is Mr. Henry P. Fletcher, an ex-soldier and diplomat whose views on Latin America have been regarded as decidedly conservative. The other members of the commission are journalists: Ellie Vezina, of Rhode Island, a French Canadian; James Kearney, of Trenton, a friend of Woodrow Wilson, and William Allen White of Emporia, Kansas.

"With the possible exception of Mr White, the commission contains no members of known sympathies toward the Negro race generally. Neither is there any Negro member."

White Hates Catholics

Everybody knows that William Allen White was Al Smith's greatest enemy. He was opposed to Smith on religion. I am wondering whether he will like a black Haitian Catholic any better than he liked a white Catholic.

Defending Hoover

Defending President Hoover for his failure to appoint a Negro on the Haitian commission, Dr. Kelly Miller, writing for the AFRO last week—"Failure to find Negroes of requisite international experience and expertness," accounts for President Hoover's all-white commission.

Admitting this for the sake of argument, we ask then, when is the Negro to become expert and experienced internationally unless he is appointed on such commissions.

W. Cameron Forbes, white chairman has been governor of the Philippines, and Henry P. Fletcher, also white, an ambassador to Italy, and when they received initial appointments they were inexpert and without international experience, but they were given a chance because they are white.

Those who read the ten telegrams from leading colored Americans perhaps noted that Dr. Miller alone defended the President's action. The nine others, Republicans as well as Democrats, felt that the President had made a mistake, at the very least.

In fact, Bishop John Hurst hit the nail on the head when he pointed out that the U.S. occupation of Haiti is "financial exploitation" and that the commission's head, Mr. Forbes, is a Yankee banker, who has already done good work for the National City Bank of New York which has forced a loan on Haiti against its will.

We agree also with Ferdinand Q. Morton of New York, that President Hoover has "affronted" the entire race, and, disagreeing again with Dr. Miller, the AFRO-AMERICAN believes that a half dozen qualified colored men could easily have been found had President Hoover been so minded.

All White Haitian Commission

By KELLY MILLER

The long awaited Haitian Commission has been appointed. The universal desire and expectation of the Negro race have been disappointed. The President has departed from the general policy of the government in dealing with Negro governments. Frederick Douglass, Emmett J. Scott and Charles S. Johnson have served on similar commissions. From one point of view the Negro race was more highly honored by the appointment of Johnson than it would have been by racial recognition on the Haitian Commission. The Liberian Commission is an international body on which a Negro for the first time in American history is the sole representative of the United States as a negotiant with representatives from other nations.

Although it is difficult to remain calm and composed in the face of disappointment and chagrin, let us see, if we can view the case as it lay in the President's mind.

1. Mr. Hoover is not politically minded. His highest aim is to bring efficiency to the public service. With this end in view, he ignores politics, section and sex, and seeks to procure the very best man available for the position. His high standard is beyond the comprehension of the practical politician. The Haitian Commission, in its personnel, ranks with the Naval Commission now sitting at the Court of St. James. Forbes and Stimson, respective chairmen, have practically the same preliminary diplomatic experience as governors of the Philippine Islands. Ambassador Fletcher more than balances Ambassador Morrow. Both have been Ambassadors to Mexico; but Mr. Fletcher has had the more extensive diplomatic experience. William Allen White is unsurpassed in grasp of public questions by any other American publicist. The other two members seem to be technical experts in Caribbean politics and the Latin polity. No Negro could be found of like prominence, with the same degree of international experience and expertness. President Hoover showed his appreciation of the importance of the issues involved by appointing a commission of such high caliber and quality.

2. The issues involved in the Haitian situation are purely international and diplomatic. The Haitian peoples sustain no political, economic or social relations with the American Negro. The Haitians do, and of right ought to, demand the same treatment as would be accorded any other unfortunate nation in like predicament. That the presence of a Colored man on the Commission would assuage their sensibilities is only a fragment of the American Negro's mind. The appointment of a Negro would keep the race question to the fore which Mr. Hoover as well as the Haitian people want to relegate to the background. Let it be carefully noted that no Southern man of known and pronounced racial attitude was chosen. It seemed to be the policy of previous administrations to appoint Southern men to hig station in Haiti on the score that the Southerner knew best how to deal with the Negro. This conceit has lamentably broken down and in fact, lies at the basis of much of the mischief which must now be corrected.

3. The Haitians have imbibed the French rather than the Anglo-Saxon culture, and do not feel any inferiority complex on account of race. The Americans have stamped the Afro-American as a socially inferior class. The Haitians regard them at the appraisement which their fellow countrymen impose upon them. They deem it an insult to send in a diplomatic capacity a representative of a socially discredited class. The acceptance of such a representative tends to degrade them to the social level to which the Afro-American has been assigned. For this reason Santo Domingo long since repudiated the Afro American as an acceptable diplomatic representative. While the Afro-American may feel the sting of such affront by a nation of his own race and color, he must, on close reflection, understand the underlying reason. According to the strict logicality of the Gallic mind, no man who is deemed unfit to function in his own government at home is fit to represent it abroad.

4. By reason of the strained social relations between the races in this country, it is extremely doubtful if the President could find a highly competent body of white men who would have been willing to serve with a colored man with all of the social intimacies that the efficient functioning of this commission would require. The slightest semblance of social differentiation among the membership of the commission would be disastrous to the success in a position to render designation also indicates ural lines.

5. As a salve to soothe the wounds of the Afro- policy in dealing with Afro-American. He gives ought to serve to bring the America, the President designated Dr. Moton little or no heed to their political claims and to his political sense. Our of Tuskegee, to make an educational survey of demands; but stands ready and willing to help political beard grows. In the meantime he had to his wild assertions the Island with a view to encouraging the ad- the race in a very practical way when a con- better devote his chief energies to constructive . He counts as a negligible vancement of the country along practical con- structive program is presented. advancement along social, industrial and cul- tical equation. Mr. Hoover such racial recognition from diplomatic circles. The Tuskegee which Dr. Moton is deaf to what the Negro wants, but accords bibes and embodies represents the highest ex- factor in the political hirn what he thinks he needs. He knows fully pression of educational adaptation to the needs is presented. His findof unfortunate and retarded peoples.

Haiti Has Welcomed Many Negroes as U.S. Ministers

Bishop John Hurst Refutes Notion that Black Republic has Ever Drawn the Color Line. Frederick Douglass Case Recalled; Insulted by State Department. Great Marylander Named Commissioner to Haiti. Bassett Given $18,000 Post for Twelve Years. Island's Troubles Began When President Wilson Named a White Louisianian as American Minister.

AS AMERICAN MINISTER.

Bishop Hurst, aroused by the Hoover statement that Haiti does not want a Negro commissioner, shows in this article that American Negroes served as ambassadors to Haiti for years and until President Wilson's administration, no one ever heard of complaint.

By JOHN HURST
Bishop A.M.E. Church
South Carolina Area.

The first American minister accredited at Port-Au-Prince, Haiti, was Ebenezer D. Bassett. He was appointed by President Grant. Bassett was a man of broad culture. He lived in New Haven, Connecticut, and it is said that he was a graduate from Yale College. He occupied the delightful villa of General Vil Lubin, a relative of Emperor Soulloque.

From the time of Bassett's occupancy, to the time he left, he turned that Villa into a veritable fairy-land. It was the center of attraction around Port-au-Prince.

John M. Langston.

Bassett was followed by that intrepid, eloquent Virginian, John Mercer Langston. He was a noble man and dean of law at Howard University. It is said that for a brief period he was president of that institution.

Madame Langston was a woman of charms, of brilliance, of intellect and her art of savoir-faire gave her the lead among the German, French, English, and other women of the diplomatic corps at Port-au-Prince.

Langston's chief achievement was the way he conducted and settled the Pelletier, Lazare and Navassa Island question. Mr. Frelinghuysen, Secretary of State, acknowledged him as a capable diplomatic officer.

Cleveland's Changes.

When Grover Cleveland became President, he wanted to change the way the colored men had been chosen for diplomatic service and he said that he would appoint suitable colored men to white countries and appoint white men to Negro countries where Negroes had been accustomed to be sent.

He appointed C. H. J. Taylor, of Georgia, minister to Bolivia, and H. C. C. Astwood, consul to Calais, France. Then he appointed a white man by the name of Davis, of some small town in Virginia, minister to Haiti.

The Senate kicked against Cleveland's policy and refused to confirm Taylor and Astwood. Taylor was made register of Deeds for the District and Astwood was sent to one of the islands.

White Man a Misfit.

Mr. Davis reported at Port-au-Prince and was received with all the courtesies due his rank. He was rather an uncomely looking man, careless in his dress and did not seem to fit.

Mr. Brutus Saint Victor, Secretary of the State for Haiti, directed Mr. Stephen Preston, minister of Haiti in Washington, to intimate to Mr. Thomas F. Bayard, U.S. Secretary of State, that it would please Haiti very much if another appointment could be made. Whereupon the President immediately made choice, through recommendation of Father McClain, a Catholic priest of New York, of Dr. John E. W. Thompson of that city.

John Thompson.

Dr. Thompson was a physician and a graduate of Yale College. The particular work to the credit of his administration is the settlement of the case of Otto Metzger vs. the Steamship American Republic, caught carrying contraband of war material.

He was followed by Mr. Powell of Camden, N. J. Mr. Powell had been a school teacher and pharmacist. His appointment was made by President McKinley upon the recommendation of Vice-President Hobart.

Frederick Douglass Insulted.

There came after him the great man, Frederick Douglass. Haiti never rejoiced in the face of any foreigner as she did at the coming of Douglass. To him was entrusted the scheme of having the Mole Saint Nicholas annexed to the United States for a naval station.

Mr. Douglass put his whole soul in to that matter and worked it out with skill, but Mr. Blaine became impatient and had the Naval Department to dispatch Admiral Ghernardi to supersede Mr. Douglass in negotiations.

It is said that Mr. Blaine got provoked at the dispatches addressed to Mr. Douglass by that most wonderful man that Haiti ever had at the head of its foreign affairs—Mr. Antenor Firmin—and Mr. Douglass, who would not be played with by any man, much less insulted, wired his resignation at once to Mr. Blaine and came home.

Haiti Angered by U.S.

John S. Durham, who was consul-general of the United States in Santo Domingo, was ordered to Port-au-Prince to take charge of the legation. Durham had been city editor of the Philadelphia Bulletin, was an alumnus of the University of Pennsylvania, and a man well versed, as you would imagine, in weighty, public affairs.

He and I were great friends, and he admitted to me that he did not like the delicate position in which he had been placed, by being compelled to follow Mr. Douglass; because at the break of the negotiations, Haiti was not feeling very good towards the United States.

Furniss Popular.

Dr. H. W. Furniss of Indianapolis became, after Mr. Durham, minister in Haiti. He was a many sided man, well educated and a man of character. He was thorough-going and uncompromising. He was sure of his step everywhere he laid his foot.

When I visited Haiti in 1909, no man was more popular than he, among all classes of people. Aside from being taken up first with his duties as an American representative, I found him letting out suggestions here and there that might be helpful to the Haitian authorities.

Up to this time, all ministers to Haiti, following the Civil War were colored men, except Mr. Davis, appointed by Cleveland.

Wilson Started Trouble.

When Mr. Wilson became President, it was the first time we heard that a Negro appointee as minister would be persona non grata to the Haitian government. It was after Bishop Walters, Mr. Trotter and other Negro Democrats endeavored to move him to appoint a colored man as minister to Haiti.

Mr. Wilson appointed a white man—Mr. Blanchard of Louisiana, to be minister to Haiti and had Congress raise the salary from $6,000 to $10,000.

Mr. Blanchard was received the same as his predecessors, though I heard often that his French was rather cracked.

Took Capitol by Night.

Blanchard had hardly been installed in his office when the intrigues leading to the American occupation began. White traders who had begun to come in towards the close of Dr. Furniss's incumbency, were coming in goodly numbers and before two years, Admiral Caperton had landed his marines at Bizoton (three miles south of Port-au-Prince), in the night, and before day-break had captured the city.

I need not enter into what followed, except to say that after they had assumed control by military force, of the entire island, they began to size up those officers of the marine service who had distinguished themselves in the military invasion, to find someone to be in entire control of Haitian affairs.

It is said that Sanguinary Smedley D. Butler would have been chosen had it not been that behind him were streams of blood running from Hinche and Artibonite from the hundreds of innocent Haitian men, women and children massacred by him under the guise that he was yet to pacify that section of the country.

Russell Ruler of Haiti.

Shifting from one to another, they made choice of Brigadier-General John H. Russell and made him United States High Commissioner, which means that he was there to carry out the orders of the United States in every respect; that he was the Minister Plenipotentiary and that he was the ruler of Haiti. The whole Haitian government, in all of its details, was turned over to him.

Now when they tell you today that the Haitian government would not have a Negro on a commission for any purpose, it means that General Russell would not have such. Who is the Haitian government but General Russell?

Bassett Haitian Consul.

In answer to this plea, may we remind the Negroes of America (in contradiction to that falsehood that the Haitian government would not have a Negro as a member of the commission), that Ebenezer D. Bassett, the first Negro minister to Haiti, after serving his term of eight years under President Grant, returned to America and a few years afterwards was appointed consul general of Haiti in New York, with an income of $18,000, including salary and fees and that he remained in that position twelve years. Does that show that the Haitian people will not tolerate the American Negro?

Douglass Commissioner.

May I also remind them that the Great Frederick Douglass, on his return to Washington, his home, because he had been insulted by the State Department; before he had been home two years was appointed by the Haitian government to be the Haitian commissioner at the World's Fair, with a salary of $10,000 against $6,000 paid him as minister. Does that show that the Haitian government will not tolerate American Negroes?

most malicious and unkind performance, having but one object "to divide, to kill the sympathy shown by colored Americans for Haiti's cause." We have been criticized for it unjustly, for late events have portrayed conclusively that Mr. Borno has no right to speak for the Haitian people nor attribute his personal feelings to them.

The opportunity for a person of the Negro race to sit upon this commission was welcomed by different newspapers. La Presse of Port-au-Prince, in the issue of Jan. 15, reprinted an article from The New York Amsterdam News demanding a Negro. This organization, the New York branch of the Union, on Jan. 6 wrote to President Hoover appealing to him, begging him "in the name of efficiency" to appoint a Negro. We suggested to him Captain N. B. Marshall, who, we know, is informed about conditions in Haiti. A letter from the State Department, dated Jan. 17, acknowledges our letter.

Mr. Borno's willingness might be the reflection of the Southern whites who are in control in Haiti, but it is not the sentiments of the Haitian people... In the name of all ethical principles we denounce and repudiate the discrimination made in their name.

(Signed) SECRETARY GENERAL,
New York Branch,
The Haitian Patriotic Union.
61 East 133d street,
New York City,
Feb. 14, 1930.

The Man in the Street

Letters to the Editor to be published under this heading should be plainly written, on one side of the paper only, and should not exceed 250 words in length. Your full name and address must be given, although this information does not necessarily have to be printed.

HAITIAN COMMISSION

The Haitian Protective Union Gets Answer to Letter to Hoover.

To the Editor of The Amsterdam News:

Sir:

Commenting upon the members of the Haitian Investigation Committee, The New York World of Feb. 8 stated: "Possibly acceding to the wishes of Louis Borno of Haiti, who has signified a willingness that white men compose the Commission, the President added the supplemental commission of Negro investigators to be headed by Dr. Moton." The Union views this as a

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Haiti.

Haitians Cordial But View U.S. With Suspicion

By CARL MURPHY

EDITOR'S NOTE: — This article gives a point of view which makes out a case for Catholic Haiti. Other articles from a different point of view will follow).

PORT au PRINCE, Haiti.—As cordial as has been the welcome of the Moton Commission in Haiti, no Haitian has forgotten that the members of the commission are Americupation has brought Haiti schools, roads, sanitation and freedom from revolution, yet all of these material advantages have not brought the white Anglo-Saxon and the black Latin cultures a whit closer together here.

For all improvements Haiti is grateful, but she is not happy because America rammed them down the Haitian throat instead of developing its program through cooperation.

The presence of the marines, the building of new schools, the bias of the American press, and what seems to be an offensive against Haiti's beloved Catholic faith are all spots which have been irritaetd by the Occupation until they are sore.

The Marines Detested.

If Americans are cordially detested in Haiti, marines must take a large share of the blame. Before the Occupation, Haitians declare that houses of ill-fame were virtually unknown. For the AFRO-AMERICAN this week, a newspaper man pointed out three such places within a block of the local branch of the National City Bank of New York. In them flourish the "blues" and the "bump," our one hundred per cent contribution to a new type of West Indian sex excitants.

Witnesses before the Moton commission testified this week that the white non-coms of the Marines are more difficult to get along with than commissioned officers. In rural districts outside the capital non-coms are pictured as kings and lords, overbearing and cruel.

Marines maintain a commissary near the barracks. This small scale department store buys wholesale in New York, shuns local markets and bans all civilians as purchasers. Local merchants claim unfair competition.

Marines Represent White Press.

The United States gets its daily reports on Haiti from the United Press and the Associated Press, two white news services which are world wide. Both correspondents of these services are marine officers.

The Associated Press representative here is Lieutenant Mencis, located at the U.S. legation. The United Press correspondent is Lieutenant Frederick Zelton.

Haitians declare there is little chance of America getting unbiased news reports under such circumstances.

When the Forbes Commission visited here last March the United Press made amends somewhat by appointing Sylvian Cator, a Haitian, world's champion broad jumper, as an additional correspondent.

The result was that two different stories went out concerning the reception of the Moton Commission, the one from Lieutenant Zelton inferred that the populace recieved the visitors coldly. The other from Mr. Cator told of 3,000 standing and cheering as Dr. R. R. Moton and his aids entered the stadium Sunday afternoon to witness a soccer game specially arranged in their honor, and of voluntary ovations which greeted the Americans at th epier and at the palace.

Flags Draped Together.

At the stadiu mthe flags of Haiti and the United States draped the large official box for the first time. On other occasions they might have appeared together in militiary demonstrations, but never voluntarily at the suggestion or direction of the Haitians themselves.

Schools Face Churches.

Haitians point out that two newly erected public schools located on government land are facing two of the city's largest Catholic churches, one the Cathedral, perhaps the city's largest and most beautiful building. Objections of local citizens that these plots should be reserved for parks and breathing spots, were of no avail. The schools were erected.

To be sure they are not now used for school purposes, nor have they been since a general strike of students in government schools last October. One of the plots was the site of a market which ardent churchgoers regarded as an eyesore and had moved elsewhere after years of agitation. Worshippers coming out of church viewing the school buildings instead of the park they planned have thoughts which are not religious.

The Catholic Church Revered.

The Catholic church is the national church of Haiti. The nation is not only proud of the church but it is thankful for its aid.

Haitians say that the influence of the Catholic church is needed among peasants in the rural sections to combat superstitions remaining as a part of their African heritage.

In the early days Haiti needed teachers. Catholics alone offered themselves, and today Catholics dominate the moral, spiritual, and intellectual life of the island. Under an agreement with the Vatican, priests and sisters teaching in many parts of the island are paid by the government. Haiti also subsidizes a seminary located in France for the training of Haitian priests. These Catholic white teachers, although French subjects, devote their lives to their work on the island and therefore become essentially Haitians.

The American plan to establish a national system of education, while recognized as modern, is viewed in some circles as a program to teach one hundred per cent Americanism to children, to weaken the hold of the church, and to control the patriotic spirit for independence everywhere prevalent in the Catholic schools.

MOTON AND HIS AIDES BEGIN EDU. SURVEY IN HAITI

Seek To Turn Enthusiasm of Welcome Into Co-operation

FACE OBSTACLES

Thousands Cheer As Commission Lands At Capital

By P. L. PRATTIS

Staff Correspondent for the Associated Negro Press

PORT AU PRINCE, HAITI—(Copyrighted)—Dominant in the minds of the members of the American Commission which President Hoover appointed to conduct an educational survey in Haiti is the possibility of translating the enthusiasm of the spirited welcoming ovation given them by thousands of Haitians into genuine cooperation with the commission in the performance of its mission in the historic Negro republic.

The commission is lodged at the Excelsior Annex, a short distance beyond the presidential palace. It is not a hotel, there being no such places in Haiti as we know them in America. It is a palatial French villa, expansive and windowless, which ex-President Borno built for his wife [illegible] and used for official purposes.

Sensing that various groups of Haitians would be eager to know, the commission made known the object of its visit. The following statement was issued to the press:

Purpose of Commission

"It is the purpose of the Commission to secure at first hand from all those charged with responsibility for education in the Republic a statement of the aims and methods of the particular activities under their direction. It further plans to visit and inspect schools of every type.

"The Commission seeks the cooperation of all interested persons in securing facts, opinions, and recommendations bearing upon education in Haiti. Public notice will be given of the time and place when the Commission will receive such persons."

The members of the commission, including Dr. Moton, feel that a responsibility of the utmost importance has been placed upon their shoulders. This was impressed upon Dr. Moton and other members of the commission by President Hoover and by Governor General Cameron Forbes while they where still in the states. President Hoover was well aware of the nature of the difficulties in the way of peaceful and orderly development. He is hopeful that the Forbes commission has enabled the establishment of a stable central government.

But that commission had no occasion or authority to inquire into the complex social relations and depressed economic conditions as they are or may be affected by a system of education. It is the function of this commission to obtain all the information possible regarding the existing educational processes in Haiti, academic, and industrial, and to formulate from the facts, a program for a system of education useful to all Haitians and behind which all Haitians can unite in support.

Face Many Obstacles

The commission is wisely aware of obstacles which it will have to remove from the path of its duty. It knows of the sharp social and intellectual cleavage between the Haitians of Port au Prince and the peasants of the hinterland, creating top and bottom social classes without what seems to the American the necessary middle class of tradesmen and merchants. And it is sensible also of the fact that these two classes have had no sympathetic and common interest in each other's welfare. The Haitians of Port-au-Prince are well educated. The peasants have little or no education and the elite residents of the capital city have not been disposed to consider that education, of any particular kind, was necessary for the peasants. As a consequence, there has been no well-supported public school system.

The commission will interest itself in all types of education, military, academic, and industrial, which it finds in the island and its recommendations will be based upon its judgment as to the types of education required for the development of the people toward sustaining themselves in self-government, promotion of their country's internal welfare and the proper exploitation of its natural resources.

President Hoover wishes Haiti to be free of American control. He feels that the people of America wish it to grow into a useful commercial ally of our country.

Members of Commission

The members of the commission who arrived June 15, are: Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, chairman; Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University; Prof. Benjamin Hubert, president of Georgia State Industrial College at Savannah; W. T. B. Williams, dean of the college at Tuskegee and the secretary of the commission, and Dr. G. Lake Imes, special assistant to the principal at Tuskegee.

Mr. Leo Favrot, white, field secretary for the General Education Board, another member of the commission, was unable to leave New York, due to an injury sustained while traveling to the port to join the other members. It is hoped that he will be able to come to Haiti later.

The rest of the makeup of the commission party includes: Alphonse Heningburg, professor of Romance languages at Tuskegee, interpreter; William Shields, stenographer; Carl Murphy, editor of the Afro-American, and the writer.

Americans are unused to the kind of demonstration which this hot-blooded people made upon the arrival of the commission. All along the torturous route of nearly a mile which our cavalcade traversed to the Excelsior Annex, huge crowds, numbering thousands, lined either side of the streets and boulevards, held back at some places by ropes and at others by uniformed police.

Welcome Is Warm

As soon as the ship had docked, Mr. Grummont, the charge d'affaires, met the commission and had it taken to the shore end of the quay in a motor launch, where the commissioners were greeted by the Haitian communal commission, a welcoming committee of three, led by M. Lechand. The greeting was cordial and dignified. Dr. Moton replied to it with apppropriate grace and that ceremony was shortly over.

The party was then hurried into waiting automobiles and driven to the Excelsior Annex, from where, without the opportunity of changing clothes, they were compelled to leave to pay their official call upon the minister of foreign affairs for Haiti and the President of the Republic. Large Packards of the president of the Republic took the members of the commission party to the palace, where they were greeted, as they hurried in between photographers, by a company of Haitian gendarmes, commanded by an American marine.

The meetings with M. Bernadine, minister of foreign affairs, and M.

Eugene Roy, the president, were a formal but friendly exercise. Both the distinguished leaders of their country disposed themselves with a warm cordiality and easy grace. The appointments of the salon of the minister of foreign affairs were rich without being lavish and bore the mark of French influence.

President Receives Commission

The president of the Republic received the commission in his huge audience chamber, in the center of which, upon a carpet of crimson, red-brocaded arm chairs, with legs and arms of gilded gold, were arranged in the shape of a horseshoe, at the base of which sat the president, Dr. Moton, and the charge d'affaires, and on either side of which sat the commission party and the members of the Haitian cabinet. The audience lasted about fifteen minutes.

After the commission members had returned to their hotel, their calls were returned by the Haitian officials. At one o'clock luncheon was served for them at the American Legation. Luncheon was followed by an automobile drive into the country which was cut short in order to return to Port au Prince in time for a soccer game which had been arranged for the commission by Sylvio Cator, president of the Haitian sports Federation. This is the same Cator who is the broad jump champion of the world. The crowds, ceremony, and cheering at the game were very impressive, and, I am told, but am not sure that, for the first time, the American and Haitian flags were shown together in an official grouping.

DR. MOTON MAKES SECOND SURVEY OF HAITI NOW

Afro-American 6-1-30

1923 Survey Recommended Use of Colored Teachers There

Baltimore, Md

THREE FACTORS

Race, Religion and Language Involved.

By CARL MURPHY

PORT-au-PRINCE, Haiti.—For at least two members of the Haitian Commission foreign investigations at the request of the President of the United States is no new thing.

Dr. R. R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee and chairman of the commission now in Haiti, was the choice of the late President Wilson during the war to visit colored troops in France and report to the President upon their morale and treatment.

Other Surveys

In 1923, he was commissioned by Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes to make a survey of educational conditions in Haiti, and sent out Dr. W. T. B. Williams, dean of Tuskegee Institute whose 40-page type-written report on Haitian schools if brought up to date, would give an approximation of the kind of service the present commission is expected to perform.

Last year Dr. Moton, cooperating this time with Principal J. E. Gregg of Hampton Institute, commissioned Dean Williams and three white men to make an educational survey of the Virgin Islands for the U.S. Navy Department.

The Previous Haitian Survey

The Williams survey reported the overwhelming predominance of the Catholic church in both religion and education, declaring that the "priests are almost entirely Frenchmen and Belgians, and of the several hundred in the country there are not a half-dozen Haitians, according to local reports, and most of the better elementary schools and colleges of the country are conducted by French and Belgian fathers and sisters."

Dean Williams recommended the encouragement of the denominational schools but "the centering of educational efforts upon schools supported by public funds."

U. S. Colored Teachers

Among other things he recommended the employment of a limited number of colored American teachers to carry U.S. methods into the rural sections of Haiti, and suggested that Haitian teachers should also be sent to schools in the United States including Tuskegee, Harvard, Columbia and Hampton.

Finally it was suggested that the Haitian rural schools could profit by the supervisory methods now in vogue in the U.S. under the auspices of the Jeanes Fund, the Rosenwald Fund and the Education Board.

Conditions Better

Since the Williams report seven years ago, conditions in Haitian schools have improved. Today over a hundred thousand pupils are reported in the schools (one-fourth of the available school population) and the U.S. Government through an understanding with the Haitian Government has established a "Service Technic" which operates a normal school and 48 rural schools instructing in all phases of farming and home-making, including the chemistry of soils, marketing, forestry, manual training, garden practice, care of animals and growing crops.

No Haitians to Hampton

However, no Haitians have been sent to colored schools in the United among the thirty whites sent over from the United States to carry on the work.

Factors Involved

Any solution of Haiti's educational problems, some experts believe, rests upon a number of factors including the following:

Haitian confidence that the American people are behind President Hoover when he said last February that the United States has no mandate to continue its marines and officials in Haiti when the treaty expires in 1936. Many believe that when that time comes, Uncle Sam will force a second extension of the treaty and the occupation.

Haitian culture is French. One of its fundamentals is complete freedom and racial equality. Despite a caste system, there is no color line. Fourteen of its 28 rulers have been pure blooded blacks. Haitians, independent for 111 years, have had a taste of American culture, American marines and American race prejudice, and it has not left a good taste in their mouths. In them the love of freedom and independence is as deeply ingrained as in the hearts of American whites. Beside our George Washington, Haiti writes without apology the name of Toussaint L' Overture.

Public education must also be developed side by side with the Catholic schools, without friction, experts say. By agreements made in 1860, 1862, and 1912 with the Vatican, the Catholic church has 700 priests and lay workers in Haiti. The government gives certain scholarships and pays certain salaries.

Difficulty of Language

French is the official language, but thousands of Haitians speak a corruption of African and French termed Creole. For many years instruction in the schools must be given in both languages.

EXPECT MOTON GROUP TO END DAMIEN STRIKE

Afro-American 6-28-30

Baltimore, Md

Agricultural College Regarded as Culminating Villainy.

SPENT $560,000

Say Southern Minded Head Drew Large Wage

By CARL MURPHY

PORT au PRINCE, Haiti.—The Moton Commission was sent here by President Hoover to "study and review" the educational situation in Haiti, but three Haitian high school boys declared the purpose of the commission in the island is to settle the Damien strike.

One after the other, the three youngsters questioned by a member of the commission visiting a class in English, arose and gave the same answer.

Damien is the U.S. controlled and manned agricultural college five miles outside the capital. With its model gardens and its well laid off fields, it is a delight to every American farm expert familiar with the U.S. system of industrial and farm education.

Culminating Villainy

To the Haitian, Damien with its 75 branch schools, scattered all over the island, called the "Service Technique" (Technical Service) or as the students called it, merely Damien, represents the culminating villainy of the American Occupation.

Beginning in 1915 for nine years the United States dominated every department of the Haitian government but one, the schools. Then it started the Damien school, imported two or three dozen white "experts" at salaries twelve or thirteen times those of Haitians doing the same or similar work, and in addition gave them garages, chauffeurs and free gasoline.

Some of these experts did good work in developing cotton, sisal, and coffee plants, eradicating pests and breeding cattle. Others were not so expert. They couldn't speak French, and had had no experience with tropical plants and animals.

Dr. George Freeman, head of the school, a gentleman of Southern U. S. persuasion, posted a bulletin Nov. 19, 1929, advising all teachers to learn the French language within six months. In spite of this order, the Americans made little progress in French but continued to draw salaries of $450 a month with two, and sometimes three, months' vacation.

$560,000 Yearly

And with the Haitian minister's hands tied so tightly by the U.S. Financial Adviser, that he can only carry out U.S. orders, he sees the Haitian taxpayers' money spent at the rate of $560,000 a year on the Technical Service leaving only $390,000 a year to be spent on all the other native schools in Haiti.

Native teachers in rural sections are getting from four to six dollars a month. No teacher working for the Service Technique get less than $40.

Haitians charge that wives of some of the white experts draw $200 a month as stenogs, clerks and librarians.

Students Strike

Last October the students at Damien, 200 strong, walked out and precipitated the general strike, that resulted in riots and blodshed at Port au Prince and Aux Cayes. Dissatisfaction spreading through the island, led Mr. Hoover to hurry the appointment of the Forbes Commission.

They have never returned, although their places have been filled by unqualified students gathered here and there by the Service Technique in order to keep the wheels a moving. The law requires that Damien entrants should have finished the second year of college. The 38 students now at Damien have only the elementary school certificate. Twenty-seven failed and only three passed a recent entrance examination, but Haitians charge that all were admitted.

To Settle Scandal

Haitians hope that somehow this scandal will be settled. They would prefer that Uncle Sam get out bag and baggage, but before that, the commission should settle the Damien strike.

Names White Man as Minister to Haiti

Chicago Defender 6-28-30

WASHINGTON, June 27.—President Hoover Tuesday nominated Dana G. Munro, chief of the Latin-American affairs division of the state department, for the post of United States minister in Haiti.

Haiti

Race Problem-1930

West Indies

The Haitian Commission

PRESIDENT HOOVER has selected five white men for the Haitian commission. The chairman, W. Cameron Forbes, has been Governor General of the Philippine Islands, and should be able to understand the Haitian viewpoint. Nevertheless, the record shows that in 1921 he looked with disfavor upon Philippine independence. Henry P. Fletcher, a former Ambassador to Mexico, is familiar with Latin-American affairs. The reason for the appointment of James Kearney is not so clear; he is a Catholic and therefore sympathetic with the religion of Haiti, but there are many Catholics. Elie Vezina is acceptable as a strong Catholic, a master of the French language and a student of Haitian affairs. William Allen White is the only man on the commission whom the American Negro can accept without muttering.

THE PRESIDENT was so careful to name two men of the same religion as the Haitians that it is strange he did not appoint some man or men of the same race as the Haitians. It is doubly strange, for the grievances of the Haitians have nothing whatever to do with religion. No one has complained that the American occupation showed disrespect to the Catholic faith, or suggested that a different attitude toward that faith would solve the Haitian problem. That problem is racial, not because of its nature, but because the American marines have made it so. They have not used the word Papist; but they have made the island ring with the word "nigger."

THE CHOICE OF DR. MOTON to investigate the educational system of Haiti is all right in its way, but it does not touch the matter in hand. The present troubles of Haiti were not brought about by its methods and principles of education, but by bloodthirsty U. S. Marines, sent there by a President of the United States.

No Colored Commissioners

Neither the colored masses of America nor of Haiti will approve the failure of President Hoover to appoint a single colored member of the Haitian Inquiry Commission. Certain it is that this all white commission, eminent and expert though it is, cannot approach the problems of the Black Republic with unbiased minds. Neither can these Caucasians appreciate the political racial traditions of these sons of Touissain L' Ouverture and Emperor Christophe. They cannot feel nor respond to the spirit of this proud and poverty stricken black people. The appointment of the principal of The Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute to ascertain Haiti's educational needs, will of course prevent the possibility of any social equality issue either among the commissioners or in Haiti being raised but it does not suffice to satisfy the deep desire of black America to see black Haiti given a progessive square deal. President Hoover has erred we believe in trying to compromise the vital issues involved. He should have appointed some colored members on the commission.

Remove Marines From Haiti And Give Republic Own Rule" Senator King Tells Pres. Hoover

Washington, D. C.—Maintaining that the present treaty between the United States and Haiti is illegal, Senator King, Democrat, of Utah, in a conference with President Hoover, urged the recall of Brig. Gen. John H. Russell as U. S. High Commissioner, and his replacement by a civilian.

Senator King told President Hoover the Haitians should be allowed to rule their own country under a Constitution adopted by themselves rather than the present one which he said was drawn up by the U. S. Navy.

"I believe that our going into Haiti was not justified, and that it was a violation of the sovereignty of Haiti and an injustice to the Haitians," Senator King said.

"I have asserted over and over again that we should get out of Haiti, and I have introduced a resolution in the Senate demanding withdrawal of the marines, and the calling of a constitutional convention by the Haitians. I have bitterly opposed President Borno, and I am opposed to any policy that would call for retention of the marines in the country.

"I think the United States should announce its intention to send a civilian governor in place of a military governor and that neither Borno nor whom he might name should be the figurhead governor of Haiti.

"I believe that if we anonunced that an election would be held within a reasonable time for the selection of such officers as they might provide in their Constitution, peace and tranquility would come to Haiti and all resentment would cease. I believe we are in Haiti under an illegal treaty."

Senator King said that while he favored a civilian governor, he would, in the absence of anything better, support President Hoover's proposal for a commission to study the Haitian problem. He did not think that the commission would ascertain any facts worth while under the present military regime, however.

NEW YORK WORLD

FEB 9 - 1930

Exhibit Untolds Early History of Haiti

Strong National Feeling Shown in Library Documents

By Lester A. Walton

WHAT Haitians think of their history, culture, the domestic features of their civilization the republic's status as an independent state among the world powers, and American occupation is vigorously and earnestly told by rare books, manuscripts and prints which will be on exhibition for a fortnight in the West 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library.

In books written by Haitian Negroes from the time of M. Raymond in 170 to the present there is unfolded a romantic word picture of past glories Contemporary literati proudly refer to halcyon days gone by, but in alludin to existing conditions indulge in mel ancholy musing.

The Royal Almanacs of 1815 and 1820, printed at Sans Souci during th reign of Christophe; the Royal Gazett of 1818 establishing high schools prints of the coronation ceremony o 1852, with portraits of Emperor Faustin I. and Empress Adelina, and books by members of the nobility, represented by Comte de Limonade, Comte d Rosiers and Baron de Vastey, reflect period when Haiti was an imperia domain. Louis Joseph Janvier, Hannibal Price, Gen. Legitime, J. N. Leger Dantes Bellegarde, Madicu, Ardouin and Firmin breathe the spirit of a more democratic government — the republic. With one exception the writings are in French.

The most modern books in the collection are by Leger, at one time Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Haiti in the United States, and Bellegarde, who has represented his country at the League of Nations. Leger deals with the historical phases of his native land, while Bellegarde voices keen resentment against the presence of an armed force from the United States.

"Haiti, self-governing since June 1, 1804, was officially recognized as an independent state in 1825 and later by all the powers of the world," Bellegarde relates. "She is bound by treaties and conventions with the nations of Europe, America and Asia. She has participated in perfect equality with the other states in all the great international conferences. She has the fullest rights of legation. She has her representatives at the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. She is a signatory to the Treaty of Versailles, and an original member of the League of Nations, where she sits with honor, and where her vote counts as much as that of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy or Japan.

"Therefor with what right has the United States, according to the avowal of Admiral Caperton himself, 'accomplished military intervention' in the affairs of the independent and sovereign Republic of Haiti?" asks the writer.

"Haiti has not had peace," he says "Peace, real peace, lies not in materia order imposed by bayonets. It is the free will of conscience and the accord of minds brought about by the loyal practice of liberty, by the cult of justice and respect for the rights of the individual and the nation. Haiti has order through humiliation, according to the energetic expression of the patriot Deputy Cabeche. We do not have peace because hatred and revolts are in our hearts.

"There will be no peace in Haiti un-

til Haitian independence is re-established and until the Haitian people are free to form again their own Government."

J. N. Leger in his book complains that, "although at a comparatively short distance from the United States Haiti is nevertheless very little known in this country, where in most cases books written in English by unscrupulous travelers or authors are the only source of information. In this manner errors and prejudice become rooted in the minds of many Americans, who believe that my fellow-countrymen are addicted to all kinds of gross superstition and are reverting to barbarism instead of progressing in civilization.

"This rather severe arraignment is founded upon slanders which everybody repeats without taking the trouble of examining facts in order to ascertain the truth. One cannot pass judgment upon a nation at first sight. In order to form an impartial appreciation of a people one must be acquainted with its origin and customs. It is necessary to make a study of the causes which have hindered or facilitated its evolution. One must be acquainted with the telluric and climatological conditions which exert a certain influence over the successive changes of a country. A foreigner who spends but a few days in a country cannot be in a position to speak with the accuracy and thorough knowledge of the inhabitants. He is likely to repeat all the gossip gathered from his new-made acquaintances or give rein to his imagination.

"Those who hasten to judge a nation whose history and temperament they have not taken the trouble to study are either guilty of bad faith or ignorance."

The charge is made by Leger that many foreign writers unfriendly toward Haiti make mention only of the reprisals inflicted by Haitians on whites. But they unintentionally omit all reference to the frequent revolting crimes which brought about these acts of retaliation.

It is pointed out that in 1907, twenty-three years ago, from the budget of $7,000,000, there was spent annually for public instruction $800,000, exclusive of Lycee and other high schools; that in Port au Prince alone there were ten public schools under management of Brothers of Christian Instruction, one Lancastrian and five lay schools, a school of classical education for girls and another for boys, eight primary schools and numerous private educational institutions.

Justice is administered by the Supreme Court, civil and commercial tribunals. Civil courts are in Port-au-Prince, Cape Haitien, Cayes, Gonaives, Jacmel, Jeremie, Anse-a-Veau, Aquin, Port de Paix, Saint Marc, Petit Goave and Fort-Liberte.

The reader is reminded that in Haiti a man's color constitutes neither a bar nor a disadvantage to him, and that while Catholicism is the religion of the country, annual appropriations are made to Protestant sects.

Prior to the discovery of Haiti by Columbus, Dec. 6, 1492, the country was peopled by Indians who numbered 1,000,000. In 1496 civil war soaked what had been named Hispania in blood, and by 1507 there remained but 60,000 aborigines to give battle to the Spanish. Four years after the number had dwindled to 14,000. In 1625 the French were successful in taking part of the island while the English raised their flag over Jamaica.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century so great was the demand for labor that blacks were imported from Africa, some 30,000 yearly. Leger comments that in 1779, 800 blacks and mulattoes left their families and homes in Saint-Dominque and fought with George Washington at the siege of Savannah.

The books, manuscripts and prints are said to be the largest and most valuable on Haiti outside of that country. They are from the Schomburg collection, housed in the division of Negro literature and history of the branch library.

TIMES

N. Y.

FEB 8 1930

PRESIDENT NAMES HAITI COMMISSION

Picks W. C. Forbes, Chairman; H. P. Fletcher, Elie Vezina, James Kerney, W. A. White.

NONE YET FROM CONGRESS

Dr. Robert R. Moton of Tuskegee Is Asked to Head an Independent Educational Survey.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7.—President Hoover appointed a commission today to study the Haitian problem. It will be headed by W. Cameron Forbes, former Governor General of the Philippines. Other members chosen are Henry P. Fletcher of Pennsylvania, Elie Vezina of Rhode Island, James Kerney of New Jersey and William Allen White of Kansas. Two more members, representing the Senate and House, may be appointed later. The commission will depart for Haiti between Feb. 20 and 25.

"In cooperation with Mr. Forbes," the President declared, "I have requested Dr. Robert R. Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, on behalf of the institute and such other educational affiliations as he may suggest, to undertake an exhaustive investigation into the educational system of Haiti with view to recommendations for the future."

The Moton investigation will be independent of the other inquiry, but will proceed simultaneously.

Whether there will be Congressional representation on the committee has not been finally settled. The President said today that he was conferring with members of the Senate and House, but that there was some disinclination on their part to serve, and the question had not yet been settled.

Mr. Hoover on last Tuesday said the commission would be composed of "men of unbiased minds," who would "work out in broad vision" the "sequent and positive steps which will lead to the liquidation of our responsibilities and at the same time assure stable government in Haiti" after the marines leave the island.

Mr. Forbes, a Harvard graduate and a partner of J. M. Forbes & Co. of Boston, was a member of the Philippine Commission and Secretary of Commerce and Police in the Philippines in 1904-08, Vice Governor, 1908-09, and Governor General, 1909-13. He was also a member of the Wood-Forbes Philippines Commission in 1921.

Mr. Fletcher has had a distinguished career in the Foreign Service, especially as Ambassador to Chile, Mexico, Belgium and Italy and as Under-Secretary of State. He is thoroughly familiar with Latin-American affairs, having served as chairman of the American delegation to the Fifth Pan American Conference in 1923 and as a delegate to the sixth conference at Havana two years ago. He made the good-will tour to Latin America with Mr. Hoover when the latter was President-elect, and is now a member of the commission striving to settle the Honduran-Guatemalan boundary question.

Mr. Vezina, born in Canada, lives in Woonsocket, R. I., where he has been secretary of L'Union St. Jean Baptiste d'Amérique since 1914. When 19 years old he left Canada for Chicago and became a newspaper man. He is a student of Haitian affairs, a member of the Legion of Honor and a Knight of the Order of St. Gregory.

Mr. Kerney, well known through his affiliation with the Wilson Administration, was long affiliated with The Trenton (N. J.) Times. He is the author of "The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson" and represented the "Creel" committee on public information abroad during the World War. Educated in parochial schools, he was a reporter on The Trenton Times and later its editor, publisher and treasurer. He lives in Trenton and is a contributer to magazines.

William Allen White, a personal friend of the President, is the proprietor and editor of The Emporia Gazette. He was active in the Hoover campaign, is a member of the Institute of Pacific Relations and has written numerous books, among them lives of Woodrow Wilson and of Calvin Coolidge.

Haiti Warmly Welcomes Plan.

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, Feb. 7 (AP).—The Haitian press has welcomed with favorable comment President Hoover's plan for investigating by a commission the question of when and how the United States should cease its participation in Haitian Government affairs.

Le Matin, leading government organ, says that the investigation is a matter of the highest importance. The Opposition press praises it as an act of international equity and reparation, declaring that it will be a memorable date in Haitian history.

Perceval Thoby, president of the Union Patriotique, resigned today after dissension had broken out in the union over his policies. Antoine Rigal, a lawyer, was elected to replace him.

FOE OF PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE TO HEAD COMMISSION

Dr. Robert R. Moton Named to Make Independent Inquiry Into Haiti's Educational System—Fisk Favors Elections

WASHINGTON, Feb. 10.—The failure of President Hoover to appoint a Negro on the commission to investigate conditions in Haiti has served to further arouse the suspicions of Negroes here and elsewhere that they are no longer considered a part of the Republican party. President Hoover named five members of the committee last Friday.

W. Cameron Forbes of Massachusetts, former Governor General of the Philippines, and said to be an opponent of Philippine independence, was named chairman.

Other members are Henry P. Fletcher of Pennsylvania, former Ambassador to Italy; Elie Vezina of Rhode Island, a prominent lay Catholic; James Kearney of New Jersey, a friend of the late President Wilson, who originally "deprived the Haitians of their liberty" and William Allen White of Kansas, a distinguished editor.

Moton Named.

Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, at the same time was named to inquire into the educational system of Haiti, but his appointment seems not at all to be sufficient to allay the feeling that the commission will seek only to "whitewash" the deplorable conditions obtaining in the island republic. Otherwise, it is pointed out, Dr. Moton or some other Negro would have been appointed on the commission itself.

It is expected that the commission will go to Haiti between Feb. 20 and 25. Congress has appropriated $50,000 for its work.

The President indicated he would like to name several Senators and Representatives to the Commission. But that, so far, the Congressmen have shown a hesitancy to assume membership on the commission.

DePriest Mentioned.

It was stated Monday by a person well versed in the affairs of the Government that if sufficient pressure were brought to bear on the situation the House of Representatives might name Oscar DePriest to a place on the commission.

In naming an all-white commission, Hoover is said to have acceded to the wish of President Louis Borno of Haiti, who is understood to look with disfavor upon the presence of a Negro on the commission.

Yet, the main objectives of the commission, as the President recently pointed out, are to investigate when and how the American Government and the United States marines are to be withdrawn from Haiti, and what shall be done in Haiti in the meantime.

Under an existing treaty the American forces can be continued there until 1936.

Fish for Election.

Congressman Hamilton Fish of New York insists that an election be held in March, under the supervision of the Marine Corps, to give the Haitian people an opportunity to elect members to the National Assembly, who will in turn elect a President in April, in accordance with the Constitution.

"Unless this action is taken immediately, the next President will be selected by the Council of State, composed of twenty-one members, most

Haiti

Race Problem - 1930

West Indies.

DR. MOTON SUGGESTED

The suggestion advanced by The Richmond Times-Dispatch and concurred in by a number of other Southern newspapers, including Josephus Daniels's Raleigh News and Observer, that Dr. R. R. Moton, of Tuskegee, be appointed by the President on his commission to study the situation in Haiti, has much to commend it, in the opinion of The Houston Post-Dispatch. Haiti is a Negro country and in finding a solution to the problem there "it will be necessary to get correctly the viewpoint of the people of Haiti,' says The Post-Dispatch. It goes on: "A highly intelligent Negro such as Dr. Moton should be especially well adapted to the service of ascertaining the reactions of the Haitian people in the present situation and to present them accurately to others. The Haitians, no doubt, would welcome the presence of a man of their own race on the commission charged with studying their problem. They would see in it recognition of their race and would inevitably be more sympathetic with the fact-finding body sent to their country. The efficiency of the committee would be raised by the inclusion of the Tuskegee educator in the commission. There would be nothing incompatible with the Southern view of the relations that sould exist between the races for Dr. Moton to serve with the white members of this body. It is no uncommon thing for a leader among the white people in the South and leaders among the Negroes to serve together on committees that have for their task consideration of matters touching Negro welfare or relations between the races. Dr. Moton is worthy of the honor that has been suggested for him."

This expression of Southern opinion regarding the personnel of the proposed commission is significant of the increasing good will and racial tolerance prevailing in the South.

GETTING OUT OF HAITI.

Last week the United States Senate voted for an appropriation of fifty thousand dollars to enable President Hoover to have an investigation made of conditions in Haiti, without endorsing his idea of a commission for that purpose. Senator Blaine of Wisconsin, an insurgent Republican, who has bitterly opposed the commission idea, sought to disparage the President's plan by the inference that the commission was unwarranted and that the President should have all the information already made available.

Senator Swanson of Virginia, Senator Norris of Nebraska and several others supported the resolution and favored getting out of Haiti. Senator Oddie, Republican of Nevada, who was on a commission to study Haiti in 1922 and has visited there every year since, declared that the United States had accomplished a great humanitarian work there. Senator Connelly of Texas said he had received complaints concerning the military government, and charged that Haiti "is now governed by military satraps," which nobody could deny.

Senator Borah, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, declared that he had reason to believe that the President desired to get out of Haiti. He added that it was a difficult task to do so, and the President desired fully to familiarize himself with conditions and get out of Haiti with honor to this government. That is a pretty hard proposition for the President or any one else to solve, as the question of honor is hardly consistent with any of the phases of the military occupation of Haiti, the subversion of its government and the establishment of military rule with the aid of marines and machine guns. The less said about honor in this connection the better.

There does not seem to be much difference of opinion as to the expediency of the United States getting out of Haiti. The question is as to how that can be accomplished without acknowledging that this country at no time had any just cause for entering or remaining there.

Haitian Demonstrators Still Under Arrest; Oppression Fierce

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, Feb 13.—Twenty of the thirty-one demonstrators arrested at yesterday's demonstration in front of the cathedral here in connection with the slaughter of Haitian peasants by American marines last December are still under arrest. The other eleven were released with a "warning."

A news release issued by the Union Patriotique states that the American imperialists in Haiti have made no real effort to decrease illiteracy. "While wages of the masses have been made to remain at the lowest level," the release continued, "retroactive taxes have been imposed."

HAITIANS IN NEW DEMONSTRATION

31 Arrested As Crowds Call for Liberty.

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, Feb 2.—A demonstration in front of the cathedral here following a mass said in memory of the Haitian peasants killed by American marines at Aux Cayes last December, was quickly broken up by the "authorities." Thirty-one of the demonstrators, estimated at 500, were arrested.

Three speakers addressed the demonstrators, attacking the puppet government as the watch-dog of American imperialism, whose machine guns are helping to keep the Haitian masses in misery and slavery.

Following the arrests, another demonstration of more than a hundred was staged in front of the building with shouts of "Long Live Liberty." Police dispersed the unarmed demonstrators.

Today's incident further exposes the hypocritical gesture of Hoover's fake "investigation" commission for Haiti. Wall Street has no intention of getting out of Haiti unless forced to by the armed might of the masses in all the Americas and the Caribbean.

J-CROWS COMMISSION

ON HAITI PRES. HOOVER EXERCISES SEGREGATION — MOTON HIS "HANDY-MAN" FOR EDUCATIONAL INQUIRY ONLY

Washington, D. C., Feb. 8, 1930:—President Hoover announced on Friday, February 7, the personnel of the commission of five which will investigate conditions in Haiti, as follows: W Cameron Forbes of Massachusetts, former Governor General of the Philippines; Henry P. Fletcher of Pennsylvania, former American Ambassador to Italy; Elie Vezina of Rhode Island high ranking lay Catholic; James Kerney of New Jersey, close friend of the late President Wilson, and William Allen White, famous Kansas editor.

President Hoover requested Dr. Robert Russa Moton to head a supplemen commission to investigate Haiti's educational system. Commenting on this action, the President said:

"In cooperation with Mr. Forbes, have requested Dr. R. R. Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, on behal of the institute and such other educational affiliations as he may suggest to undertake an exhaustive investigation into the educational system o Haiti with view to recommendations for the future."

Marshall Describes Members

Capt. Napoleon B. Marshall, for six years one of the secretaries in the American Legation at Port au Prince Haiti, in commenting on the personnel of the Commission, pointed ou that Chairman Forbes, as Governo General of the Philippines, was al ways opposed to granting self-govern ment to the Filipinos, and it is only reasonable to suppose that his attitude as regards the Haitians will be influenced by his attitude in the past.

Against Independence

Mr. Fletcher, he said, was formerly 1st Assistant Secretary of State and as such was in a position to exercise great influence in changing conditions among the Haitian people, but his record shows that he opposed Haitian independence. He also pointed to the statement that James Kerney of New Jersey was a "close friend to the late President Wilson," under whose Administration the American Occupation of Haiti was instituted.

The Grist Mill

By Patrick B. Prescott, Jr.

1.—Dr. Moton Should Decline.
2.—A Real Crime Solution.
3.—Why Re-appoint Justice Huges?

President Hoover has appointed his commission to Haiti. Five Caucasians have been named to investigate conditions in the black republic. No colored men or women are named. That is the Hoover answer to the demand of colored people for a fair amount of representation in the government of which they are a distinctly component part. Taxes are borne, industry is carried on in times of stress and blood is spilled upon the battle fields of the nation from Boston Commons to Flander's Fields by the colored tenth. And yet when it comes to the investigation of a country controlled by colored people they are denied the dignity and recognition of being a part of the commission appointed to report fair findings.

Nor can it be said that Mr. Hoover thought it merely expedient to exclude colored members on the ground that they might be biased, or that the public might think that they had been. On the contrary he did think that the services of a colored man would be of some value. For he named Dr Robert Moton, head of Tuskeegee, as a commission of one to make an exhaustive report on the educational needs of the Carribean republic. But mark you that Dr. Moton is not named as a member of the commission. He is all by himself.

Now just why is this? Is it because the educational investigation is a highly specialized line in which there is need for an educator? And that the man so selected should be left entirely detached from the remainder of the commission so that he might have complete concentration? Hardly. Few will gainsay the fact that Dr. Moton could have served on the main committee and that competent assistants, under his direction, could completely do his task.

Things like this do not happen. There is some reason for it. It is asking too much of miracles to say that they always happen so that the man of color gets the least and poorest recognition. If it is a commission of mixed members it always happens that the name of the colored member is at the bottom. If you were to ask why it so happens you would be told that some one has to be last, and that is just "happened" that the name of the colored person was last. It would be explained that that was petty and that no one had much time to pay attention to such small things.

Probably a like explanation would be given for failure to place Dr. Moton on the full commission. It would not be surprising to hear that his present job is of greater dignity. But it sincerely to be hoped that colored people will not be lulled into any false self-adulation. Dr. Moton was not placed on the commission because he is colored, and because it was not intended that a colored person should be given such dignity and authority.

It is a shame that the colored people in general and Dr. Moton in particular should be subjected to the indignity of having to be offered a subordinate position in a matter of such interest and import to colored people themselves. Better that no colored man had ever been mentioned. For then it would be ascribed directly to prejudice, rather than inferiority. Better hated than despised. Colored people would rather stand meanness than submit to the stigma of inferiority. Dr. Moton should promptly decline the appointment.

Mr. Hoover's Haitian Commission

THE personnel of President Hoover's Haitian Commission will not meet the approval of colored Americans, who from the standpoint of racial kinship and interest in Haiti, had a strong claim for representation on it. This special claim as American citizens and as a traditional aid of the Republican party, was repeatedly urged upon the President to no avail. The appointment of Dr. Robert R. Moton, of Tuskegee, as an extra-commissioner, does not at all square with the justifiable claim of colored Americans for a place on the commission, and if the President feels that this move meets the administration's obligations of recognition to Colored America, he is doubtless mistaken.

On the commission are two recognized imperialists, W. Cameron Forbes, one-time dictator of the Philippines and Henry P. Fletcher, former ambassador-bungler extraordinary to Mexico. The other three are Elie Vezina, reputed to be a student of Haitian affairs but not publicly known as to what kind of student: James Kerney, editor of the *Trenton Times*, and William Allen White of the *Emporia* (Kan.) *Gazette*. Just how much equipment the two editors have for pursuing an impartial investigation into the Haitian situation remains to be developed.

Dr. Moton is assigned the task of investigating the educational problem in Haiti, having a special commission from President Hoover. The explanation that he was not named to the regular commission would of course have been more accurate had it stated that this American Negro was objectionable to the American dictator of Haitian affairs, General Russell, and puppet Borno merely played his usual role of mouth-piece for the General. But what about a dozen or more other eminent and well qualified Negroes who doubtless would have commanded as much confidence as one commissioner, or the whole commission as those men who have been named? James Weldon Johnson, Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Dr. Mordecai Johnson, Dr. John W. Davis, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Dr. John Hope, Bishop John Hurst, himself a Haitian—just to name offhand a few of them—easily qualify as Haitian commissioners. What was the objection to a Negro sharing the probe in to the whole Haitian mess, American occupation, sequestration of native internal revenues, alleged military mistreatment, the industrial and economic situation and all? Was it feared that an adverse report of a Negro commission or commissioner of Haiti's educational system would be less distasteful than an adverse report coming from such a commission on the American moneyed interests' activities there? or is President Hoover adroitly avoiding making any gesture whatsoever that might have the slightest appearance of political recognition of the Negro?

In the meantime Dr. Moton's assignment is a most important one. The educational question in the Island has been a prolific source of disturbance. In fact, it is definitely interwoven into the peace and prosperity of that country, and anyone going from here with a Presidential commission to study it cannot feel that he has been given a minor role.

There can be no justifiable complaint on the score of his selection for this pressing and important task. The Tuskegee educator is a tactician and a diplomat of the first order, but he is no sycophant. He is intellectually courageous his face is square, honest and unmasked and he is absolutely wrapped up into the welfare of black people, yet he is a lover of all humanity. In educational experience and administration he measures up to the nature of the assignment and the work before him, and since he goes to Haiti as an independent investigator he will in no wise be hamstrung by the viewpoints and conclusions of the white commissioners.

COMMISSION ON HAITI.

The selection of a commission of five members to investigate conditions in Haiti, with the view of initiating a change in the policy of this government, was announced by President Hoover last week. As head of the commission, Mr. Hoover named W. Cameron Forbes, a former Governor General of the Philippines, who comes from Massachusetts. The other members are: Henry P. Fletcher of Pennsylvania former American Ambassador to Italy and well versed in unraveling international snarls; Elie Vezina of Rhode Island a close student of Haitian affairs and a prominent layman of the Catholic Church; James Kerney of New Jersey, a newspaper editor and a close friend of the late President Wilson; and William Allen White, a Kansas editor and writer. It was stated that the President desired to name several Senators and Representatives to serve on the commission but that the members of Congress have shown a hesitancy about serving and it is believed that they have misunderstood certain phases of the inquiry. In fact, the Congress avoided accepting any responsibility for the commission by merely making appropriation of fifty thousand dollars for the purpose of the investigation, to be used as the President sees fit. It is expected that the comission will go to Haiti toward the later part of February to begin its labors.

In default of appointing some outstanding American Negro as a member of the commission, the President has requested Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, to undertake an exhaustive investigation into the educational system of Haiti with a view to recommendations for the future. This is intended to provide for a supplemental comission of Negro investigators to be suggested and headed by Dr. Moton.

The main objectives of the commission headed by Mr. Forbes, as set forth by the President, are to investigate when and how the American government and the United States marines are to be withdrawn from Haiti and what shall be done

HAITIAN COMMISSION

President Hoover has appointed the Commission to investigate Haitian affairs. Since the announcement of this commission, efforts were made to influence the president to name a colored man as one of its members. The names of several outstanding men were mentioned, but the president failed to recognize any of them. With one exception the members of this commission do not enjoy the fullest confidence of our group. To somewhat mollify us, the president selected Major Moton to make an independent inquiry into the educational system of the republic.

NEW YORK AMERICAN

'Affronting Negroes' Charged to Hoover

Charging President Hoover with "a grave affront to the entire negro race" for not including a negro on his Haitian Commission Ferdinand Q. Morton, colored Democratic leader of Harlem, yesterday predicted the commission's failure.

Morton, a member of the city Civil Service Commission, declared the Hailtian Commission, without a negro member, cannot arrive at a sympathetic understanding of the Haitian people. He adadvocated evacuating the West Indian island, removing the marines and restoring Haitian independence as soon as possible.

Race Problem - 1930

West Indies

Haiti.

HAITIANS PAY FOR BUT DON'T DIRECT THEIR EDUCATION

Journal & Guide 7-12-30

Norfolk, Va

Moton Commission Reveals Bitterness Against U. S. System

By P. L. PRATTIS

Staff Correspondent for the A. N. P.

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti—One of the most outstanding facts revealed by the investigations of the Moton Commission appointed by President Hoover to study educational conditions in Haiti is the bitter opposition of a large group of informed Haitians to the current system of education, which is controlled by Americans but paid for by natives of the island republic.

It is important to point out here that all the public money of the republic is controlled by the so-called treaty, or American, officers and that by virtue of that supervisory relation the Americans, through budget control, determine the scope of practically all Haitian activities.

Thus there is supposed to be a Haitian system of national schools. These schools are planned to take children at the kindergarten age and to release them when they have finished the Lycee, the final year of which has a course of study about equal to that of the sophomore year in American colleges. But expansion of physical equipment, salaries of teachers, repairs and all such items of expense, are actually determined by the American financial advisor who, with the Haitian finance minister, must approve the budget of the Haitian minister of education and may, at his discretion strike from the budget items of which he disapproves.

Catholic Schools Good

More fortunate in respect to physical equipment and supervision are the parochial schools. The Catholics have the finest and best-equipped school buildings. The Haitian point of view is that these schools should at some time be made a part of the national school system.

The American schools are of the greatest public interest at this time. They are operated by what is called the Service Technique de l'Agriculture. This department was established by law in 1922. It has been under the direction of Dr. George Freeman, now absent in the states. In the schools which have been established under this department the program has been to give the students in the rural districts training in agriculture, trades, and rudimentary academic subjects which would aid them in their farm and shop work. The Service began with twelve schools, having taken over several Haitian rural schools and some of the teachers. Seventy-five schools are now operated with more than 7,000 pupils.

The work of these schools heads up at a central school at Damien, where teachers are supposed to be trained to take up the work in the farm schools. Eligibility for admission to Demien is graduation with a certificate from the Lycee. The best students at Damien are sent to the States to complete their studies.

The Service Technique also operates a variety of agricultural experiment stations, a farm extension system with demostration agents, and interests itself in the development of crops which have an export future. Much attention has been given to the growing of cotton and sisal.

American Control

The Service Technique is maintained on almost a strictly American basis. It has been extended into all parts of the Republic as rapidly as conditions would warrant.

There are two parties to the criticism which one hears in a discussion of educational conditions in the island. The more important and vociferous is constituted of the Haitians who direct their principal shafts at the Service Technique. The other party is made up of the men with the Service Technique, who justify their program by pointing out Haitian defects.

Type of Complaint

Haitian leaders voice a variety of complaints. Fundamental with them is the fact that the Service Technique is maintained with Haitian money. In six years nearly four million dollars have been used to expand this Service. This is much more money than has been used by the Haitian government for its national school system. The budget for the Service Technique for 1930 is 2,796,666 gourdes, a gourde being one-fifth of a dollar. The 1930 budget for the Haitian Department of public instruction is 1,947,268 gourdes, there thus being a difference of almost one million gourdes. Both gourdes are approved or disapproved by the American financial advisor.

The Haitians believe that not only too much money is spent in taking their money to impose upon them a system of education which Americans think is best for them, but they think the money is unwisely and unfairly spent.

They complain first that the buildings which the Americans construct are too costly. Second, they complain that the salaries of the American teachers are too high. Third, they feel that money has been and is being wasted in some of the agricultural developments. Further they state that the Service Technique experiments in animal husbandry have been costly because high-priced American stock, unsuited to the Haitian climate, has been imported with very poor results.

Salaries Unequal

There is a further complaint in connection with salaries. Americans are employed to head up practically every phase of the work of the Service Technique. Haitians are employed as assistants and as teachers. The Americans are called "experts." Their salaries seem to begin at three hundred dollars a month and go up. The salaries of the Haitians seem to stop at two hundred fifty dollars a month and come down.

The Haitian feels the American is often ill fit for his job because he does not know the language, does not know tropical agriculture, and is not only ignorant of the temperament of the people he works with, but by holding himself aloof and above the Haitian, shows himself to have no apparent desire to become better acquainted with the Haitian people.

Another cause for ill-feeling against the Service Technique has been what the Haitians regard as a sort of high-handedness in its administration. Haitian teachers, they say, were seldom if ever consulted about the work of the department.

Many Haitians who feel that the Service Technique may still render good service to the nation, complain that it has not produced results so far.

Counter Charges

Counter to the charges constantly being made by the Haitians in their newspapers, are those made by the Americans of the Service Technique. While they show the disposition to allow that some mistakes have been made, they offer reports showing progress of the sort they set out to make, and say that before the Service Technique began operation, the Haitians were doing nothing for themselves. They rather feel that useful education would have continued to be a neglected field among the Haitians if the Americans had not done something. There is a suggestion in some things they say that they consider the Haitians intelligent, but somewhat irresponsible. They don't seem to think that the Haitians can handle large sums of money, even though it is Haitian money, as wisely as Americans can handle it for them.

New hearings are being held in Port au Prince at the conclusion of tours. After this work is completed, study will begin toward the formation of a preliminary report.

The commission expects to be able to leave the island by July 7, either taking a cruiser to Hampton Roads, or an airplane from Port au Prince to Tuskegee. Dr. Leo M. Favrot, the fifth member of the committee, arrived by airplane June 21.

Odds And Ends In Haiti

Special to The Pittsburgh Courier by A. N. P.

Sunday, the members of the Moton Educational Commission, now in Haiti, laid a wreath at the tomb of the founders of Haiti's independence, Jean Jacques Dessalines, Henri Christophe and Alexandre Petion. Dr. Moton paid a high tribute to these three heroes and told the Haitians present that they had served not only the Negroes of Haiti, but the black race hroughout the world by showing what Negroes might achieve.

In the morning, the commissioners, in their frock coats, accompanied President Roy to church.

Courier

All of the members of the Commission party have been guests of the members of the American Club at Petionville and have been issued cards entitling them to the courtesies of the club during the length of their stay in the island. The club is situated about five miles from Port au Prince, at an elevation where it is cool. It has eating and recreational facilities. Among the Americans who have been most hospitable have been Messrs. Colvin, Isbell, Heath, and Taylor, all members of the American treaty services.

7-12-30

The American charge d'affaires, Stuart E. Grummont, has been most active and courteous in providing facilities and entertainment for the members of the commission.

Pittsburgh, Pa

Interest in the commission's educational survey is somewhat less than it would be were it not for the election campaign which is now in full swing. There are, as usual, several candidates for president.

How would you like to live in houses, beautiful though they be, with no window panes? That's Port au Prince, for the most part.

How would you like to play soccer with the temperature above ninety? They do that in Port au Prince every Sunday.

If you have any doubt as to whether a Haitian knows you are an American, try to buy something from him. If he asks you the regular price, you have deceived him; if he doubles or trebles the price, you know he is wise to you.

Postcards down here cost ten cents. That's why your friends always write you letters.

Did you ever think of having bananas growing in your back yard? They grow wherever they have a chance to stretch their arms in Haiti.

You've heard of Haitian coffee, and you've heard of good, strong chewing tobacco, too, haven't you?

If you ever thought you would have warm water to bathe with inn Port au Prince, change your mind. They don't recognize wash cloths here, either.

Chicago radio programs are popular in Port au Prince. The Americans like Amos 'n Andy. The Haitians don't understand them.

American victrolas are kept at work from morning until late at night in most of the cafes.

Buick seems to be king among the many American automobiles which keep you ducking in the streets. The Haitians drive with skill, but don't believe in signs.

If you ask to take a young lady home, she'll get her brother to go along with you. That's a part of the Latin culture here.

There are two classes of Haitians, those who know something and those who don't. Most of the blacks don't; most of the mulattoes do. It, therefore, seems that there are the light and dark classes.

Many Haitians were grieved to learn of the death of Dr. George Cleveland Hall, who visited heer two years ago, and of the serious illness of Napoleon Marshall, resident here for several years.

In one respect, Haiti is like most tropical countries—it has its quota of ants. They like the dining room best.

Iced tea seems to be very little known here, and the use of ice for anything would not be what you would call profligate.

Most of the better class men dress in white duck suits. The women wear thin, printed wash goods, considerable organdie. Rayon has found its way here.

There is not much hair straightening among the women, but even the poorest peasants use the comb and brush often. The better class girls wear the latest bobs.

We have not been to a regular dance yet, but at a house party the other night we learned that the tango is still popular with the elite.

Among the poorer people, even in Port au Prince, Seabrook's animalistic dances are the vogue. They shake most wicked shoulders.

Haitian girls are quite moral, it is said, leaving moral lapses to Spanish and Dominican girls in the island.

There are almost as many beggars to the square block in Port au Prince as there are on the southside of Chicago.

ODDS AND ENDS IN HAITI

afro-American

(By The Associated Negro Press.) 7-12-30

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MOTON ACTS TO AVERT HAITIAN SCHOOL STRIKE

this American

1-12-30

Commission Head is Mediator in Damien College Tilt.

Baltimore, Md

CRISIS LOOMED

Roy and Cabinet Were About to Resign.

By CARL MURPHY

PORT au PRINCE, Haiti.—Dr. R. R. Moton, acting as mediator, averted a strike of the student body at Damien Agricultural College last week.

More serious than the strike was the political crisis which hovered over the capital and constantly threatened to result in the resignation of President Roy and his entire cabinet.

Moton in Conferences

Dr. Moton spent the better part of two days in conferences with President Roy at the Palace and with U.S. Charge d'Affaires Grummont, and Dr. Carl Colvin, head of the college, both white, at the commission's offices.

Seek Colvin's Scalp

The minister of education took the position that by treaty the college is under his direction, and therefore ordered it closed July first. He pointed out that it has on its faculty some forty U.S. experts, many of them drawing salaries of $400 and $500 a month and only 38 students. He pointed to the fact that last March, before the strike of the college students which hastened the sending of the Forbes Commission, the college had an enrollment of 214.

The resignation of Dr. Colvin is believed to be another item in the minister's demands.

Lower Taxes Demanded

The situation precipitated was further aggravated by the Haitian demand for a lowering of the taxes on tobacco and alcohol, which were recommended by the Forbes Commission, "if it is at all possible."

The U.S. financial adviser opposed the reduction unless some other way could be found to keep the budget up to its present level.

The minister of education insisted that he would resign if his demands were not met. Other members of the cabinet, thoroughly in sympathy, planned also to quit with him, which made it plain that President Roy, upon whose approval they acted would follow them.

Apparently the United States, which through the Forbes Commission negotiated the ousting of the Borno government and the installation of M. Roy as provisional president pending the fall election, had no desire to see the regime it has set up take French leave and add the responsibility of running Haiti to Uncle Sam's other troubles.

By the terms of the compromise which are known, Damien is to be closed July 15, instead of July 1, and the tax reduction is to be the subject of further negotiation.

In some of these mediatory conferences, the entire Moton Commission deliberated, and on one of the conferences at the Palace, Dr. Moton was accompanied by Dr. Johnson.

Declines Mine Sweeper

The commission, advised that no warship is available since most of them in this neighborhood are making a round of good will calls at various ports in the West Indies and South America, declined Thursday the proposition to leave on a mine sweeper for Cuba there to take a steamer which would put them off at Miami, Florida. Request was filed with the State Department ten days in advance for a warship, as it was known then that the commission would complete its work by July 7th and passage on regular steamers leaving the island is sold out.

Hard at work seeing visitors and still making visits to schools, the commission has been unable to accept all the social engagements proffered by hospitable Haitians. Dr. Moton himself was "off his feet" for two days, and important conferences were continued in his large bed room on the first floor. He was able to resume his regular routine Friday.

Dr. W. T. B Williams, Dr Leo Favrot, accompanied by Paul Prattis and an aide, returned Thursday from a two-day visit to Aux Cayes and the South.

Among the queer things they reported was a section termed Fond de Blanc (white bottom) where the intermarriage of Polish patriots, who came here a hundred years ago to help Haiti win her independence, has produced a settlement of brownskinned Haitians with flaxen hair and blue eyes.

Brooklyn, N. Y. Eagle

Dr. Moton's report on education in Hayti shows schools in the plantation country paying teachers $4 or $5 a month and compelling them to "board 'round" with peasant families. There are always vacancies, and any New York schoolteacher who wants to apply is pretty sure to be employed. Our surplus of idle teachers is not an irremediable condition.

NEW YORK HERALD

JUN 16 1930

U. S. Commission Reaches Hayti

PORT AU PRINCE, Hayti, June 15 (UP).—The Educational Commission selected by President Hoover to report on school conditions in Hayti arrived this morning and received a reception in marked contrast to that which greeted the commission headed by W. Cameron Forbes on its arrival here last winter, to investigate political conditions.

Scarcely 500 persons were at the waterfront to greet Dr. Robert R. Moton, of Tuskegee Institute, head of the commission, and his associates, as compared to the thousands of enthusiastic Haytians who welcomed the previous body. Observers believe the commission, the members of which are Negroes, will encounter some difficulty in investigating conditions at the Damien Agricultural School, as many of the students who rebelled against the system in force last fall are said to have announced their intention not to testify voluntarily.

NEW YORK AMERICAN

JUN 16 1930

Moton Commission Greeted by Haitians

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, June 15 (AP).—The Moton Commission, named by President Hoover to study educational problems in Haiti, arrived here today and was greeted by applauding crowds. The commission is headed by Robert R. Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute.

NEW YORK HERALD

JUN 17 1930

Dr. Moton Starts Survey of Hayti School System

Hoover Education Commission to Submit Extensive Report on Education

Mail Pilot Still Missing

Chilean Planes Comb Andes in Effort to Find Aviator

By The United Press

PORT AU PRINCE, June 16.—The Hayti Educational Commission sent here at the suggestion of President Hoover, plans to visit and inspect schools of every type and is interested in obtaining facts, opinions and recommendations bearing upon education in the Republic, Dr. Robert R. Moton, of Tuskegee Institute, head of the commission, announced today. First hand statements of the aims and methods of all officials charged with responsibility of education in the republic are to be obtained, Dr. Moton said.

Race Problem - 1930
West Indies

Moton Names Hubert On Haiti Commission

WASHINGTON, Feb. 25.—(AP)—Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, today forwarded to the state department the list of persons who have been designated to serve on President Hoover's committee for an educational study of Haiti.

The names were: Dr. Morecai Johnson, president of Howard University; Professor Emile M. Favrot, field secretary, southern general education board; Professor Benjamin F. Hubert, president Georgia State Industrial College; Dr. Charles E. B. Williams, dean of Tuskegee Institute and field agent of the Jeanes and Slater fund.

Constitution
2/26/30

HAITIAN COMMISSION SAILS FOR PORTO RICO

U. S. Group Named To Study Island Conditions Leaves.

KEY WEST, Fla., Feb. 25.—(AP)—Members of President Hoover's commission to investigate conditions in Haiti sailed aboard the U. S. S. Rochester at 11 o'clock this morning for Haiti.

Constitution

The party left Key West at 9:50 o'clock aboard the U. S. S. Falcon, which took them to the Rochester, anchored five miles off shore.

Headed by W. Cameron Forbes, former governor general of the Philippines, the commission arrived here by train at 7:45 o'clock this morning from Palm Beach, where they held their first meeting last night. The Palm Beach gathering was in the nature of a get-together, Governor Forbes explained, and added that at the meeting he had announced that President Hoover had named Willis J. Abbott, editor of the Christian Science Monitor, as a sixth member of the commission.

2/25/30

Mr. Abbott is not with the party, Governor Forbes said, but is expected to proceed direct to Haiti.

Other members of the commission are Henry P. Fletcher, Elie Vezine, James Kearney and William Allen White.

Atlanta, Ga.

The commission had breakfast with Captain S. R. Doyle, commandant of the seventh naval district here, and then boarded the Falcon to be taken to the Rochester off shore.

HOOVER'S COMMISSION

President Hoover's Haiti commission sailed recently from Key West for the capital city of the island republic on an errand and study of conditions there.

Constitution
2/26/30

The commission, which is all white in personnel, includes W. Cameron Forbes, chairman; Henry P. Fletcher, Elie Vezina James Kerney, William Allen White, James Clement Dunn, who will act as counsellor to the commission; Dr. Victor G. Heiser, medical advisor; Charles H. Marshall, secretary, and Warren H. Kelchner, assistant secretary.

Additional attaches of the Haiti commission, it is said, sailed Friday of this week. It is significant to note that the "separate" commission headed by Robert R. Moton of Tuskegee, to study the educational methods of the republic, has not yet been formed nor the date set for their departure for Haiti.

Descended from African slaves, the Haitians, after sweeping the island free of all white men, have unfortunately allowed themseles to drift into perniciously opposite directions and conflicting groups. Into one group can be found all the so-called aristocrats or ruling class of the seaport cities, while the other group or peasantry of the nation has drifted inland.

To this circumstance is attributed existence in Haiti of a caste system as severe as any of the middle ages.

The Negro republic is old among the countries of the world. It is recorded in history that Columbus landed there and pined in jail in Santo Domingo. Pigarro and Cartes swaggered in the streets of Haiti before they set out to carve new empires.

The republic was founded in 1903 and has been a hot bed of revolutions ever since. The latter circumstance precipitated the landing of American marines on the island in 1915.

It is clearly understood that the Hoover commission is to dertermine when and how the United States will withdraw its forces from Haiti. It is to be hoped that a satisfactory solution will be found for the problem in which the black republic is involved.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
NEWS

FEB 11 1930

An All-White Commission To Investigate Haiti

President Hoover "appoints" five white men as a commission to investigate and report upon conditions in Haiti. He "invites" one Negro to make "an educational survey" of the island. The "invited" Negro is Dr. R. R. Moton, head of Tuskegee Institute. The "appointed," if not anointed, five white men are W. Cameron Forbes, former governor general of the Philippines; Henry Prather Fletcher, former ambassador to Italy; Elie Vezina, of Rhode Island; James Kerney, editor of The Trenton (N. J.) Times, and William Allen White, editor of The Emporia (Kan.) Gazette. Of these five "appointees," two, Mr. Kerney and Mr. Vezina, are adherents of the Roman Catholic faith —the religion of the Haitians. All these five appointees are selected with wise discrimination. Mr. Forbes knows insular affairs. Mr. Fletcher understands Latin American lands by reason of his ambassadorial duties in Chile and Mexico. Mr. Kerney and Mr. Vezina have sympathetic understanding of one phase of Haitian psychology. Dr. White is openminded, if not expert, in his attitude toward Haiti and its people.

Readers of Dr. Moton's "What the Negro Thinks" may be tempted, however, to wonder what is the reason why the president designates five white men to do this work rather than entrust it to as many Negroes. The "invitation" to Dr. Moton is likely to be interpreted to be a sop to this country's 11,000,000 Negroes, and not a quite satisfying sop at that. One wonders also what is to be thought by Haitians of this "white" commission sent from a nation with 11,000,000 blacks to investigate a black republic? What is to be thought of this commission's composition by leaders of the Negro race's 11,000,000 in these continental United States may not be difficult to guess.

One thesis developed by Dr. Moton's arresting volume is that members of his race in this country are continually being affronted by reminders that they are inferior in all respects to the white race's members. Mr. Hoover, when a candidate for election, had more than one word to say about keeping the door of opportunity open for the Negro, if not more than one word to say about political equality and proscription for racial reasons. Here was a case, it might be reasoned, wherein the president might wisely have recognized his black countrymen. Recognition of this country's Negro population might wisely be accorded wherever it will not awaken resentment hurtful to the body social, and, particularly, to the Negro population itself. A study of Haiti might prudently be made by persons who understand the Negro's psychology. Readers of Dr. Moton's book are made to understand that that psychology is not understood by members of the white race. It is undeniably true that the Negro understands the white far more acutely than he is understood by the white. Haiti has long been a problem. Whether or not that problem's solution may be found more readily by an all-white commission than by an all-black one awakens lively speculation.

At any rate, Dr. Moton's thesis that the Negro is the victim of unjust discrimination in American life is not refuted by the personnel of this Haitian commission appointed, as it is, by a Republican president, even though all its five members are outstanding men who may be trusted to do their work well.

UTICA, N. Y.
Observer

FEB 11 1930

Men Who Should Know

It may be put down to the credit of President Hoover that he is a good picker. Almost never when he has an appointment to make or a commission to form does he fail to select .e men who have ability and training to fit the place.

The commission which will make a first-hand study of conditions in Haiti is an instance of this.

Cameron Forbes was governor general of the Philippines from 1908 to 1913. Henry P. Fletcher retired last year from diplomatic service in various South American states. Dr. R. E. Moton is president of Tuskegee Institute, the most widely known colored educational institution in this country. And then come three newspaper men—William Allen White of Kansas, James Kerney of New Jersey and Elie Vezina of Rhode Island. To these the President will add a senator and congressman if he can find men in those chambers who are willing to serve.

Such a commission ought to present a plan that will solve the Haitian tangle if it is possible of solution. There is some doubt as to that, however, for the Haitian mind has not advanced very high in the scale of government. It is a dark country in more senses than mere color of its inhabitants. It is very difficult almost anywhere to discover men who may hold office and still keep their feet on the ground; and in Haiti this is an impossibility at present.

II...AN BO... MET BY POPULACE

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Leaves Key West for Port-au-Prince on U. S. Rochester

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Those selected by Dr. Moton to assist him in the work are:

Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, the government's Negro college; Professor Leo M. Favrot, field secretary of the General Education Board; Dr. W. T. B. Williams, dean of the college, Tuskegee Institute.

The education committee will leave for Hayti shortly. President Hoover's special Federal commission sailed from Key West today on the cruiser Rochester.

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President Hoover has requested Dr. Robert R. Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, to inquire into the educational system of Haiti, the population of which is almost entirely Negro and almost completely Catholic.

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In explaining the task set for the commission the President said:

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CAPITAL AWAITING U. S. COMMISSION

Hoover Board Will Arrive Today At Port-Au-Prince, Haiti

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"Why, Haiti asks, does not the United States interfere with Mexico's internal affairs? Or Portugal's internal affairs?

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The unfortunate M. Jolibois and famatory article had already been ed an extra-mural welcome to the Senator King's Treatment

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Race Problem—1930
West Indies.

Haiti

MILWAUKEE, WIS.
SENTINEL

NOV 4 - 1930

THE HAITIAN 10 PER CENT

"Troubles in Haiti between the United States and the Haitians are caused by a minority of the people for political purposes," Prof. Roger C. Smith told a Shorewood audience. He estimated that this minority represents about 10 per cent of the population.

Prof. Smith is director of the Haitian agricultural college and should speak with the voice of authority. Nevertheless the wrong inference is likely to be drawn from his description of a trouble-making minority. The population of Haiti is composed of full-blooded Negroes and mulattoes. All but the 10 per cent mentioned by Prof. Smith are illiterate, incapable of participating in the government.

The task of governing devolves, therefore, on the 10 per cent. In this minority are some of the most highly cultured people of the Caribbean. They maintain the old French tradition by sending many of their dusky sons and daughters to Paris to be "finished".

The Americans, including the marines who went into the island, carried with them the traditional American attitude toward black men. A buck private of marines was secure in his sense of superiority over the most cultured Negro on the island. He was better than any member of the 10 per cent.

And that is why the American administrators are having trouble with the 10 per cent. The Negroes refuse, and with considerable justification, to be ordered about like the field hands of a southern plantation by contumelious white men.

NEW YORK WORLD

NOV 23 1930

American Finds Difficult Task In Haiti

New Commissioner Must Work Against Natives' Hostility

By Frank W. Connor

WASHINGTON.

WHEN Dr. G. Dana Munro, newly appointed American Minister to Haiti, arrived in Port-au-Prince a week ago to take over the duties which have been performed by Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, U. S. M. C., as American High Commissioner during the past eight years, he found himself in an atmosphere surcharged with deep seated resentment against the United States.

Gen. Russell resigned, effective Nov. 12, thereby making effective a recommendation of the commission headed by W. Cameron Forbes, which President Hoover sent to Haiti to investigate conditions following the riots that occurred late last year. In accepting the resignation of the American High Commissioner, President Hoover and Secretary of State Stimson strongly commended the Marine Corps veteran for his accomplishments in the troubled republic.

The Forbes commission in its report likewise commended Gen. Russell, but in the next breath recommended that he be relieved of his duties in Haiti by a duly accredited American Minister.

Dr. Munro, for some time past chief of the Latin American division of the State Department, was chosen to succeed the Marine Corps officer because of his long experience in handling questions affecting the nations to the south of us. The mission now entrusted to him is by all odds the most delicate he has been called upon to handle.

Must Observe Treaty Obligations

During his long regime as High Commissioner Gen. Russell from time to time was the target of much bitter criticism by the "opposition" in Haiti, which means about all the people except those holding jobs by grace of the American occupation.

Just what will happen when the newly elected legislative assembly is fully organized to transact business remains to be disclosed. Most of its members—if, indeed, not all of them—were elected on platforms opposing all that the Borno regime stood for, as well as the American occupation. While the Council of State has been subservient to the American occupation, passing such laws from time to time as have been presented to it, it is alleged, on pain of dismissal, nobody expects the first elective assembly since 1913 to follow any such policy.

The first important duty of the legislative assembly after organization will be to elect a president to succeed Dr. Eugene T. Roy, chosen by the Council of State to fill the gap between the passing of Borno and the selection of his successor. Only one pronounced candidate for president has voiced a willingness even to cooperate actively with the United States under the existing treaty until it expires in 1936.

One of Dr. Munro's tasks will be to see that the new Haitian Government carries out its treaty obligations, regardless of the campaign pronouncements of the successful presidential aspirant, whoever he may be, and it promises to be a most troublesome task.

The final recommendation of the Forbes Commission was that the new American Minister be charged with the duty of negotiating further modifications of the existing treaty and agreements providing for less intervention in Haitian domestic affairs. This should be of great help to Dr. Munro, tending as it does to take some of the edge off the resentment voiced by opposition leaders against the United States.

Another recommendation of the Forbes Commission was that the taxes on alcohol and tobacco be modified. A string was attached, however, that these taxes be reduced only when the condition of the national revenues warranted. Dr. Robert R. Moton, head of Tuskegee Institute, who was chairman of a second commission appointed by President Hoover to investigate the educational system in Haiti, chiefly the Service Technique, and submit construction recommendations, upon returning to this country strongly urged the need for immediately modifying the alcohol and tobacco taxes, which have long been the subject of severe criticism as bearing too heavily upon the poor peasant class, who constitute the large body of the population.

Vetoed Reduction Of Alcohol Tax

It is certain that the legislative assembly will insist that these recommendations be promptly carried out. In fact, weeks ago a project was evolved by the Council of State looking to a reduction of the alcohol and tobacco taxes, if not their entire abolition, whereupon Stuart F. Grummond, American charge d'affaires in the absence of Gen. Russell from the island, according to reports reaching Washington, served notice in the name of the State Department, that if a law were passed repealing or modifying these taxes, the United States would consider that sufficient grounds for severing all diplomatic relations. These same reports aver that Mr. Grummond informed President Roy that the Council of State must pass no legislation without approval of our State Department, except matters relating to the election of the new legislative assembly, which took place Oct. 14.

It was on Sept. 9 that Mr. Grummond is said to have served notice upon the Haitian President that the alcohol and tobacco taxes must not be reduced by the Council of State. Associates of the aged President, finding him greatly excited after the interview, were informed of what had happened.

The news spread rapidly about Port au Prince and impromptu meetings were held in the streets, speakers demanding to know whether Haiti was an independent country with its own government and able to pass upon at least some of its internal affairs, as proclaimed from Washington in statements discussing Latin-American relations, or a mere colony or dependency of the United States with no voice in its own affairs.

The situation was not helped any by the return of Gen. Russell the following day. It had been the hope and expectation of the elite that when the High Commissioner left the island following the visit of the Forbes commission he would not return for any purpose. The resentment against Gen. Russell and the Occupation in general flamed up anew when he supported the demands of the American charge d'affaires.

Haitians Oppose Service Technique

Gen. Russell is even alleged to have intimated to President Roy that if he persisted in his refusal to confirm the nomination of Carl Colvin as Director of the Service Technique it might be that the Occupation would see that he was cut out of the pension to which he would be entitled if he satisfactorily served until the election of his successor. On this occasion President Roy is said to have replied that "satisfactorily" apparently meant that he and his cabinet must approve of the appointment of Mr. Colvin, and this they would not do.

The Forbes commission touched briefly on the opposition of the upper class or educated Haitians to the Service Technique and its work in this paragraph in its report to President Hoover:

"The failure of the Occupation to understand the social problems of Haiti, its attempt to plant democracy there by drill and narrow, its determination to set up a middle class—however wise and necessary it may seem to Americans—all these explain why, in part, the high hopes of our good work in this land have not been realized."

One strong criticism of the Occupation made by the Forbes commission was that certain American officials apparently had proceeded on the theory that the Occupation would continue indefinitely, despite the fact that the existing treaty will expire six years hence, and that no adequate provision had been made for Haitianizing the various services.

The leading recommendation of Mr. Forbes and his associates was that President Hoover declare that the United States "will approve a policy, the details of which all the United States officials in Haiti are directed to assist in working out, providing for an increasing rapid Haitianization of the services, with the object of having Haitians experienced in every department of the government ready to take over full responsibility at the expiration of the existing treaty."

This recommended declaration by the President is awaited with much interest both in Washington and in Port-au-Prince.

The commission likewise recommends that the new American minister be charged with the duty of carrying out the early Haitianization of the services called for in the proposed declaration, even if a certain loss of efficiency be entailed in the process.

Critics of the Occupation can find ample grounds in the Forbes commission report to justify a reduction in taxation. In this connection the report says in part:

"The revenues and expenses have been carefully balanced with a conservative margin of revenues in excess of expenditures, resulting in a steadily increasing surplus.

"The service of the public debt has been cared for and several million dollars of the principal thereof paid off out of revenues in excess of the amount called for by the amortization plan. The wisdom of this course is open to question; it might have been better to have reduced the taxation, especially the export tax, and left the debt to work itself out during its normal term, thus keeping more money in the country, where experience has shown it was badly needed.

"Little by little the American Occupation has extended its intervention in the financial operation of Haiti until 60 per cent of the revenues are now expended under American supervision, including the service of the public debt."

Haitian Voters Choose Radicals as Presidential Candidates

200,000 Citizens Vote for Members of Lower and Upper Houses of Haitian Congress who will Choose a President from their Number.

By P. L. PRATTIS
(For the Associated Negro Press)

Haiti moved closer to the election of a brand new president of its own choosing last Tuesday when 200,000 citizens went to the polls and voted into office the members of the lower and upper houses of the Haitian Congress.

Thus for the first time since Smedley Butler of the Marines tore into the Haitian legislative chamber in 1917, brandished his pistol and exclaimed, "Get the h—l out of here!" the Haitians have a governing body chosen with a modicum of outside influence.

From among its members will be elected the president of the Republic, a man to occupy the position now held by Eugene Roy. Roy was selected, under the guidance of the United States, after Haitians had arisen against the "under cover" favor shown to Americans by the escaped President, Louis Borno.

Three Candidates

Prior to the election of a Congress the three principal candidates for the presidency were: Constantin Mayard, Seymour Pradel, and Stenio Vincent.

Mayard, 48, and dark brown-skinned, is a planter and owns a large farm outside of Port au Prince. He has been a cabinet member and a member of Congress. His early political training was as private secretory to President Nord Alexis, 1903 to 1909. He believes in gradual withdrawal of the Americans by 1936 and then stands for commercial treaties and American assistance in a few departments merely as aids after that time.

Vincent and Pradel are both mulattoes with distinguished backgrounds. Both of them promised the voters to kick the United States out of Haiti as soon as either should be elected.

Mayard too Kind

No one in Haiti will question Mayard's love of his country or his great talent. He is worshipped as a great man. The people love him because they believe he loves them. But there is too much kindness in his nature.

In Tuesday's elertions, Mayard was lost in the shuffle. He was not elected to Congress and, as a consequence, was eliminated as a presidential candidate.

The choice will lie between Vincent and Pradel.

Of course, neither Vincent nor Pradel will be able to force the United States out of Haiti before the United States wants to go. But each will make noise and probably spoil the chances for some form of co-operation between the two countries of which Haiti stands very much in need.

In spite of the Monroe Doctrine, Haiti has her eyes turned toward France. The United States may not wish to own Haiti, but she is determined that Haiti shall either take care of herself, alone or that if any helping is to be done, the United States shall do that.

Resignation Of Haitian Commissioner Accepted

WASHINGTON, Nov. 1.—(AP)—President Hoover's formal acceptance of the resignation of Brig. Gen. John H. Russell as American high commissioner in Haiti was made public today by the State Department.

Gen. Russell's resignation was described as effective Nov. 12. Dana G. Munro, newly appointed U. S. Minister to Haiti is expected to sail for Port Au Prince Nov. 11, to restore normal diplomatic relations between the two countries in accordance with the recommendations of the Forbes Commission which reported to President Hoover on Haitian conditions last Spring.

In accepting the resignation of Gen Russell, President Hoover expressed appreciation of the efficiency with which the Marine officer had fulfilled his mission, and said definite progress had been achieved by the Republic during the eight years of Marine occupation of Haiti under his guidance.

His congratulations were embodied in a letter to Gen. Russell dispatched today with a similar letter from Secretary of State Stimson.

NEW YORK HERALD

JUL 15 1930

Hayti Needs More Schools, Hoover Commission Finds

Educators Return With Recommendations After 24-Day Survey

The Commission of Education in Hayti, appointed last February by President Hoover to study educational conditions in the Negro island republic and to make recommendations for improvement of its school system, returned yesterday on the Panama Railroad liner Cristobal from a twenty-four day tour of the island.

The commission, which includes Negro educators, is headed by Dr. Robert Moton, principal of the Tuskegee Institute, of Alabama. The others are Leo M. Fabrot, field agent of the Rockefeller Foundation's general education board, the white member; Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, Washington; W. T. B. Williams, dean of Tuskegee, and B. F. Hubert, president of Georgia State College for Negroes, Savannah.

The urban population of the Negro republic is fairly well educated, having plenty of good schools, but in the rural districts conditions are bad and schools are few and small, Dr. Moton said. In many of the rural districts, he found, teachers are paid only $4 or $5 a month.

All Hayti was said to be suffering from economic depression, due to the slump in the price of coffee, which commodity makes up 85 per cent of the republic's exports.

HOOVER PRAISES RUSSELL WHOM HAITIANS HATE

President Accepts Resignation of Former U.S. Dictator.

MUNRO TO SAIL

New "Dictator" is a Civilian.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — President Hoover last Wednesday accepted the resignation of Brig. Gen. John H. Russell as American high commissioner to Haiti.

In letters given out at the State Department his services in Haiti were praised by President Hoover and Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson.

Munro to Sail

Gen. Russell will be replaced by a civilian minister, Dana G. Munro chief of the division of Latin-American affairs in the State Department Dr. Munro is sailing for his new post on November 11. Gen. Russel will return to duty with the United States Marine Corps. He has been the American high commissioner at Port-au-Prince since 1922. His resignation is effective November 12.

Forbes Commission

The replacement of Gen. Russell who has been described as "the military ruler of Haiti," by a civilian as the United States minister is in accordance with the recommendations of the Forbes commission which however recommended that this not be done until "the inauguration of a permanent president'" of Haiti.

A national assembly has been elected but no Haitian president has held but no Haitian president has yet been named.

The text of President Hoover's letter is as follows:

The White House.
Oct. 29, 1930.

Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, Port-au-Prince, Haiti.

My dear General Russell:

In accepting your resignation as American High Commissioner to Haiti, I take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of the loyal and efficient manner in which you have fulfilled your difficult mission.

The material progress which has been achieved during the eight years of your incumbency of the office of High Commissioner is substantial and impressive. Haitian finances havee ben placed on a sound basis, commerce has revived, adequate roads now connect the important cities, schools and hospitals have been built, agriculture and industries have been developed and encouraged and outstanding work has ben acocmplished in introducing sanitary measures throuhg the entire republic.

These results have been largely due to your administrative ability and the high-minded purposes which has animated you in the performance of your task.

I wish also to express my warm appreciation of the excellent spirit of co-operation with which you felicitated the important work accomplished by the recent commission for the study and review of conditions in the Republic of Haiti.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER.

Secretary Stimson wrote a similar letter, full of praise and flattery.

Gen. Russell was sent to Haiti in 1922 with the title of "high commissioner and envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States to the Republic of Haiti." Opponents of the American occupation charged that the purpose of this title was to camouflage his military power and position.

Haitians Hated Russell

Haitians claimed that during the administration of President Louis Borno the actual government of Haiti was in the hands of Gen. Russell, that Borno and the council of state appointed by him were subject to his will and acted in accordance with his directions, that the liberties of the people were restricted, the freedom of the press was abridged, the independence of the courts interfered with, the people denied a voice in levying taxes and expending them, the right of franchise denied, and the people of Haiti subjected to a foreign dictatorship which screened its power behind Haitian agencies which it set up and through which it operated.

Condemned by Forbes Report

The Forbes report is regarded as a rebuke to General Russell and his military rule in Haiti, because it damned him with faint praise and recommended his retirement.

It pointed out how, under Russell, Haitians were prevented from electing a national assembly; and how Americans were conducting themselves as if they intended to stay in Haiti forever instead of preparing to get out in 1936.

Officers Held Back

The commission pointed out how Haitians were not commissioned above the post of captain on the Haitian garde, and that Americans held 98 of the 136 officers' commissions. It recommended this to be changed and the Haitian Military School (West Point) closed by Russell should be opened.

Spend Haitian Money

The commisson showed also that Russell and his co-administrators were now spending 60 per cent of the Haitian revenues and they should limit their intervention in Haitian affairs to activities provided by treaty only.

Jim Crow Americans

Nor did the commission neglect to say that Russell's regime wasn't careful about sending Americans to Haiti who had color prejudice.

HOOVER TALKS HAITI WITH COMMISSIONERS

President Cordial but Declines to Pose with Dr. Moton and Dr. Johnson.

(Photo on Picture Page)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Dr. R. R. Moton, chairman of the U.S. Commission for the study and review of educational conditions in Haiti placed his report in the hands of President Hoover at the White House Wednesday of last week.

He was accompanied by Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson of Howard University, and Dr. G. Lake Imes, commission secretary.

Leo M. Favrao, Dr. W. T. Williams and B. F. Hubert, other commissioners, were not present. The commission spent five weeks in Haiti and returned the middle of July.

The President received the report from Dr. Moton at noon; chatted for several minutes and thanked them for their work.

Mr. Hoover, while cordial, stuck to his resolve not to pose for a photograph with colored people. A. N. Scurlock, well known D.C. cameraman, was advised that the President would not pose with the Haitian commission. The refusal came from Mr Hoover himself as well as his secretary.

Subsequently, however, Mr. Hoover posed with a delegation of white Odd Fellows from Pittsburgh.

Mr. Hoover declined to pose last winter with the National Negro Memorial Commission which he had appointed. He also declined to present the Harmon Award for Race Relations to Dr. Moton at the First Congregational Church here